





History of Brazil.

BY JOSÉ MARTINS
AND
Part the Third.

PRINTED BY
WILLIAM POPLÉ,
67, CHANCERY LANE.

History of Brazil:

by

Robert Southey.

Part the Third.

L O N D O N :

Printed for Longman, Hurst, Kees, Orme, and Brown,
Paternoster-Row.

1819.

History of the

of

Robert Southey

and his friends

LONDON:

Printed by R. B. Johnson, at the New York and London
Printing Office, No. 10, Nassau Street.

1811.

PREFACE.

IT was my intention, that the concluding part of the History of Brazil should have contained a Critical Account of all the Documents, printed or in manuscript, from which it has been compiled; but this would have considerably enlarged a volume, which already far exceeds the usual size. I must therefore reserve the materials, which have been prepared for this purpose, till some future time; when, if I live to complete that full series of Portuguese history, upon which I have been employed during almost twenty years, they may form part of a *Bibliotheca Historica Lusitana*.

I have many acknowledgements to make for assistance afforded me in the progress of the present volume: to Mr. John May, for the use of a Manuscript Journal in his possession, and for procuring for me the third and last volume of the *Patriota* from Rio de Janeiro, when it was not to be obtained

at Lisbon; to Mr. Neville White, for the Dean of Cordoba's History of Buenos Ayres, printed in that city; to Mr. Kenyon, for the delightful work of Dobrizhoffer, which I had, during many years, vainly sought for, . . . not in England alone, but in many parts of the continent; to Mr. Henry Koster, for various communications from Pernambuco, and especially for a Narrative of the Insurrection in that Captaincy, in 1710-11, transcribed from the original manuscript; to Mr. March, for the *Recordaçoes de Jacome Ratton*, . . . a book printed for private distribution; and to Mr. Murray of Albemarle Street, for a volume of singular rarity and value, containing accounts of various provinces of South America, as published during a series of many years in the Lima Almanach.

Nor is it to my friends alone, that I have been thus beholden: Mr. Walpole has entrusted me with the papers of his late father, many years Envoy at the Court of Lisbon, in which station he proved himself worthy of his distinguished name. I am obliged to Mr. Greenough, for the use of Montoya's Guarani Grammar, and of a Guarani Dictionary, both printed in the Reduction of S. Maria Mayor; to Dr. Nott, for the loan of Lozano's History of Paraguay; and to Archdeacon Coxe, for the communication of some

valuable papers from the great collection of Diplomatic Correspondence, which has enabled him to make such important additions to the English Historical Library. To Mr. Walpole, indeed, I hardly consider myself a stranger, connected as I am with the Lisbonians of old times, and consequently known to his family and friends; but to Mr. Greenough I am known only as a man of letters; and to Dr. Nott and Mr. Coxe, no otherwise than as their fellow labourer in the fields of literature: and I am performing therefore a public duty, in thus acknowledging their obliging liberality.

One more acknowledgement I must be allowed to make: the proof sheets of this long work have passed through the hands of Mr. Rickman, who, amidst laborious occupations, still found time to peruse them, and to accompany them with occasional remarks, . . . one of the many acts of kindness which I have received from him during an intimacy of two and twenty years. The remarks thus timely communicated, sometimes led me to reconsider what I had written; and sometimes opened for me views which I had failed to perceive. And had I been of a temper which required to be cheered, in the prosecution of a great and worthy undertaking, I should have desired no better present encouragement,

and no surer presage of the favourable judgement of posterity, than his approbation.

Of the information which this work contains (and more particularly the present volume), very little, till now, has been within the reach of English readers; and a great portion has never before been accessible to the public in any shape. The printed documents are (for the most part) of extreme rarity in this country, and many of them not easily to be obtained elsewhere: and the collection of manuscripts which I possess, is such, as could only have been formed in Portugal, during a residence of many years; and then only by persevering and well-directed diligence. It has been stated in the Preface to the first volume, that that collection was formed by my maternal Uncle, Mr. Hill, to whom this work is not more affectionately than gratefully inscribed. And now, when I have accomplished it, I will not refrain from saying, that no applause, which might be bestowed by my contemporaries, and no anticipation, however confident, of future praise, could be so gratifying to me, as the thought, that in completing this History from the materials which he had prepared, I have shown that the benefits which he conferred upon me in my youth were not ill bestowed; and that in thus em-

bodying his labours with mine, I have been erecting a monument to him, as well as to myself.

The documents which Mr. Hill accumulated, concerning Portugal and her other dependencies, are of proportionate extent and value to the Brazilian materials; and the present work is but the first fruits of that collection, . . . so judiciously and liberally made. It will be followed, as soon as I shall have completed the great history of the Peninsular War, by the History of Portugal, of Portugueze India, and the other conquests, and of Portugueze Literature. Considerable progress has been made in each of these undertakings; and they will be steadily pursued, in due order, to their completion, if it please God to favour me with the continued blessings of health and leisure.

It only remains to say, that the equitable Reader will forgive such errors and oversights as he may detect in a work, upon which neither time, labour, diligence, nor expense, has been spared; and that if it should be republished during the Author's life, whatever corrections or improvements I may be enabled to make, from such materials as I may hereafter obtain, shall be printed separately, for those who may possess it in its present form.

CONTENTS.

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER XXXI.		State of the coinage	22
Measures of Gomes Freyre at Maranham	1	Money coined in Brazil	<i>ib.</i>
The Monopoly abolished	2	Salt mines opened and abandoned	23
General distress in Maranham	3	Negroes of the Palmares	<i>ib.</i>
Expedition against the savages on the Meary	<i>ib.</i>	Their government and institutions	24
The way from Maranham to Bahia explored	5	The Pernambucan Government resolves to subdue them	25
Gomes Freyre reforms the abuses of his predecessors	<i>ib.</i>	A regiment of Paulistas employed	<i>ib.</i>
He goes to Belem	<i>ib.</i>	Chief settlement of the Negroes	26
He convinces the Bishop of his imprudence	6	They compel the Paulistas to retire	27
The Orellana infested by hostile tribes	<i>ib.</i>	The Pernambucans besiege them	<i>ib.</i>
An expedition sent against them from Belem	7	Capture of the place	28
Success of the enterprize	9	Miserable fate of the prisoners	29
Attempts of various nations to colonize in Guiana	11	Disputes with the Governor of Cayenne	<i>ib.</i>
The French establish themselves at Cayenne	14	The French seize the fort at Cabo do Norte	30
They trespass upon the Portugueze territory	15	The Portugueze retake it	31
Gomes Freyre superseded	16	Reply of Gomes Freyre to the French Ambassador	<i>ib.</i>
Mathias da Cunha Governor General	17	Arrangement concerning the limits, with France and Spain	32
Execution of a Fidalgo	18	Municipal Alterations	<i>ib.</i>
Seara cleared finally of the savages	<i>ib.</i>	Improved condition of the Indians	33
Defenceless state of Brazil	<i>ib.</i>	Death of Vieyra	34
Sickness of the Governor	19	Troubles in Maranham with the Bishop	35
The soldiers at Bahia mutiny while he is dying	<i>ib.</i>	He excommunicates the Ouvidor	<i>ib.</i>
Antonio Luiz Governor	20	The matter is referred to Portugal	36
Order restored in Porto Seguro	<i>ib.</i>	Death of the Ouvidor	<i>ib.</i>
Increase of trade	21	Decision of the Court	37
		Insolence of the Bishop	<i>ib.</i>

	Page		Page
He returns to Lisbon and is disgraced	39	Bento de Amaral sent to the Rio das Mortes	77
CHAPTER XXXII.			
First laws of the Mines	40	He massacres a party of Paulistas	78
Marcos de Azevedo's discovery	45	The Governor of the Rio goes to the Mines	79
He conceals it, and dies in prison	46	The people refuse to admit him	ib.
Agostinho Barbalho and Fernando Diaz directed to pursue the search	ib.	Manoel Nunes persuades him to retire	80
Fernando Diaz explores the country	47	Manoel Nunes prepares the way for the restoration of order	81
His services and death	ib.	Antonio de Albuquerque goes to the Mines	82
Antonio Rodriguez Arzam exhibits the first gold	49	The Paulistas invade the Mines	83
Bertolomeu Bueno inherits his papers	50	They attack the Rio das Mortes, and are repulsed	84
Gold exhibited at the Rio	51	S. Paulo and the Mines formed into a new Captaincy	ib.
Smelting-house established at Taboate	ib.	D. Lourenço de Almada Governor General	85
Discovery of the Mines not injurious to the Indians in Brazil	ib.	State of Pernambuco	ib.
First method of mining	53	Recife made a Town	86
Rivalry between the Paulistas and the men of Taboate	54	This measure is opposed by the people of Olinda	ib.
Garcia Rodriguez Paez appointed Guarda Mor	ib.	Arrest of some Pernambucan Nobles	88
First settlements called Camps	55	Orders to disarm the people	ib.
Origin of the city of Mariana	ib.	Attempt to assassinate the Governor	ib.
Villa Rica	56	Arrest of Andre Diaz de Figueiredo	89
Sabara	ib.	The Bishop takes part with the discontented	ib.
Caethé, S. Joam, and S. José	58	Insurrection of the Pernambucans	90
Second Code of Laws	ib.	The Governor is induced to fly	91
Effects of mining upon the people	63	The insurgents enter Recife	ib.
They flock from all parts to the Mines	ib.	Measures of the insurgents	93
Decay of the Sugar Trade, and depopulation of the settlements on the coast	64	The Bishop assumes the Government	95
Government attempts in vain to prevent the emigration	65	Bernardo Vieira comes to Recife	96
D. Rodrigo da Costa Governor	66	Case of jealousy in his family, and deliberate murder	ib.
Disputes concerning Nova Colonia	ib.	Bernardo Vieira acts as leader of the republican party	97
War with Spain, and siege of Nova Colonia	67	The loyalists are roused by his designs	98
The Portugueze evacuate the place	68	A counter-revolution effected in Recife	99
Luiz Cesar de Menezes Governor	69	Arrest of Bernardo Vieira	100
Exemplary conduct of the Archbishop of Bahia	70	The Bishop assents to the measures of the loyalists	ib.
Fernam Carrilho Governor <i>pro tempore</i> at Para	71	He goes upon false pretences to Olinda	102
D. Manoel Rolim Governor of Maranham	ib.	He takes part with the insurgents, against Recife and the loyalists	103
Disputes with the Ouvidor	ib.	Resolute conduct of the loyalists	105
Misconduct of the Capitam Mor	72	The Bishop resigns the Government	ib.
Jealousy in the Mines between the Paulistas and the Forasteiros	73	A new Governor arrives	106
The Forasteiros chuse Manoel Nunes Viana for their head	74	Order is restored	ib.
War between them	76	CHAPTER XXXIII.	
		Alarm of invasion at the Rio	108
		The French land, and advance without opposition	109

CONTENTS.

xiii

	<i>Page</i>
They enter the city	110
The Portugueze overpower them	111
Cruel usage of the prisoners	112
The French prepare a second expedition, under Du Guay Trouin	114
The English arrive off Brest too late to blockade it	115
Negligence of the Portugueze commanders	<i>ib.</i>
The French enter the harbour	116
Wretched conduct of the Governor	117
The Portugueze abandon the city	119
The city taken and pillaged	120
Critical situation of the French	121
The city is ransomed	122
Fate of the French squadron	123
Alarm of the Portugueze cabinet	125
Pedro de Vasconcellos Governor	126
Impost of ten per cent.	<i>ib.</i>
Insurrection at Bahia	<i>ib.</i>
The Governor yields to the demands of the mob	128
They assemble again for the relief of the Rio	<i>ib.</i>
Office of the Juiz do Povo abolished at Bahia	130
Marquez de Angeja Viceroy	<i>ib.</i>
Fear of a second expedition from France	131
Designs of England upon South America apprehended	<i>ib.</i>
Negotiations with France at Utrecht	132
Difficulty respecting the commerce of Brazil	133
The Assiento	135
The Portugueze jealous of this treaty	137
Negotiations with Spain	<i>ib.</i>
The Portugueze eject the Spanish Missionaries upon the Orellana	142
Measures of Albuquerque in the Mines	143
Misconduct of the Friars and Clergy	144
Foreigners expelled from the Mines	145
S. Paulo made a city	<i>ib.</i>
Regulations concerning grants of land	146
All Religioners banished from the Mines	<i>ib.</i>
Manners of the Clergy	147
Regulation respecting arms	148
Distillation of spirits	149
Mines of Jacoabina discovered	150
New coinage	<i>ib.</i>
Commutation for the fifths	<i>ib.</i>
A Recolhimento founded at Bahia	151
Conde de Vimieiro Governor General	<i>ib.</i>
Expedition against the Indians in Piauhy	153
Piauhy made a Captaincy	154
Progress of the Mines	<i>ib.</i>

	<i>Page</i>
The Commutation Tax raised	156
Order for collecting the fifths	157
Insurrection in consequence	<i>ib.</i>
The Conde do Assumar temporizes with the insurgents	158
He seizes the ringleaders	159
Second insurrection	<i>ib.</i>
Severity of the Governor	160
Order is restored	<i>ib.</i>
Minas Geraes made a separate Captaincy	161

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Foundation of the town of Tarija	162
The Chiriguanas	163
This tribe is reclaimed from cannibalism	163
F. Arce advised to go among the Chiquitos	167
Opposition made by the slave traders	168
Province of the Chiquitos	169
Arce arrives in time of pestilence	171
The Paulistas approach these settlements	<i>ib.</i>
They are defeated by the Spaniards of Santa Cruz	172
The Chiriguana Missions abandoned	173
Attempt to communicate between the Guarani and Chiquito Reductions by the Paraguay	173
Navigation of the Paraguay	174
The party attacked by the Payaguas	175
Failure of the attempt	176
Peace made with the Payaguas, and broken	177
Second attempt, from the side of the Chiquitos	178
Success of the Missions	179
F. Cavallero goes among the Manacicas	180
The Manacicas	<i>ib.</i>
Their mythology, as described by the Jesuits	181
Extravagant falsehoods of the Jesuits	184
Journey to the Land of the Departed	186
Cavallero's miraculous adventures	188
His martyrdom	191
A second expedition up the Paraguay	193
Arce reaches the Chiquitos	194
Martyrdom of Blende and Arce	195
Attempt to communicate by the Pilcomayo	<i>ib.</i>
The Pilcomayo	196
The expedition is frustrated	197
Missions among the Moxos	198
Province of the Moxos	<i>ib.</i>
Rivers which form the Madeira	<i>ib.</i>
Baraza forms the first Reduction	199
Manners of the Moxo tribes	200

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Report of Amazons in the country	- 204	Intrigues of the Bishop of Buenos Ayres	
Baraza explores a way across the mountains to Peru	- 205	with the Commons	- 240
He goes among the Baures	- 206	Ruiloba appointed Governor	- 242
The Great Paytiti	- 207	He is murdered by the insurgents	- 243
Martyrdom of Baraza	- 208	Subjugation of the insurgents	- <i>ib.</i>
Flourishing state of the Moxo Missions at his death	- <i>ib.</i>		
Uncertain boundary between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in this part of the country	- 210		
CHAPTER XXXV.			
Antequera sent to Asumpcion as Judge	211	D. Lourenço de Almeida Governor of Minas Geraes	- 246
He takes upon himself the Government	212	Fifths reestablished	- <i>ib.</i>
The lawful Governor, D. Diego, is compelled to fly	- <i>ib.</i>	Danger from the Negroes	- 247
Antequera threatens the Reductions	- 213	Laws respecting fugitive slaves	- 248
He disobeys the Viceroy	- 215	Jealousy concerning the people of colour	250
Garcia Ros is instructed to re-establish D. Diego	- <i>ib.</i>	Improved method of mining	- <i>ib.</i>
D. Diego seized at Corrientes and put in irons	216	Laws respecting water	- 251
Garcia Ros returns to Buenos Ayres	- 217	Advance of salaries	- 252
Disputes concerning the territory of Colonia	- <i>ib.</i>	Restrictions upon emigration to Brazil	254
The Portuguese determine to occupy the north bank of the Plata	- 219	Discovery of the Mines of Cuyaba	- <i>ib.</i>
They begin to fortify Monte Video	- <i>ib.</i>	Journey from S. Paulo to Cuyaba	- 255
The Spaniards compel them to withdraw	220	The Tieté	- 255
Montevideo founded by the Spaniards	222	The Rio Pardo	- 256
Garcia Ros marches against Asumpcion	223	Danger from the Payaguas	- 257
Antiquera prepares to oppose him	- 224	Settlement of Cuyaba	- 260
The Jesuits are expelled from Asumpcion	- <i>ib.</i>	A way by land opened	- <i>ib.</i>
Antiquera marches against Garcia Ros	- 225	Tyranny of the Lemes	- 261
He deceives and slaughters the Guaranies	226	They are put to death	- <i>ib.</i>
He advances to the Parana Reductions	227	Restraints upon mining	- 262
He returns to Asumpcion	- 228	Relaxation of the Laws of the Mines	- 263
The Coadjutor arrives at Asumpcion	- 229	Coiners and false mints	- 264
Antequera flies	- 230	Capitation again attempted	- 265
Barua appointed Governor <i>ad interim</i>	- 230	Gomes Freyre Governor of Minas Geraes	268
His misconduct	- 231	The King's Letter to him	- <i>ib.</i>
The Jesuits are restored	- 232	Capitation and Shop Tax	- 271
Antequera sent prisoner to Lima	- <i>ib.</i>	Discovery of Diamonds	- 274
Faction of the Commons begun by Momo	233	Consequences of this discovery	- 275
Barua resigns his office	- 234	Plans for regulating the extraction	- 276
Soroeta arrives at Asumpcion, and is compelled to withdraw	- 236	Opinion of Dr. Joam Mendes	- 278
Barreyro protects the Jesuits	- <i>ib.</i>	Contract for extracting diamonds	- 280
He arrests Momo	- 237	Effect upon the diamond trade	- 281
Is compelled to fly	- <i>ib.</i>	Description of Minas Geraes	- 282
Antequera condemned and put to death	238	The Forbidden District of the Diamonds	284
The people of Asumpcion are incensed at his death, and expel the Jesuits	- 239	Disputes between Portugal and Spain	- 286
		Prosperity of Nova Colonia	- <i>ib.</i>
		Salcedo attacks it	- 287
		Activity of the Portuguese Governor	- 289
		Progress of the siege	- <i>ib.</i>
		The siege converted into a blockade	- 291
		The siege is raised	- 293
		Cessation of hostilities	- <i>ib.</i>
		Conduct of the Spaniards	- 294
		France proposes to Spain a partition of the Portuguese dominions	- 296

CONTENTS.

XV

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER XXXVII.			
Growing importance of Montevideo	- 299	They touch at S. Miguel	- 354
The French East India Company occupy the isle of Fernam de Noronha	- 300	Misfortunes at Ilha Grande	- 356
They are expelled from it	- 301	Distress of the party	- 358
Present state of the island	- 303	Intercourse between Para and Mato Grosso	359
Goyaz first explored by Manoel Correa	305	Drought in Mato Grosso	- 360
Bartholomeu Bueno the second explorer	<i>ib.</i>	Discovery of salt	- 361
Bueno the son makes the first settlement	<i>ib.</i>	Progress of the Portugueze from Para	- 362
The colony flourishes	- 306	Course of Savage emigration from South to North	- 363
Goyaz made a Captaincy	- 308	State of Para	- 364
Mines discovered at Mato Grosso	- <i>ib.</i>	State of the Aldeas	- <i>ib.</i>
Sufferings of the first adventurers	- 309	Disputes between the Jesuits and Carmelites	366
Communication opened with Goyaz	- <i>ib.</i>	Unpopularity of the Jesuits	- <i>ib.</i>
The Bororos	- <i>ib.</i>	System of the Aldeas	- 368
Expedition of Manoel Felix de Lima down the rivers	- 310	Manner in which they were supported	- 369
The Campos dos Parecis	- 311	Exemptions from servitude	- 370
Fourteen of the party turn back	- 312	Intercourse of the Portugueze with the Aldeas	- 371
Voyage down the Guapore	- 313	Prevalence of the Tupi language	- 372
They rashly provoke the natives	- 316	Chain of Missions throughout Brazil and the adjoining countries	- <i>ib.</i>
They meet some converted Indians	- 317	CHAPTER XXXVIII.	
One of these undertake to guide them	- 318	First cattle introduced into Paraguay	- 374
They come to the Reduction of S. Miguel	319	Their rapid increase	- 376
State of that Mission	- 322	The natives become beef-eaters and horsemen	- 377
Precarious condition of the Missionary	- 323	The Mbayas obtain horses	- <i>ib.</i>
Departure of the Portugueze	- 325	Their mode of fighting	- 379
They ascend the river Ubay	- 326	Alliance between the Guaycurus and Payaguas	- 380
Their reception at S. Maria Magdalena	327	They fall upon the Portugueze	- 381
Flourishing state of this Reduction	- 328	The Portugueze fit out flotillas against them	<i>ib.</i>
The Jesuit makes a display of his force	329	The Portugueze seek for peace	- 383
Some of the party proceed to the Missions on the Mamore	- 331	Treachery of the Savages	- <i>ib.</i>
Manoel Felix is sent away from Magdalena	332	Practice of abortion among the Mbayas and Guaycurus	- 384
Voyage down the Madeira	- 333	Fashions and habitations of the Mbayas	385
The canoe wrecked	- 335	Their degrees of rank	- 387
They find a canoe	- 337	Female boxing-matches	- 388
They narrowly escape the Muras	- 338	Different languages for the married and single	- 389
Distress for food	- 339	Haughtiness of this nation	- 390
They reach a Jesuit settlement	- 340	Their funerals	- 391
Former navigation of the Madeira	- <i>ib.</i>	The Lenguas	- 392
Manoel Felix sent to Lisbon	- 341	The Calchaquis	- 394
His extravagant demands and miserable fate	342	The Mocobios, Tobas, and Abipones	- 397
Return of his companions from Exaltacion	343	Language of the Abipones	- <i>ib.</i>
Their second expedition to the Missions	344	Its capricious mutations	- 399
The Spaniards push their settlements on the side of Mato Grosso	- 347	Their worship and their jugglers	- 400
Portugueze in Ilha Grande on the Guapore	348	Their superstition and longevity	- 401
Expedition from Para to Mato Grosso	- 350	Customs at marriage	- 402
They come to S. Rosa	- 353		
State of S. Rosa	- <i>ib.</i>		

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Infanticide and abortion	- 402	The Spanish Commissioners precipitate the migration	- 454
Their dread of death	- 403	Insurrection at S. Nicholas	- 455
Funeral customs	- 404	The emigration from S. Miguel is begun	456
Mourning	- <i>ib.</i>	The people revolt, and recall the emigrants	<i>ib.</i>
Mode of travelling	- 406	The other Reductions determine on resistance	- 457
Weapons	- 407	Their appeal to the Spanish Governor	- 458
Distinctions of rank	- 409	Perilous situation of the Jesuits	- 460
Ceremonies at the birth of a Chief	- 410	The Guaranies compel a party of the Commissioners to retire	- 461
Industry of the women	- <i>ib.</i>	War declared against the Seven Reductions	462
Deliberate madness	- 411	The Jesuits offer to resign their authority in all the Reductions	- 463
Notions respecting food	- 412	Commencement of hostilities upon the Rio Pardo	- 464
Tobacco used for the teeth	- 413	Capture and escape of Sepe Tyarayu	- 466
Leathern boats	- <i>ib.</i>	Entrance and retreat of the Spaniards	- 467
Their success against the Spaniards	- 414	Proceedings at Yapeyu	- 468
Southern Equestrian Tribes	- 415	Advance of the Portugueze to the Jacuy	469
Their mourning customs	- 417	Gomes Freyre makes a truce and retires	471
Wild horses	- 419	Hopes of the Jesuits	- 472
Manners of the Spanish herdsmen	- 421	Efforts of their enemies	- 473
Their furniture and food	- 423	Fable of King Nicolas	- <i>ib.</i>
Their employments	- 424	Second campaign	- 475
Their children, how bred up	- 425	Danger of the Portugueze army from fire	477
Drinking houses	- <i>ib.</i>	Junction of the Spaniards and Portugueze	<i>ib.</i>
State of religion	- 426	Inactivity of the Guaranies	- 478
Freebooters	- 427	Death of Sepe Tyarayu	- <i>ib.</i>
State of the agricultural population	- <i>ib.</i>	Letters found after his death	- 480
Schools	- 429	Slaughter of the Guaranies at Caabata	- 482
Medical practice	- <i>ib.</i>	Pass of Monte Grande	- 485
State of the towns in the interior	- 430	Letter from the Reductions to the Spanish General	- 488
Guarani more spoken than Spanish	- 431	Passage of the Chiriaby abandoned	- 491
Smoking	- 432	The armies come in sight of S. Miguels	492
Education	- 433	Destruction of that town	- 493
Decay of military spirit	- 434	The Guaranies submit	- 495
Defenceless state of the people	- 436	The greater number take to the woods	496
Ravages of the equestrian tribes	- 437	Expulsion of those who submit	- <i>ib.</i>
People of Santiago del Estero	- 438	Gomes Freyre refuses to take possession of the ceded country	- 497
The Jesuits pacify the Abipones	- 440	Zeballos arrives at the Reductions	- 498
		He inquires into the conduct of the Jesuits	499
		Entire acquittal of the Jesuits	- 500
		Delays in executing, and final annulment of the Treaty	- 501
CHAPTER XXXIX.			
Characters of Ferdinand VI and his Queen	442		
Treaty of Limits	- 443		
Seven Reductions ceded in this Treaty by Spain	- 448		
Reasons for ordering the inhabitants to remove	- 449		
This part of the treaty imputed, with little probability, to Gomes Freyre	- 450		
The Jesuits remonstrate against the stipulation	- 451		
Sullen acquiescence of the inhabitants	- 452		
The country reconnoitred in search of places for the new settlements	- <i>ib.</i>		
		CHAPTER XL.	
		Character of Pombal	- 505
		His brother is made Governor of Maranham and Para	- 506

CONTENTS.

xvii

	<i>Page</i>
Injudicious conduct on his arrival	507
He visits the Jesuit Aldeas	508
Accusations against the Jesuits	509
Falshood of those accusations	510
Publication of the Bull <i>Immensa Pastorum</i>	511
Pombal's views with respect to the Indians	512
Law for the abolishment of Indian slavery	513
Law for depriving the Missionaries of their temporal power	514
The Aldeas converted into Towns and Townlets	515
Mutiny of the troops on the Rio Negro	516
Fresh accusations against the Jesuits	517
They send home a memorial against the Governor	518
Regulations concerning the Indians	522
Charges against the Jesuits presented to the Pope	536
A Visitor and Reformer of the Company appointed	537
Mandate of the Visitor concerning the trade of the Jesuits	<i>ib.</i>
Attempt to assassinate the King of Portugal	540
The Jesuits condemned as accomplices	541
They are deported from Para and Maranham	<i>ib.</i>
Conduct of the Archbishop of Bahia	543
Different conduct of the Bishop of the Rio	545
Fate of the Brazilian Jesuits	546

CHAPTER XLI.

Companies of Maranham and Pernambuco established	548
The British Factory affected by these monopolies	550
The Maranham Company produces a good effect	551
Whaling Company	553
Salt contract	554
The Donatories extinguished	555
The laws enforced in Goyaz	556
War with France and Spain	557
Colonia besieged and taken by Zeballos	558
Defeat of an English and Portuguese squadron before Colonia	560
Zeballos advances against Rio Grande	563
Rio Grande de S. Pedro, and the Lagoa dos Patos	564
The Carijos	565
First occupation of Rio Grande by the Portuguese	568
The Spaniards expel them from S. Pedro	569
The Commander of S. Teresa put to death	570

VOL. III.

C

	<i>Page</i>
Proceedings on the Mato Grosso and Moxo frontiers	571
Villa Bella founded	572
Disputes with the Jesuits of the Baures Missions	573
The Portuguese occupy the Sitio das Pedras	<i>ib.</i>
They take possession of the site of S. Rosa, and give it the name of Conceiçam	574
The Governor of S. Cruz de la Sierra re-monstrates	<i>ib.</i>
D. Antonio goes to Conceiçam	577
Appearance of a Spanish force, and notice of the war in Europe	578
D. Antonio surrenders the command to N. Senhora da Conceiçam	579
Activity and confidence of the Portuguese	581
They attack and plunder S. Miguels	583
Retreat of the Spaniards	584
Peace of Paris	<i>ib.</i>
Rio Grande forcibly retained by the Spaniards	<i>ib.</i>
Seat of Government removed to the Rio	585
Conde da Cunha, Viceroy	<i>ib.</i>
The Brazilians forbidden to send their daughters to nunneries in Portugal	586
Laws respecting the New Christians	587
The trade opened for single ships	589
Inhabitants of Mazagam removed to Para	<i>ib.</i>
Colonists sent to Brazil	590
Laws against vagabonds	591
The Capitation abolished, and the fifths resumed	592
Commencement of the decay of the Mines	593
Gold fraudulently debased	594
Law against the Goldsmiths	595
Affairs of Goyaz	596
War with the Cayapos	597
Peace with the Goaitacazes	599
Reappearance of the Aymores	600
Great Britain appealed to concerning Rio Grande	<i>ib.</i>
Bucarelli, Governor of Buenos Ayres	601
The Portuguese repossess themselves of Rio Grande by force	<i>ib.</i>

CHAPTER XLII.

Zeballos recalled from the Plata	603
State of the Reductions	604
Improvements introduced by the Jesuits	606
Outcry against the Company	607
Orders for their expulsion	608
The Jesuits seized in the College of Cordoba	609
Destruction of their papers	610

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Cruel treatment of the Jesuits	- 611	Route explored by the Araguaya from	
The Reductions delivered up to the Viceroy	612	Goyaz to Para	- 676
The American Jesuits banished into Italy	613	Expedition against the Canoeiros	- 677
New system of government in the Reductions	- 614	Conde de Rezende, Viceroy	- 678
Ruin of these establishments	- 616	Conspiracy in Minas Geraes	- 679
Some of the Guaranies fly into Brazil	<i>ib.</i>	Cause of discontent	- <i>ib.</i>
Rupture between the Guaycurus and Payaguas	- 617	Plans of the conspirators	- 681
The Payaguas settle at Asumpcion	<i>ib.</i>	Discovery of the conspiracy	- 683
Their arts and customs	- 618	Sentence of the conspirators	- 684
Annual ceremony which they practise at Asumpcion	- 620	Abolition of the Salt Contract	- 686
Foundation of Praça dos Prazeres	- 622	War with Spain	- 687
Ravages of the Guaycurus	<i>ib.</i>	State of the Guarani Reductions	- <i>ib.</i>
Nova Coimbra founded	- 623	Expedition against the Seven Reductions	688
Forte do Principe de Beira founded	624	The Portugueze retain them after the Peace	690
The Diamond Contract	<i>ib.</i>	Treaty of Madrid	- 691
Diamond Demarcation in Goyaz	- 625	Conde dos Arcos, Viceroy	- 692
Ruin of the Contractors	<i>ib.</i>	Expedition down the Rio Pardo	- <i>ib.</i>
Pombal's Regulations for the Forbidden District	- 626	Removal of the Court of Portugal to Brazil	694
Effect of these Laws	- 637	CHAPTER XLIV.	
Manner of working the Diamond Mines	639	View of the state of Brazil	- 696
Effect of the system	- 642	Captaincy General of Gram Para	- 697
Conde de Azambuja, Viceroy	- 643	Effect of Pombal's regulations concerning the Indians	<i>ib.</i>
Marquez de Lavradio, Viceroy	<i>ib.</i>	Ill consequences of the Demarcation to the Indians	- 698
Inhospitable treatment of ships in distress	<i>ib.</i>	Their miserable state in many places	- 700
Academy of Natural History instituted	<i>ib.</i>	Their number kept up by fugitive hordes	701
The Spaniards send an armament against Brazil	- 644	Province of the Solimoens	- <i>ib.</i>
Island of S. Catharina	- 646	Fort Tabatinga	- 702
The island vilely surrendered	- 648	S. Jozé	- <i>ib.</i>
Zeballos proceeds against Colonia	- 649	Olivenca	- <i>ib.</i>
Capture of Colonia	- 650	Remains of the Omagua nation	- 703
Ill treatment of the prisoners	- 651	Nogueira	- <i>ib.</i>
Second Treaty of Limits	- 652	Ega	- 704
Death of King Jozé, and disgrace of Pombal	654	Mode of debauching with the leaves of the Ipadu	- 705
Extinction of the Companies of Maranham and Pernambuco	- 655	Alvellos	- <i>ib.</i>
CHAPTER XLIII.		Spotted Indians	- 706
Praça dos Prazeres destroyed	- 657	Crato	- 707
Encroachment of the Spaniards	- 658	Extent and natural advantages of this province	<i>ib.</i>
Treachery of the Guaycurus	<i>ib.</i>	Captaincy of the Rio Negro	- 709
The Guaycurus make peace with the Spaniards of Paraguay	- 661	Fort S. Jozé	- <i>ib.</i>
They attack the Chiquito Missions	<i>ib.</i>	Communication with the Orinoco	- <i>ib.</i>
They make peace with the Portugueze	662	Lamalonga	- <i>ib.</i>
Present state of the Guaycurus	- 664	Ajuricaba, the Slave Hunter	- 710
The Cayapos reduced	- 674	Thomar	- 711
Attempt to reduce the Chavantes	- 675	Moreira	- 712
		Insurrection of the Indians in 1757	- <i>ib.</i>
		Barcellos	- 714
		Poyares	- 715

CONTENTS.

XIX

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Carvoeiro	715	Communication by the Tocantins	749
Rio Branco	716	River Meary	750
Moura	717	Difficult communication with the South by	
Town of Rio Negro	718	sea	751
Settlements on the Japura	719	Captaincy of Piauhy	752
S. Mathias	720	City of Oeyras	<i>ib.</i>
The Yucunas	<i>ib.</i>	Town of Parnaiba	753
S. Antonio	721	Indians in Piauhy	754
The Xomanes and the Passés	722	State of the Fazendas	755
Copernican system, and chivalry of the Passés	<i>ib.</i>	Trade in cattle	757
The Muras	723	Captaincy of Seara	758
Town of Borba	725	Town of Seara	759
The Muras take shelter there from the		Aracaty	<i>ib.</i>
Mundrucus	<i>ib.</i>	Crato	760
Serpa	727	Villa Viçosa	<i>ib.</i>
The Guarani drink	728	State of the Indians	<i>ib.</i>
Sylves	<i>ib.</i>	Productions of Seara	763
Faro	730	Captaincy of Rio Grande do Norte	764
Obidos	<i>ib.</i>	City of Natal	765
Alemquer	731	Assió	<i>ib.</i>
Montalegre	<i>ib.</i>	Portalegre	<i>ib.</i>
Outeiro	732	Captaincy of Paraiba	766
Almeirim	733	City of Paraiba	767
Mazagam	<i>ib.</i>	Captaincy General of Pernambuco	768
Villa Vistoza	<i>ib.</i>	Recife	<i>ib.</i>
Macapa	734	Olinda	771
Santarem, on the Tapajoz	<i>ib.</i>	Iguarassú	772
Villa Franca	735	Goiana	<i>ib.</i>
Aldea of the Mundrucus	<i>ib.</i>	The Lagoas	<i>ib.</i>
Towns on the Xingu	<i>ib.</i>	Inhabitants of the interior	773
Gurupa	736	Trade of the interior	775
Melgaço	<i>ib.</i>	Itinerant Priests	776
Portel	<i>ib.</i>	Improvement of manners	777
Oeyras	<i>ib.</i>	Valentoens, a base kind of knight-errantry	<i>ib.</i>
Cameta, on the Tocantins	737	Great families in Pernambuco	779
Country between the Tocantins and the Sea	738	Condition of the slaves upon the great	
Villa Nova	<i>ib.</i>	estates	780
Cintra	<i>ib.</i>	Slaves upon the conventual estates	<i>ib.</i>
Vigia	<i>ib.</i>	Slaves of the small proprietors	782
Gurupy	739	Usual state of the slaves	683
Cayte, or Braganza	<i>ib.</i>	Mitigations of slavery in Brazil	784
Ilha dos Joanes	<i>ib.</i>	Frequent emancipations	785
City of Para	741	Difficulty of escaping from slavery	786
People of Para	742	Free Creole Negroes	787
Cruel treatment of the slaves	743	Free people of colour	<i>ib.</i>
Happy condition of the better colonists	744	Mamaluços	<i>ib.</i>
Captaincy of Maranham	<i>ib.</i>	Gypsies in Pernambuco	<i>ib.</i>
City of S. Luiz	745	Reductions of the last wild Indians	788
Trib sin the interior	-e 746	Improvement in horticulture	<i>ib.</i>
Internal trade of Maranham	747	Plants which afford a substitute for hemp	
River Itapicurú	748	and flax	789
Aldeias Altas	<i>ib.</i>	River S. Francisco	790
Arrayal do Principe	749	Salt Trade from Pilam Arcado	791

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Villa da Barra do Rio Grande	- 791	Villa Boa	- 834
Town of O Penedo	- 792	Meiafronte	- <i>ib.</i>
Province of Serecipe d' El Rey	793	State of the Mines	- 835
City of Serecipe	- <i>ib.</i>	Forbidden District in Goyaz	- 836
Lawless state of the people	- 794	Revenues	- 837
Captaincy of Bahia	- <i>ib.</i>	Captaincy General of Mato Grosso	- 838
City of Bahia	- <i>ib.</i>	Villa Bella	- <i>ib.</i>
Cultivation of pepper	- 797	Decline of the Trade with Para	- <i>ib.</i>
Internal trade of the Bay	- 799	Villa Real de Cuyaba	- 839
Engenhos in Bahia	- 800	S. Pedro d' El Rey	- 840
Town of Cachoeira	- 801	Villa Maria	- <i>ib.</i>
Sertoens of Bahia	- 802	Forbidden District in Mato Grosso	- 841
Town of Jacobina	- <i>ib.</i>	Forte do Principe de Beira	- <i>ib.</i>
Villa do Rio de Contas	- 803	Moxo Missions	- <i>ib.</i>
Captaincy of Ilheos	- <i>ib.</i>	Settlement on the Madeira	- 843
Interior still possessed by savages	- 804	State of the Indians	- <i>ib.</i>
The Mongoyos	- <i>ib.</i>	Captaincy General of Paulo	- 845
Town of Ilheos	- 805	City of S. Paulo	- <i>ib.</i>
Captaincy of Porto Seguro	- 807	Bahia de Santos	- 849
The Botocudos	- <i>ib.</i>	Road to S. Paulo	- <i>ib.</i>
Town of Porto Seguro	- 808	Santos	- 850
Villa Verde	- 809	S. Vicente	- <i>ib.</i>
Caravellas	- <i>ib.</i>	Island of S. Sebastian	- 851
Belmonto	- 810	Cananea	- <i>ib.</i>
Captaincy of Espiritu Santo	- <i>ib.</i>	Paranagua	- 852
Porto de Sousa	- <i>ib.</i>	Curytiba	- <i>ib.</i>
Villa Velha	- 811	Thaubaté	- 853
Villa de Victoria	- <i>ib.</i>	Sorocaba	- <i>ib.</i>
Villa Nova d'Almeida	- 812	Hitú	- 854
Captaincy General of Rio de Janeiro	- 813	Savages in the Captaincy of S. Paulo	- <i>ib.</i>
City of the Rio	- <i>ib.</i>	Manner of travelling	- 855
Climate	- 815	Small-pox	- 856
Slaves	- 816	Revenues	- 857
Population of the Captaincy	- 817	Population	- <i>ib.</i>
Cochineal	- <i>ib.</i>	Province of S. Catharina	- 858
Ilha Grande	- 818	Island of S. Catharina	- <i>ib.</i>
River Paraiba do Sul	- <i>ib.</i>	N. Senhora de Desterro	- 859
Town of S. Salvador	- <i>ib.</i>	Slaves	- 861
Captaincy of Minas Geraes	- 819	Climate and Diseases	- <i>ib.</i>
Villa Rica	- 820	Island of S. Francisco	- 862
Effect of the Mines	- <i>ib.</i>	Inhabitants on the main land	- <i>ib.</i>
Marianna	- 821	Whale Fishery	- 863
S. Joam d'El Rey	- 822	Population	- <i>ib.</i>
Sabara	- 823	Province of Rio Grande do Sul	- 864
Caeté	- <i>ib.</i>	Portalegre	- 865
Sucurys and Sucuriús	- <i>ib.</i>	S. Pedro	- <i>ib.</i>
Villa do Principe	- 824	Population	- 866
Tejuco	- <i>ib.</i>	Destruction of cattle	- <i>ib.</i>
Destruction of the woods	- 825	State of the grazing farms	- 867
State of the Mines	- 826	Mules	- 868
State of Society	- 828	Sheep	- <i>ib.</i>
Improvement in Minas Geraes	- 831	Shepherd's Dogs	- 869
Captaincy General of Goyaz	- 833	Conclusion	- <i>ib.</i>

HISTORY OF BRAZIL.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Measures of Gomes Freyre at Maranham. Expedition against the tribes on the Orellana. Settlement of the French at Cayenne. Mathias da Cunha Governor General. Mutiny at Bahia. Antonio Luiz Goncalvez da Camara Coutinho. D. Joam de Lancastro. Money coined in Brazil. War against the Negroes of the Palmares. Disputes with France concerning the boundary. Death of Vieyra. Troubles excited by the Bishop of Maranham.

After Gomes Freyre had seized the ringleaders of the rebellion in Maranham, his first business was to restore all those persons to their offices who had been deprived of them by the usurping government. He re-established the monopoly, rightly perceiving, that if its abolition should be deemed expedient, the measure ought to proceed from the legitimate authority; and he recalled the exiled Jesuits from Para. The good policy of bringing out persons connected by ties of relationship with the inhabitants of S. Luiz was now experienced; through their means the disaffected were conciliated, and he obtained full information concerning the public feeling and the characters of individuals. He appointed the most useful of these persons to such

CHAP.
XXXI.
1686.

*Measures
of Gomes
Freyre at
Maranhm.*

CHAP. posts of honour and emolument as were vacant, and rewarded
 XXXI. others with grants of land on the coast, or in the interior, . . sparing
 1686. ing thus a treasury which was not in a condition to answer the
 demands upon it, and improving the colony. In order the better
 to regulate the affairs of this turbulent State, he desired the
Camara of Belem to come to S. Luiz, not thinking it proper as
 yet to leave Maranham himself: on their arrival he entertained
 the senates of the two cities with a feast, in which every article
 was the produce of the mother country; America, it is said,
 having furnished nothing more than the wood and water for
 dressing it. The dinner was the worse for this; but it displayed
 the character of the man: for on all former occasions, when
 there was any surplus from a Governor's sea stores, it had been
 sold at a high price.

Domingos
Teyzeyra.
 2. 2. § 212
 —220.
Berredo.
 § 1345.

The mono-
poly abolish-
ed.

Having convened the two *Camaras* for business, and received them with as much ceremony as the circumstances of the place permitted, he addressed them upon the state of the country. The necessity of agricultural labourers, he said, was manifest, and means therefore must be taken for introducing slaves from Africa. The Indians were to be reserved for a more important service; that some being domesticated might induce others to subjection, and all when properly instructed contribute to the increase of Christendom in these wide regions; . . an object which would be frustrated, if the Portuguese should persist in wrongfully enslaving men, who although rude by nature and fierce by custom, were nevertheless by inheritance owners of the land, and had enjoyed an uninterrupted possession of it till the Portuguese arrived. To promote this holy end, the appointments of the clergy should be doubled, and the number of missionaries increased. He then requested that the Chambers would deliberate concerning the continuance of the monopoly, and the means of importing Negroes in a manner less expensive to the

inhabitants ; whose interest, he said, the King considered more than any augmentation of revenue. They were desired to deliver their opinions in writing by a certain day : the result was a conviction in his mind, that the monopoly must be abolished, on account of the scandalous frauds which the agents of the Company had practised.

He now made up his dispatches for Portugal. Among the principal causes of the late troubles, he pointed out the vile conduct of some of the clergy, who, neglecting their duties and unmindful of their profession, had upon the plea of necessity, betaken themselves to trade, and had been foremost in exciting discontent, sedition, and rebellion. The state of the people, he said, was deplorably bad ; and should the debts for food and raiment which they had unavoidably incurred for want of slaves, be rigidly exacted, they would have no alternative but to beg their bread, or seek their fortune elsewhere. The *Engenhos* were in ruins. It deserved consideration, that the same principle which was admitted as authorizing the Portugueze in purchasing Negroes from the Cape de Verds, Angola, Mozambique, and other parts of Africa, applied with equal force to the natives of America. The manners of the Tapuyas were as savage, their wars with each other were as bloody, their religion was not better : and when the Portugueze were at war with them, it was found that no lives were spared now that slavery had been abolished. He advised that the King should take upon himself the business of ransoming cord-Indians by means of the Missionaries, neither the Governor nor any other person interfering ; . . . a system which would have differed little from Vieyra's, if one Order had been exclusively employed.

He proposed also to relieve the distress at S. Luiz, by drafting from its population for a new settlement. For this purpose a party was sent to examine the coast toward the South :

CHAP.
XXXI.
1686.

Teyzeyra.
2. 2. § 220
—226.
Berrelo.
§ 1345.

General distress in Maranham.

Teyzeyra.
2. 2. § 226
—229.

Expedition against the savages on the Meary.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1686.

they fixed upon the country between the rivers Itacú and Mony, there being so good a landing place near the mouth of the former stream, that a plank might be laid from the canoe to the shore. These rivers approach so nearly in the interior as almost to form a Delta : and it was thought that two forts at the neck of this peninsula might secure it against the savages : for many tribes had retired into this part of the country, flying from the adventurers in Piauí, on one side, and on the other from the Paulistas who descended the Tocantins. Having proposed this plan to the Court, Gomes Freyre sent an expedition against the savages who infested the Meary, where there had been formerly so many *Engenhos* that the state was supplied from thence with sugar and produce of various kinds, and there remained a considerable surplus for exportation. All these had been destroyed, or were fallen to decay, and some runaway slaves who had taken possession of a deserted establishment had been massacred by the Indians. A considerable force for such warfare was appointed, consisting of one hundred Portuguese troops, and two hundred and thirty Tapuyas, under Joam Sarayva. He advanced some days' journey up the river, discovered an ambuscade which had been skilfully laid for him, defeated the savages, with considerable loss on their part and only that of one soldier on his, and then returned ; for which he was censured by the people, and put under arrest by Gomes Freyre, his error of judgement being thought injurious to the reputation of the Portuguese arms. The Governor determined to erect a fort upon this river. A party was sent to chuse a good situation ; and upon an eminence well suited to their purpose, they found a *Nossa Senhora* dressed in silk, lying upon the ground, uninjured by exposure to the weather. It was immediately inferred, that the savages had brought it there from some church or chapel which they had destroyed : the preservation

of the dress was imputed to the virtue of the image: so a fort and settlement were established here under the name and patronage of S. Maria, and the river Meary was thought secure under the care of so powerful a protectress. Gomes Freyre was desirous that a way should be explored to Bahia through the interior. Joam Velho do Valle undertook to make the attempt: he made peace as he went with some tribes upon the Mony, the Itapicuru, and the Parnaiba; some Portugueze had settled upon the latter river, and it was desirable to secure their communication with Seara. The adventurer continued his perilous journey, and made a map of his route; but the fatigue and hardships which he underwent proved fatal, and he reached Bahia in a dying state.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1686.

*The way
from Ma-
ranham to
Bahia ex-
plored.*

Teyreyra.
2. 2. § 246.
—269. 280
—285.
Do.
2. 3. § 2.

Gomes Freyre's predecessors had arrogated to themselves the power of giving commissions in the *Ordenança*, a right which properly appertained to the *Camara*; and they had abused it, to the great detriment of the state; . . . giving them to persons who held them only two or three months, and becoming noble in consequence, were exempted from public duties and certain public burthens. The *Camara* complained to him of this; he saw the evil of thus multiplying a privileged class by illicit means, and gave orders, that in future the right of nominating to the vacant commissions should be exercised throughout the state by the Chambers of the respective towns. After waiting some time at S. Luiz in expectation of being relieved by a successor, or at least that some person would arrive from the Kingdom to whom he might transfer the Captaincy of Maranham while he proceeded to Para, where his presence was daily becoming more desirable, he appointed to the command Balthazar de Seyxas Coutinho, who had retired into the interior during the rebellion. This done, he departed for Belem; and coasting the whole way, made a chart of the perilous course. No Governor had ever

*Gomes Freyre
reforms
the abuses
of his pre-
decessors.*

Teyreyra.
2. 2. § 277
—278.

Teyreyra.
§ 286—7.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1686.

*He convinces
the Bishop
of his im-
prudence.*

been received at Belem with more display of honour, nor with such real joy: he had made himself respected by his firmness; and his conduct toward the widow and daughters of Beckman had won for him the love of the people. A delicate task awaited him here, and the more painful because of his religious feelings. The Bishop was at variance with the civil authorities; accusations had been preferred against him at Court, which although exaggerated, were not without some ground; and Gomes Freyre was instructed to examine into the affair, and if it were necessary, send him to Portugal. It was not necessary to proceed so far; but the Prelate's deportment had not been irreprehensible, and Gomes Freyre had to represent to him the faults which he had committed. That this might be done in the tenderest manner, he paid him a private visit, late in the evening and without attendants; entered into conversation with him till he perceived that the Bishop had recovered from the surprise which such a visit occasioned, and then kneeling at his feet, solicited a hearing. The Bishop naturally supposed that he came for ghostly counsel; and was not a little astonished, instead of the confession which he expected, to hear a recapitulation of his own offences: but this representation was made so kindly, so gently, so wisely, as well as so forcibly, that the old man was completely overcome by it, and wept like a child: he saw his error and acknowledged it, and promised to amend it. This promise he fulfilled so well, that the remainder of his life was useful and acceptable to the people, and honourable to himself.

Teyxeyra.
2. 3. § 1—
35.

*The Orel-
iana infest-
ed by hos-
tile tribes.*

Para no longer enjoyed that state of peace which Vieyra and his zealous comrades had established with the Indians far and near. Under the government of Francisco de Sa, Gonçalo Paes de Araujo went with an expedition up the river to treat with the Caravares, a tribe who desired to place themselves under the

protection of the Portugueze. Ground was chosen where they should establish their village, and a small party under Gonçalo Paes himself went forward to begin to clear the land. They came to the country of the Taquanhapes and ¹ Gerunas, who inhabited the banks and the islands of the Xingu. These tribes had long been upon good terms with the Portugueze; but now, in the hope of cutting off this detachment, (enmity to the Caravares being perhaps their motive) they offered to shew them a place near at hand which abounded with wild cinnamon, and thus decoyed them into an ambush. One of the Portugueze was killed. The domestic Indians fought bravely, and perished to a man; thirty of the Caravares fell also, displaying the most undaunted courage, and a sense of honour which had seldom been found among these people. Gonçalo Paes, being severely wounded, was carried by these faithful Indians from the field, while their companions kept up a desultory fight, falling back continually upon the Portugueze, who retired in a compact body, and protected them with their fire-arms. In this manner they effected their retreat to the country of the Caravares, where Paes was hospitably entertained, and cured of his wound. Other tribes were emboldened by this successful outrage to take arms; the Aroaquizes and Caripatenas cut off many trading parties, and the Portugueze could no longer navigate the Orellana without imminent danger. The Gerunas manned a flotilla of more than thirty canoes, and carried as a standard in the Cacique's boat, the head of one Antonio Rodriguez, a serjeant whom they had slain.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1686.

Teyreyra.
2. 3. § 36—
62.

An expedition sent against them from Belem.

To chastise these savages was not merely justifiable in itself, it was necessary for the well being, and even the existence of the

¹ Probably the Juruunas, who are described, *Vol. 2, p. 510.*

CHAP. XXXI. Portuguese: but the State was ill able to fit out an expedition. Men, stores, and vessels were wanting; the treasury was empty, and the *Aldeas* were not as Vieyra had left them: some had been forsaken, others nearly depopulated by disease, by ill treatment, or by the losses which they had suffered during these harrassing hostilities. It was now perceived of what importance it is that the Governor should possess the confidence of the people. Gomes Freyre asked the inhabitants to come forward in this emergency, and lend the government as many canoes as they could spare. He might have demanded them; the people, thankful for this moderation, and sensible of the necessity of the measure, gave him at once all that were in the port, contributed five hundred *alqueires* of *farinha*, offered slaves to supply the want of boatmen, and volunteered themselves for the expedition. The *Capitam Mor*, Hilario de Sousa, took the command, . . . better employed now than on his bootless mission to Beckman. Forty Portuguese were drafted from the garrison of Maranham; Belem furnished fourscore: one hundred and twenty Indians were all that could be collected there. They sailed at the close of the year, and coming to Camutá, found a reinforcement of canoes and Indians made ready for them by Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho. A village of Nheengaibas on the banks of the Aracuru, where they touched, was nearly deserted, the greater part of the inhabitants having removed to the Cabo do Norte, allured there by the French at Cayenne, from whom they obtained fire-arms, and set the Portuguese at defiance. Sousa threatened them for this contraband intercourse, but had neither time nor instructions to do more. He proceeded to Curupá, a place so dilapidated and neglected, notwithstanding the importance of this post, that its almost dismantled fort had no better garrison than two officers and fifteen invalids. Here therefore he left a reinforcement, and here he

ordered stores to be collected from Xingú, an *Aldea* three days' journey distant, upon the river of the same name, that on his return he might punish the Taquanhapes. The flotilla now entered the great river. The first place where it anchored was in a port called Jagacará: the adjoining *Aldea* was deserted, and when the Chief was found, it appeared that the inhabitants were afraid of military service, being so unwarlike a tribe that it was said many of them would not make a soldier. Leaving them therefore to enjoy the benefit of their unwarlike habits, the expedition took a supply of fiercer allies from Cassary, an *Aldea* of the Aratus, where all the men eagerly volunteered; . . . they were a people who loved war for its own sake, and disdained the spoils.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1687.

Teyxeyra.
2. 3. § 63.
88.

The expedition now crost to the left bank, to some *Aldeas* of the Tapajozes, and Aruryucuzes, . . . warlike tribes who would gladly have joined it, but were reserved for nearer operations against the Taquanhapes; a few only were received under Sebastian Orucurá, the baptized Chief of Curupatubá. Having proceeded some way further, and touched at all the *Aldeas* upon the way, Sousa detached a party in light canoes to reconnoitre the river of the Aroaquizes, and take a prisoner if possible. They came up with some canoes; the men on board fought when they found it useless to fly, and the Portugueze Indians in their ferocity gave no quarter, but put every man to death; frustrating thus the purpose for which they were sent. The flotilla now entered this labyrinth of waters, and captured three Indians in a small canoe; they belonged to an *Aldea* which the Carapitenas had laid waste, and these persons were ambassadors to solicit aid from their allies for revenging the wrongs they had sustained. The Portugueze accompanied them to their *Aldea*, and found it as they had affirmed, in ruins. By this time the news of the armament had spread far and wide. The war-

*Success of
the enter-
prize.*

CHAP. riors who had committed this last aggression, knew their danger
 XXXI. and fled; but Sousa, knowing the nature of these savages, sent
 1687. messengers up the rivers Negro and Amatory offering rewards
 to those who would deliver up the offenders; so they perished
 by the hands of those from whom they sought protection. Having
 well examined the islands in the river which they were
 now navigating; taken observations, and laid down its shoals,
 they proceeded to a rapid¹ in the Orellana, which was navigable
 when the waters were full: at this time it was necessary to
 land, open a way through the thicket, and tow up sixty of
 the lighter canoes, leaving the rest behind. Having arrived at
 the first *Taba*, or town of the Carapitenas, Sousa landed and
 surprized the place. Sharp stakes had been concealed in the
 pathway to lame or impale their enemies: this however availed
 them little, and after slight opposition they abandoned the
 town, leaving many prisoners in the conquerors' hands. Many
 other of their settlements were destroyed, and all their canoes
 taken; and Sousa intrenching himself on the banks of the
 river, sent Braz de Barros with two hundred men, chiefly
 Indians of the *Aldeas*, to pursue the fugitives by land. He
 followed them eight days before he overtook and defeated
 them. While the expedition was rejoicing for this success,
 their spies brought intelligence that the main strength of the
 enemy was collecting in Caysáva, a place two days' journey

¹ *Chegarão os nossos à primeyra cachoeyra ou catadupa, em que todo o pezo das aguas do Rio das Amazonas se despenha; e como se achasse demasiadamente diminuido fazia quasi impraticavel a passage das embarcaçoens. (Teyxeyra, 2. 3. § 100.)* Teyxeyra is the only author who mentions any interruption of this kind in the navigation of the Orellana; . . it is very possible that he has supposed the expedition to be in that river, when they were engaged in one of its tributary streams.

distant, the largest and strongest of all their towns. Several detachments had been made from the camp, so that it consisted at this time of only seventy Portugueze, and four hundred and seventy Indians; but all these were chosen men, fit for the severest service which could be required from flesh and blood. A guard was left for the canoes, and Sousa marched against Caysáva with the main force. Some skirmishes occurred upon the way, in which the Portugueze Indians spared neither sex nor age. Terrified at the approach of such enemies, the savages forsook the *Taba*; they were hunted through the woods during fifteen days, many were slain, and many reserved for the worse lot of captivity. Sousa had now compleated his work with the Aroaquizes and Carapitenas. The skulls and the arms and leg bones of Joam Cascalho and another Chief, his comrade in this rebellion as it was termed, were sent him from the river Negro, and the other Chiefs whose death was in like manner thought necessary for securing the navigation of the Orellana, were slain in the Amatary where they had sought refuge. It was found that the French from Cayenne had ascended as high as the Rio dos Tamurás, exchanging fire-arms for produce and slaves: Sousa reprehended the Indians severely for this traffic, yet he admitted their excuse, that since the Portugueze were prohibited from purchasing slaves they had no other means of disposing of their prisoners. The season was now too far advanced for the intended operations against the Taquanhapes; the flotilla therefore returned to Belem, not having lost a single Portugueze during a campaign of six months. More than one thousand Indians had been put to death, and about half as many were brought back in chains.

The neighbourhood of the French was now becoming an object of serious disquiet in Para. From the Plata to the Wiapoc,

CHAP.
XXXI.
1687.

Teyacyra.
2. 3. § 89—
144.

*Attempts of
various na-
tions to co-
lonize in
Guiana.*

CHAP. Portugal claimed the country by virtue of Pope Alexander's
XXXI. demarcation³; but all the maritime powers disputed the title.

1608.

Early in the seventeenth century, Robert Harcourt took possession by turf and twig of all between the Orellana and Orinoco, for England, in the name of James I., with an exception of such parts as might at that time be actually possessed by any other Christian Prince or State: James in return made Harcourt a grant of the whole territory from the former river to the Essequibo; but although no man seems to have been better qualified for conducting a colony than this adventurous gentleman, the scheme was frustrated, . . . it is not recorded how.

Relation of the Voyage to Guiana. Harl. Misc. vol. 3, p. 196. (8vo edit.)

Raleigh's rash enterprize, in which plunder and not colonization was the object, met the ill fortune which it deserved; and of the subsequent attempts made by daring men of different countries to establish themselves about the Cabo do Norte, and up the great river, no other memorials are to be found, than the brief notice of the destruction inflicted on them by the Portugueze.

Do. 184.

In one of Raleigh's expeditions, Keymiss observed the excellent harbour at Cayenne, and named it Port Howard. Harcourt also reconnoitred it, and remarked its capabilities of defence.

About 1631.

Some French adventurers settled here shortly after the first establishment of their countrymen in St. Kitt's; not thinking it prudent to fix themselves nearer the Cabo do Norte, because the determined policy of the Portugueze to root out all interlopers, had been too severely experienced by their predecessors. They had no commission from the Crown, neither were they in the service of any Company: instead of attempting to conciliate the natives, which, as had been shown by Harcourt's example,

Des Marchais, t. 3, p. 75.

³ The map upon which this famous line was drawn, was in the museum of Cardinal Borgia at Veletri, in the year 1797. *D. Nicolas de la Cruz. T. 5. p. 4.*

might easily have been done, they took part in their disputes, and joined the Galibes against the Caribs: but these Frenchmen were not practised in such warfare, like the Portuguese. Their friends were defeated; the huts which they had constructed were destroyed; many were made prisoners and eaten, and those who survived were glad to shelter themselves among their allies, and become naturalized as savages. A very few escaped, and made exaggerated reports in France of the advantages which the country possessed. A company was formed at Rouen upon their representations, and an expedition was sent out under M. Charles Poncet, Seigneur de Bretigny. The King appointed him Lieutenant General of the Country of the Cabo do Norte, which he largely interpreted to include the rivers Orellana and Orinoco, with all their islands, and the whole intermediate country. He took out between three and four hundred men, with whom he attempted to form settlements at Cayenne, Surinam, and Berbice: but being cruel by nature, and under no restraint, he fell into that ⁴ madness which the possession of absolute power induces in wicked dispositions; and having escaped one mutiny among his own people, he was deservedly killed by the savages. The enraged natives then attacked the French in their different quarters, and cut them off. About forty made their escape to St. Kitt's, and this unfortunate country was once more forsaken.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1631.

Paul Boyer.
137. 231.
Du Tertre.
3. 11.
Des Marchais. 3.
76—9.

* He compelled men to tell him their dreams, and then punished them if the dreams were not to his liking. The settlement was surrounded with gallowses, gibbets, and wheels, all garnished up with whole or dismembered bodies! (*Paul Boyer*, p. 208—9.) He had a particular delight in inventing instruments of torture: . . . one of these inventions he called Purgatory; another, Hell! *Des Marchais*, 3. 77.

CHAP.
XXXI.

1631.

*The French
establish
themselves
at Cayenne.*
1653.

Notwithstanding this ill success, the Company at Rouen sent out small parties from time to time, and continued to maintain a fortress at Cayenne, till eight years after M. de Bretigny's death; at which time a new Company was formed, upon the plea that the existing one had failed in its engagements with the Crown. This was effected through the influence of the Sieur de Royville, a Norman gentleman, who went out at the head of about seven hundred adventurers ⁵ of all ages. Twelve of the associates accompanied him, as Lords of the Colony. On the voyage these persons conspired against Royville, and murdered him in the night; and in the same spirit, as soon as they arrived they began to intrigue against each other. One of them was beheaded by his ferocious comrades; three others were sent to a desert island. The savages ⁶ soon fell upon these wretches: disease carried off some of the colony; others perished by hunger; many were brought to the boucan, and the few survivors were glad to seek protection from the English, who were at that time in possession of Surinam. A few years afterward, the Dutch, finding Cayenne thus forsaken, occupied it for the West India Company. Guerin Spranger had the command, . . . a man admirably qualified for such a situa-

1656.

⁵ Among the rest there was a Doctor of Theology, whose death Labat laments as the first misfortune of the expedition, because "*il etoit comme l'ame de la Colonie par la profondeur de sa science dans les matieres Theologiques et Canoniques.*" Is this grave hypocrisy in the professional character of Pere Labat, *de l'Ordre des Freres Precheurs*, or irony in the natural character of this adroit and unprincipled Frenchman?

⁶ Labat ascribes the conduct of the Indians to the instigation of the Dutch at Berbice; but to what could he impute the murders and madness of the French among themselves?

tion: he kept upon good terms with the natives, whom he taught to respect him; fortified the island against them, made sugar and indigo plantations, and had already begun a profitable commerce with Holland, when Louis XIV established a new Company of Equinoctial France, gave them all the country between the two great rivers, and appointed M. le Fevre de la Barré Commander in Chief, and Governor of Cayenne. Holland was not at this time in a state of war with France;.. but such considerations have never been allowed much weight in a French cabinet. Five vessels were sent out, with more than a thousand persons on board, settlers as well as soldiers included. Spranger had no alternative but to capitulate upon the best terms he could; and the French, profiting by the successful labours of the Dutch, found themselves masters of a colony, of which the foundations were now fairly laid. Two years afterward it was taken and laid waste by the English: the French reoccupied it immediately, and during the peace of Breda it began to flourish. In the succeeding war the Dutch captured this unlucky settlement; and the inhabitants, weary of so many changes, were glad to compound with the conquerors, and retain possession of their plantations as subjects of Holland. Shortly afterward the French colonies were taken from the Company, and annexed to the Crown: the Comte d'Estrees then sailed against Cayenne with a fleet of fourteen-sail, and landed eight hundred troops to attack the place, which had now been so far fortified, and was so well defended, that the conquest cost him a hundred and fifty men.

CHAP.
XXXI.

1664.

1666.

1673.

1676.

Aitzema.
v. 5. p. 275.
Des Marchais. 3. p.
88—96.

The French were no sooner in undisturbed possession of this long disputed colony, than they began to trespass upon their neighbours. They attempted to enter the Orellana, and were forbidden by the Captain of Curupa. Five Frenchmen were found by the Jesuits far in the interior, trading for slaves, and

The French
trespass up-
on the Por-
tuguese ter-
ritory.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1687.

were sent back with letters to the Governor, and to the Superior of the French Missions, remonstrating against the intrusion into the Portugueze dominions, and against the wickedness of the trade in which they were engaged. Gomes Freyre, in like manner, sent back two others who had been taken in the same vocation, and wrote to assert the claims of the Portugueze Crown. The King commended him for this, and instructed him to send Antonio de Albuquerque, with an engineer, and other persons acquainted with that part of the country, to mark out such fortifications in the Captaincy of the Cabo do Norte as he should think expedient. The *Aldeas* had now been once more divided among the different Orders: those in this Captaincy belonged to the Capuchos de S. Antonio, .. a branch of the Franciscan family; and the Governor was directed to avail himself of their services, and also of the Jesuits, who were establishing a new Mission on that side. By their help it was hoped that the French missionaries might be prevented from communicating with the Aruans; .. for so jealous was the Portugueze Court of its dominion in America, that this feeling prevailed over its zeal for the salvation of souls.

Teyzeyra.
2. 3. § 221.
Do. § 147.
Berredo.
§ 1356.

Gomes Freyre is superseded.

The dispatches which conveyed these instructions; informed the Governor that Artur de Sa de Menezes was appointed to relieve him; and as a mark of peculiar honour to Gomes Freyre, his successor was ordered not to assume the government till the moment of his departure. Artur de Sa, not finding him at Maranham, committed an error of which he afterwards repented; for he left his credentials on board, as if by accident, and took possession without presenting them. When they were subsequently produced, it appeared that if the Chamber had behaved incorrectly in acknowledging him, because they had not seen the proper instrument, he had wilfully acted in opposition to his orders; being sensible of this, he took upon himself no farther act of

authority. When he arrived at Belem, Gomes Freyre received with displeasure the excuses of the Chamber, who accompanied him, but entertained his successor with courtesy and magnificence, dissembling all resentment till a proper season. He drew up for him, by the King's command, a full account of the colony, even to the characters of the principal inhabitants, observing what men were worthy to be employed and trusted, and noting others upon whom it would be prudent to keep a watchful eye. Having dispatched the commission under Antonio de Albuquerque, and discharged all his public business, he resigned the government, and then manifested his sense of his successor's conduct by refusing to walk with him under the canopy when he assumed his powers, as had been customary, and taking his place instead among the nobles in the procession. The few days which intervened before his departure he past in taking leave of individuals, and in retirement with his confessor, that he might set his spiritual affairs in order before he committed himself to the uncertain seas. He had little baggage to embark, . . . for he had parted with his own plate to assist the soldiers, and fit out the expeditions for the interior. No Governor before him had been so generally regretted. The Chamber of Para addressed a letter to the King, saying that if they had ever any cause of complaint against his Majesty, it was now, when he had sent out a successor to supersede Gomes Freyre: and the *Procurador* at Lisbon was instructed to procure two portraits of this distinguished man, for the Senate-houses of Belem and S. Luiz.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1687.

Teyreyra.
2. 3. § 148
—163.
Berredo. §
1342—54.
1357—3.

Mathias da Cunha had now succeeded the Marquez das Minas as Governor and Captain General of Brazil. The pestilence had not wholly subsided; and fortunate it was that it was not of a nature to be transported to Europe, . . . for the Marquis's eldest son died of this disease upon the passage home.

*Mathias da
Cunha Go-
vernor Ge-
neral.*

CHAP. The new administration is remarkable for an act of justice;..
 XXXI. such things being rare enough under the Portuguese govern-
 1687. ment to excite admiration when they occur. Fernam Bezerra
 Barbalho, a Pernambucan fidalgo, and a colonel in the army,
 murdered his wife and three daughters, and would have murdered
 a fourth, if the child had not been secreted by a faithful female
 slave. The cause of this shocking act was not madness, but a false
 sense of honour arising out of some blind suspicion, and acting upon
 a wicked heart; and to render it more shocking, the eldest son
 assisted in the murder of his mother and his sisters. This monster
 escaped from earthly vengeance: the circumstance however was so
 atrocious, that even in Brazil it was not suffered to pass with
 impunity. Bezerra was arrested, carried to Bahia, and beheaded
 there, and his head sent to his *Engenho* in the Varzea, to be
 exposed in the place where he had committed the crime.

*Execution
 of a fidalgo.*

*RochaPitta.
 7. § 47. 51.
 Vieira Car-
 tas. t. 2. p.
 366.*

*Seara cleared
 of the
 savages.*

Seara was infested at this time by savages from the interior
 of that Captaincy. Their aggressions were pronounced by a
 Junta civil, military, and theological, at Bahia, to be a just
 cause for making war upon them, and adjudging the prisoners
 to slavery, pursuant to the law of Joam IV; and accordingly
 an expedition was sent against them from Pernambuco, Parai-
 ba, and the Potengi. The war was pursued with vigor and
 great success, and the country in consequence so cleared,
 that Seara was not afterwards infested; the settlement of the
 Portuguese in Piauí contributing, no doubt, to this security. It
 was fortunate for Brazil that Portugal was at this time in peace;
 for never had the country been in so defenceless a state. Bahia
 was open to any invader, without fortifications, without arms,
 without stores, the population greatly reduced by the pesti-
 lence, the garrison not half its allotted number, and consisting
 almost wholly of undisciplined boys. Meantime the coasts

*RochaPitta.
 7. § 52—3.*

*Defenceless
 state of
 Brazil.*

*Vieyra Car-
 tas. t. 2. p.
 249.*

were infested by pirates, and it is said that this race of desperate criminals attempted now to establish themselves at the mouth of the Plata, on the southern shore. The place was ill chosen, and therefore the attempt failed. They were principally Frenchmen; and some of the same nation, who appeared to be of higher rank, were found sounding the ports in Brazil, and instructing the savages in the use of fire-arms. The defenceless state of these colonies was repeatedly represented to the Court, and earnest demands were made for arms and ammunition: but the same ministers who exacted the duties with rigour, seemed to forget that there was on their side the obligation of affording protection. "Thus, (says Vieyra,) all is not merely going to ruin, but well-nigh ruined; . . . this Brazil, which is all that we have, we shall have no longer than till any one chuses to take it; and I no longer grieve that the kingdom should be without heirs, for if we had them, there would be nothing to inherit." "In this emergency, (he says elsewhere,) prudent men advise us to wear cotton, eat mandioc, and take to bows and arrows for lack of other arms, so that we shall shortly relapse into the savage state, and become Brazilians instead of Portugueze."

Mathias da Cunha had not held the government many months before he sickened of the pestilence; and finding his case hopeless, summoned the Senate to his chamber that they might elect a successor. They named the Archbishop D. Fr. Manoel da Resurreiçam, for the political and military department, and for the juridical, Dr. Manoel Carneiro de Sa, Chancellor of the *Relaçam*. The pay of the soldiers was now nine months in arrears; and the men, knowing that the Governor was on his death-bed, took a barbarous advantage of his situation, to mutiny and demand their due. They declared, that unless they were paid in the course of the day, they would sack the city; and they began to plunder such persons as were carrying pro-

CHAP.
XXXI.

1687.

*Vieyra Car-
tas. t. 3. p.
321.*

*Do. t. 2. p.
363.*

*Do. t. 2. p.
347.*

*Do. t. 2. p.
382.*

1688.

*Death of
Mathias da
Cunha.*

*Mutiny of
the soldiers
at Bahia.*

CHAP.
XXXI.

1688.

visions through the streets, in proof that the threat would be executed. The members of the *Camara* were more particularly threatened, being at that time paymasters. The officers having used all means of persuasion in vain, remonstrated with no better effect against the detestable inhumanity of thus disquieting their dying General. Humanity finds no access to the ears or hearts of a tumultuous assembly. The *Vereadores* were obliged to borrow the money as they could, and satisfy the demand without delay; but none of the officers would receive their share;..they all protested against what was done, and declared their willingness to wait till the government could pay them with convenience to itself. The men, when they had thus obtained their object, refused to separate or return to their duty, till they should have a written pardon for their mutiny, signed by the Governor while he was yet living, and by the Archbishop who was to succeed him. Mathias da Cunha, as the last act of his life, was compelled to sign this paper: he expired immediately afterwards; and the men who thus brutally disturbed his dying moments, entered the city to attend his funeral.

RochaPitta.
7. § 55—60.

1690.

*Order re-
stored in
Porto Se-
guro.*

The Crown soon appointed Antonio Luiz Gonçalez da Camera Coutinho to the vacant government, promoting him from Pernambuco. This Governor of many names continued the good example of his predecessor, in executing the laws. Five men of good family in Porto Seguro had collected a set of ruffians, at whose head they tyrannized over the Captaincy, and perpetrated outrages and crimes of every kind with impunity, even in the town itself, and in open defiance of all authority. No man's property, wife, daughter, or existence, was secure from these daring villains. The civil and military officers could scarcely defend themselves, and they applied for aid to the Governor General, as against a public enemy. A Judge was sent against them, with a chosen detachment of fifty soldiers. Having con-

sulted with the *Capitam Mór* and the *Juiz Ordinario* before he entered the port, he landed during the night; a party of the inhabitants joined him, and guided him so well that the five ring-leaders were surprized; and though they made a desperate resistance, they were taken alive. Their followers had been dispatched upon some nefarious errand; and hearing of the capture of their Chiefs, fled into the *Certam* and were never heard of more. The prisoners were carried to Bahia, where they were hanged and quartered, and their heads sent back to be exposed in the scene of their enormities. This wholesome example produced good effect. Nor was this administration of justice the only improvement which took place in Brazil. The Jesuit F. Alexandre de Gusman, a man of high character, and in great esteem for learning, succeeded by perseverance and the aid of charitable contributions, in forming a seminary at N. Senhora do Rosario da Cachoeira, fourteen leagues from Bahia, upon a river of that name. It soon grew into a large establishment, to which children were sent from all parts of Brazil. The trade, meantime, was rapidly increasing in extent and importance. In 1688, the fleet from Bahia was the largest which had ever sailed from that port; yet there was not sufficient tonnage for the produce. The consequence of this was a glut in the Lisbon market, and prices fell so much that in the ensuing year many *Engenhos* stopt. Excess of enterprize, however, shows that the spirit by which nations become prosperous is at work. Vieyra lamented at this time, as a melancholy proof of the loss of the conquests, that the India House at Lisbon was converted into the Brazil House: the alteration proved, indeed, to what the Indian empire of the Portugueze was reduced; but it proved also the growing importance of a country which could not in the same manner be wrested from them. So great a traffic was now carried on between Buenos Ayres and Brazil, that when by

CHAP.
XXXI.
1690.

RochaPitta.
7. § 71—6.

Do. § 67—
70.

*Increase of
trade.*

Vieyra Car-
tas. t. 2.
374.

Do. 2. 477.

1693.

CHAP.
XXXI.

1693.

Vieyra Cartas. 2. 449.

1694.

State of the coin.

the mistaken policy of both Courts, the intercourse was with common consent prohibited, goods to the amount of 300,000 *cruzados* were left dead upon the merchants' hands at Nova Colonia, and of double that amount at the Rio.

Antonio Luiz was succeeded by D. Joam de Lancastro. The representations which had repeatedly been made of the defenceless state of Bahia were at length regarded, and under this Governor the forts were put in repair. Three more settlements in the Reconcave were now large enough to be formed into towns: one of these had grown round the seminary and church of F. Alexandre de Gusman. The currency in Brazil was at this time in a state⁷ which required immediate attention; the practice of clipping had been carried to a great extent, but had been finally put a stop to, when penal statutes were found ineffectual, by permitting only such pieces as were milled to pass. But the piece which passed for 640 *reis* in Brazil, was worth 750: many therefore were melted down, and more were exported to Portugal, to which country all remittances were made in specie by those who had law-suits depending there, or were purchasing preferment civil or ecclesiastical, or sending their daughters to a nunnery. This could not continue long without occasioning a want of the circulating medium. To remove the cause of the evil, an order was issued that money should pass by weight; but many of the clipt coins then appeared in circulation, and the inconvenience of weighing silver money was found intolerable. At length, on the representations of the Governor Antonio Luiz, the earnest petition of the Senate

Papel de Antonio Luiz Coutinho, M. S. Vieyra Cartas. t. 3. 399.

⁷ Money fell in one day at the Rio in the proportion of four parts in nine, and the loss sustained at Bahia in consequence, was computed at half a million of *cruzados*. *Vieyra. Cartas. T. 2. p. 418.*

of Bahia, and in spite of the opposition made in Portugal to the measure, the King sent over persons to coin colonial money, which should circulate only in Brazil. Three gold pieces were struck, the *moeda* or moidore of four *milreis*, the half moidore, and the quarter; six in silver, of two *patacas*, one *pataca*, and half a *pataca*, one, two, and four *vintems*. It was thought too hazardous to coin the money for the Rio and Pernambuco at Bahia, and transport it by sea; and therefore when Bahia was supplied, the mint was removed to those Captaincies in succession. After four years the establishment, having completed its object, was broken up.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1694.

RochaPitta.
8. § 4—18.

The new Governor was instructed to inspect some mines of saltpetre in the interior of Bahia, which it was hoped might render it unnecessary to import that article from Asia. In confident expectation of success, he took with him a full establishment of persons for extracting it; and landing at the town of Cachoeira, in the Reconcave, they began their land journey from the Seminary near that place. The mines lay far inland, and roads were to be opened, to make them accessible. They were assayed at four different places; works were formed there, and the nitre was sent in leathern sacks to Bahia: but the expence and inconvenience of land carriage for nearly three hundred miles were soon discovered, and the injudicious project was abandoned.

Salt mines
opened, and
abandoned.

RochaPitta.
8. § 19—
23.

Caetano de Mello de Castro was at this time Governor of Pernambuco. The Negroes of the Palmares, or Palm Forests, in the interior of that Captaincy, who escaping from slavery had established themselves there in the early part of the Dutch war, had now, during the course of more than threescore years, acquired strength and audacity. Not being attacked themselves by the Portugueze, they acted upon the offensive; they infested the districts of Porto Calvo, of the Alagoas and S. Francisco do

Negroes of
the Palm-
ares.
Vol. 1. p.
495.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1695.

Penedo; and even places nearer the seat of government were not secure from their incursions. Their numbers were continually increased by slaves who sought for freedom, and men of colour who fled from justice. A community which was thus recruited, needed a proportionate supply of women; and like the first Romans, these Negroes had no other means of obtaining them than by force. Wherever they made an inroad, they carried off the negresses and mulattoes, and the Portugueze were compelled to pay a ransom for their wives and daughters, in arms, money, or whatever else the enemy demanded. The only account which exists of their short but memorable history, comes from the people who exterminated them; but it renders them full justice, and will not be perused without some feeling of respect for their character and compassion for their fate.

Their government and institutions.

They were under the government of an elective Chief, who was chosen for his justice as well as his valour, and held the office for life: all men of experience and good repute had access to him as counsellors: he was obeyed with perfect loyalty; and it is said that no conspiracies or struggles for power had ever been known among them. Perhaps a feeling of religion contributed to this obedience; for Zombi, the title whereby he was called, is the name for the Deity, in the Angolan^s tongue. They retained the use of the cross, some half-remembered prayers, and a few ceremonies which they had mingled with superstitions of their own, either what they preserved of their

^s Rocha Pitta says the word means Devil in their language. This appeared to me so unlikely, that I examined a book of religious instructions in the Portugueze and Angolan languages, to ascertain the fact; and there I found that *NZambi* is the word for Deity; . . . *Cariapemba* is the Devil. It is not used in the sense of *Lord*, which might explain its application here without any religious import, . . . but of *Deity*.

African idolatry, or had invented in their present state of freedom. They had their officers and magistrates. Robbery, adultery, and murder, were punished uniformly with death; and the slave, who having joined them, was detected in attempting to desert, underwent the same penalty; but those whom they captured were considered as slaves, and were treated with less severity if they endeavoured to escape. The chief persons of both sexes attired themselves in the spoils of the Portuguese: and indeed a regular trade was carried on with some of the Pernambucans, who for the double advantage of securing and enriching themselves, supplied them in defiance of the law, with arms, ammunition, and European commodities of every kind, in exchange for the produce which they raised, and the gold, silver, and money which they acquired in their incursions. The slaves were the agents in this forbidden and criminal traffic.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1695.

RochaPitta,
8. § 24—
32.

The evil had become very great. Some of those slaves who succeeded in escaping from the Palmares to rejoin masters whom they loved, described them as formidable equally for their numbers, their courage, their organization, and the strength of their city; so that the Governors of Pernambuco for many years considered it too hazardous an undertaking to attack them; and contenting themselves with the enactment of laws which it was impossible to enforce, left the evil and the responsibility to their successors. Caetano de Mello determined to make a vigorous effort for extirpating them before they became too powerful; and he applied to the Governor General, soliciting the aid of Domingos Jorge, Camp-master of a regiment of Paulistas which was stationed at that time at Pinhanco in the interior of Bahia. This officer accordingly was directed to repair to Porto Calvo, and there form a junction with the troops from Olinda and Recife, and the *Ordenanza* of the

*The Per-
nambucan
government
resolves at
last to sub-
due them.*

CHAP. country. He began his march with a thousand men, the great-
 XXXI. er part undoubtedly being Indians; and he resolved to look at
 1695. the Palmares on the way, thinking himself strong enough to
 accomplish the object without farther force or preparation. This presumption arose from the nature of the wars in which he had hitherto been engaged; and he did not consider the difference between the Indian and the Negro character. The sight of their city, for so it may be called, might have convinced him of his error. A double palisade of the hardest wood which the forests of Brazil produce, enclosed within a circuit of four or five miles a population of more than 20,000 persons. The fortification was strengthened by many bulwarks: there were only three gates, which were placed at equal distances; each had its platform of defence, and was at all times under the charge of one of their best officers. The palace of the Zombi was spacious, and not without a kind of rude magnificence; and the houses of individuals were, after their fashion, commodious and splendid. There was a lake within the circuit, abounding with fish, and there were also running streams, . . . but the water seems to have been brackish or salt, for the inhabitants sunk wells, or rather those shallow pits that are called *cacimbas*, which implies that it was only rendered potable by filtration. There was also a high rock within the enclosure, which served them for a watch-post, and from whence some of the Pernambucan towns and settlements were visible in the distance: Porto Calvo was the nearest. The place was called The Palmares, from the number of cocoa groves which they had planted round about. Besides this, their chief city, they had many smaller settlements or garrisons, called *Mocambos*, in which chosen men were stationed for the defence of the plantations. Their weapons were of all kinds, and they were equally skilled in using the bow and arrow and the spear, or the sword and the firelock.

RochaPitta.
 8. § 33—
 35.

*Chief settle-
 ment of the
 Negroes.*

RochaPitta.
 8. § 38—9.

In front of this place the Paulista pitched his camp, with the carelessness of a man who regarded his enemies as an inferior race. During two days he remained there unmolested; for the Negroes, as well as himself, were watching an opportunity when they might act with effect. On the third, while his men were plundering a banana plantation, they sallied in great force. Domingos Jorge collected his people as well as he could, and fought with his accustomed intrepidity: so fierce a conflict ensued, that more than eight hundred persons on both sides were killed and wounded. Each party was taught by such an action to respect its antagonist; and Jorge was fain to draw off, and make his way in good order to Porto Calvo. A force of six thousand men was assembled there, under Bernardo Vieira de Mello, who for his success in having defeated and cut off a large detachment of these Negroes, had been appointed to the command. Olinda, Recife, and the towns on that side of the country, had raised three thousand men, including two regiments of regulars: many of the wealthiest settlers had volunteered upon the occasion. The Alagoas, S. Francisco do Penedo, S. Miguel, and the Alagoas do Norte, furnished fifteen hundred; Porto Calvo, and the Paulista division, made up the rest. The Negroes meantime, having learnt their danger by the first premature attempt, were on the alert: they abandoned all their *Mocambos*, destroyed every thing without the circuit which could afford subsistence to the enemy, and collected their whole strength within the city;..it is said to have amounted to ten thousand men.

The Portuguese army being thus collected, made no delay, and encamped in front of the fortifications, Bernardo Vieira taking his station before the middle gate, the Paulista against the one on his right, and the Sargento Mor, Sebastiam Dias, who commanded the division from the Alagoas, on the left.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1695.

*They compel
the Paulista
division to
retire.*

*RochaPitta.
8. § 35—7.*

*The Portu-
guese be-
sieve them.*

CHAP. They were provided with ladders, and attempted to enter the
 XXXI. place by escalade: . . . arrows, boiling water, fire-arms, and fire-
 1695. brands, were employed in its defence, and the assailants were
 repulsed with considerable loss. Many days had not elapsed
 before the powder of the Negroes was exhausted: they had not
 apprehended so serious an attack, . . . nor, if the whole danger
 had been foreseen, could they by their contraband trade have
 procured a supply in any degree equal to the emergency. On
 the other hand, the Portugueze had come without artillery: their
 attempts to hew down the gates, and cut a way through the
 palisade, were always successfully resisted: considerable
 loss was sustained, and they dispatched messengers to the
 Governor soliciting a reinforcement, and saying, that without
 cannon it would be impossible to enter the place. It was now
 a trial of endurance between the two parties. The Negroes be-
 gan to feel a want of missile weapons, and of provisions also; but
 the Portugueze were upon short allowance: this generation
 was wholly unaccustomed to the privations and habits of war,
 and the Negroes were daily in hope that in their impatience
 of disease and hunger they would break up the siege. Cruelly
 was this hope disappointed when, from the rock which served
 them for a watch-tower, they beheld large convoys of cattle,
 laden horses and carts, advancing from the Penedo, on the river
 S. Francisco, from the Alagoas and from S. Miguel. At this
 sight they lost their only remaining hope; and it seems that
 famine had now in a great degree deprived them of their
 strength: for when the Portugueze, encouraged by this arrival,
 and by the small succour which joined them at the same time,
 renewed their attempt to force an entrance with the axe, little
 resistance was opposed. The three gates were hewn down, and
 the Zombi and the most resolute of his followers retired to the
 summit of the rock; and preferring death to slavery, threw

*Capture of
 the place.*

themselves from the precipice . . . men worthy of a better fate for their courage and their cause. The Governor was on the point of setting out from Recife with a reinforcement of two thousand men and six pieces of artillery, when tidings of the conquest reached him ; and it was deemed of such importance, that money was thrown to the populace from the Government-House, and a solemn procession appointed for thanksgiving. In its consequences to the vanquished, this conquest resembles the inhuman wars of antiquity. The survivors, of all ages, and of either sex, were brought away as slaves. A fifth of the men were selected for the Crown ; the rest were divided among the captors as their booty, and all who were thought likely to fly, or capable of vindicating their freedom, were transported to distant parts of Brazil, or to Portugal. The women and children remained in Pernambuco, being thus separated for ever, without remorse, the one from their fathers, the others from their husbands. The necessity of rooting out such enemies from their own border is clear and indisputable ; but that necessity originated in the nefarious system of slavery, . . . and surely the victory might have been more humanely used.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1695.

RochaPitta.
8. § 38—
48.

Meantime Artur de Sa had been succeeded in the government of Maranham and Para by Antonio de Albuquerque. M. de Ferrol was at this time Governor of the French colony at Cayenne ; and he, in conformity to the all-aspiring views of Louis XIV, wrote to Albuquerque, desiring that the limits of the two countries might be definitively settled, and claiming for France the whole northern side of the Orellana. The Portuguese made answer, that as to the demarcation of the limits, it was a matter which must be left to their respective Courts ; but his duty was to maintain the whole which had been entrusted to him, as it had to his predecessors, and which without doubt included both banks of the river, and the whole of the interior.

*Dispute
with the
Governor of
Cayenne.*

1691.

CHAP. M. de Ferrol did not feel himself strong enough to venture
 XXXI. upon an immediate contest, but he retained his purpose. A
 1691. fort had lately been erected by Albuquerque at the Cabo do

*The French
 seize the
 fort at Cabo
 do Norte.*

1697.

Norte ; it was built upon the ruins of Camaú, which his uncle Feliciano Coelho had taken from the English ; and having been dedicated to S. Antonio de Macapa, was known by the Indian name. M. de Ferrol after awhile sent an expedition against this place, and it was surrendered without resistance : then, according to the policy of his nation, carrying on negociations and hostilities at the same time, he dispatched a long memorial to Albuquerque, justifying the aggression, upon the plea that the place was within the limits of the French colony. Albuquerque replied, that if M. de Ferrol attempted to maintain the fort he had thus unjustly seized, he would go in person and demand its restitution with those arguments of war, which, being the most summary, always commanded the best attention : and immediately he dispatched a hundred and sixty troops and a hundred and fifty chosen Indians, under Francisco de Sousa Fundam, to recover the place. This officer was a man of more courage than discretion : he occupied an island in front of the fortress, and within cannon-shot, and there took up a position under cover of the wood, . . . but in such disorder that a handful of men might have surprized and destroyed him. The French, however, were few in number, and were too much alarmed for their own safety to profit by his imprudence. There was a small fishing canoe in the bay, upon which they depended in some degree for provisions. Sousa was desirous of getting it into his possession, lest they should dispatch advices to Cayenne by this only means, and so obtain a reinforcement ; but when he proposed the attempt to his men, they were silent, because of the imminent and evident danger. He then singled out one, Miguel da Silva : this man observed, that he

had not volunteered upon the service, because he considered obedience to be his duty; and when the Captain told him to select a companion, he declared that he would risk no life except his own, and immediately leapt into the water. In broad day light, and under a shower of musquetry, he swam for the canoe, succeeded in loosening it, and brought it off unhurt. Sousa had been charged with a letter for M. de Ferrol, which he was to deliver to the commander of the fortress before he commenced operations;.. this he never remembered, in his eagerness to recover the place: he landed upon the main, posted his men under cover of a pottery within pistol-shot of the fort, and having being joined by a small reinforcement under Joam Moniz de Mendoza, ordered them precipitately to the assault. The first difficulty checked this impatient spirit; and he would have retreated with as little prudence as he had shewn in the advance, but Joam Moniz refused to obey, saying that though the attack had been rashly begun it was too late to withdraw from it, their honour being engaged: he therefore persisted and carried the place, more than a fourth part of its garrison falling in the action. Albuquerque lost no time in strengthening and securing the fort: and the question which an appeal to the sword had left as it found it, was now referred to the cabinets in Europe. The French Ambassador at Lisbon was loud in his demands. Gomes Freyre was called to Court upon the business: he happened to meet the French Minister in private company; the conversation turned upon the respective rights of the two countries, and the Frenchman, growing warm in argument, observed that his master had at that time no occupation for his arms; that if these possessions were refused to reason and courtesy, they must be yielded to force; and that the whole of Maranham would be only a breakfast for France. Gomes Freyre with true Portugueze spirit replied,

CHAP.
XXXI.
1697.

*The Portu-
guezo re-
take it.*

CHAP.

XXXI.

1697.

Arrange-
ment con-
cerning the
limits with
France and
Spain.

Berredo,
§ 1363.
138.

Teyxeyra,
2. 3. § 207
—212.

Do. 215—
224.

Municipal
alterations.

that if the French meant to breakfast there, he should request leave of the King his master to go and prepare the entertainment for them. The more momentous interests of European politics suspended the dispute. Upon the succession of Philip V to a contested throne, he and his grandfather were glad to purchase the neutrality of Portugal by ceding these claims⁹ on the part of France, and on the part of Spain resigning all title to Nova Colonia and the Isles of S. Gabriel.

Some changes took place about this time in the judicial and municipal establishments of Brazil. It was deemed indecorous that the Chamber of Bahia should only have *Juizes Ordinarios* of the Red Wand belonging to it, like the other *Camaras*, seeing that the same privileges as those of the cities of Porto and Lisbon had long since been extended to it; and that the wealth and importance of the seat of government deserved and required

⁹ I have not been able to find the Treaty. Rousset's Supplement to the Corps Diplomatique of Du Mont, (*T. 2. Part. 2. p. 1.*) contains only a summary of it from the *Lettres Historiques* for December 1701, and from Lamberti's *Memoirs*. "*Le Roi de Portugal demeurera maitre absolu des Isles de S. Gabriel, & Nova Colonia dans la forme qu'il le pretendit en 1681. La France lui remet toutes les pretensions qu'elle avoit sur Maranon.*" The article respecting Nova Colonia is thus extracted in one of the manuscripts in my possession. "*Y para conservar la firme amistad y aliança que se procura conseguir con este Tratado, y quitar todos los motivos que pueden ser contrarios a este effeto. S. M. C. cede y renuncia todo y qualquiera derecho que pueda tener en las tierras sobre que se hizo el Tratado Provisional entre ambas las Coronas, en 7 de Mayo de 1681. Y en que se halla situada la Colonia del Sacramento: el qual Tratado quedara sin effeto, y el dominio de la dicha Colonia, y uso de dicha campaña a la Corona de Portugal, como al presente ta tiene.*" Teyxeyra (2. 3. § 221,) would make it appear, that Portugal was induced on this occasion to ally itself with France rather than England by religious motives, preferring the interests of Catholicism to its own.

magistrates of a higher rank. Accordingly a *Juiz de Fora* and an *Ouvidor de Comarca* were now appointed. *Juizes de Fora* were also introduced at Pernambuco and the Rio; and because of the distance of these cities from the seat of justice at Bahia, the Governor, with the *Juiz de Fora* and the *Ouvidor Literario*, were authorized to settle yearly the affairs of the *Camara*, and appoint the officers. Hitherto the Chambers appear to have chosen their own officers; three persons were nominated for each office, and their names were enclosed each in a pellet of wax; and these being drawn by lot, chance determined the succession for three successive years. The power of nomination in the capital was now transferred to the *Desembargo do Paço*, which may with sufficient propriety be rendered the Court of King's Bench. The population of Pernambuco had at this time increased so much, that at the petition of the inhabitants, that province was divided into two *Comarcas*, the *Villa das Alagoas* being the capital of the new district.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1696.

RochaPitta.
8. § 50—
53.

*Improved
condition of
the Indians.*

The laws had now done much in favour of the Indians; and more perhaps had been effected in behalf of this long injured people, by introducing in greater number a hardier, and if possible a more injured race, from Africa. Throughout all the old Captaincies, with the single exception of S. Paulo, an Indian was declared free if he demanded his freedom, even though he might have served from his cradle, and his parents before him, provided there was no wooliness in the hair, to indicate a mixture of Negro blood. The evil indeed was only transferred from one race to another, and perhaps in no inconsiderable degree augmented by the transfer; yet there was a step taken toward amendment: a principle had been established, and sooner or later the inconsistency of continuing slavery in any shape would be perceived. After so long a contest between good and evil, this was no slight improvement: in other respects

CHAP. Vieyra describes Brazil as presenting a lively image of the mother country. . . It resembled it, he says, in preparations for war, without men or money ; in full harvests of vice, without reformation ; in unbounded luxury without capital ; and in all other contradictions of the human mind. The genial climate of Bahia had relieved Vieyra from all maladies, except the incurable one of old age ; it prolonged his mortal existence to the extraordinary term of fourscore and ten : the latter years were indeed sorrow and pain ; . . his sight was almost extinct, his hearing dull, and he had to endure slow fever, and long nights of sleeplessness and suffering. The last pleasures which he was capable of enjoying were those of reading, and contemplating the sacrament, in which, according to the doctrine of the Romish Church, he believed that his God and his Redeemer was present : but he was now no longer able to remain in the Chapel, or beguile with books the wearying and painful sense of time. He had been seventy-five years a member of the Company when the long desired hour of his release arrived, and he fell asleep in the Lord : . . his brother Gonçalo survived him only one day, the same disease proving fatal to both. Vieyra had outlived the vexations as well as the enjoyments of life ; . . his enemies were gone before him to their account, and his virtues and talents were acknowledged and respected as they deserved. His portrait was taken as he lay upon his bier. The Governor and the dignitaries of the Clergy, secular and regular, bore him to the grave ; his funeral was followed by the heads and chief members of all the religious orders ; exequies were performed for him at Lisbon, at the expence of the Conde de Ericeyra, in the Church of S. Roque, with all possible solemnity of music, tapers, torches, and decorations ; the Court attended, and the Cortes also, which was at that time assembled for the purpose of taking the oaths to the Prince of Brazil.

RochaPitta.
8. § 54. 57.
A. de Barros. 4. §
234. 271.

The State of Maranham, which had been the scene of Vieyra's Christian labours, and of his struggles with the civil authorities, was now disturbed by ecclesiastical disputes of a very different nature. Fr. Timotheo do Sacramento, a Friar of the order of S. Paul the Hermit, had been appointed to this diocese, and Cardenas himself did not enter upon his office with more extravagant notions of episcopal jurisdiction. Without instituting any process, or admitting any exculpation, he threw men into prison for living in a state of concubinage, and punished them by excessive fines. The inhabitants of S. Luiz complained to the Governor, Antonio de Albuquerque; and he having remonstrated without effect, found it necessary to appeal to the laws, and send the *Ouvidor Geral* Mattheus Dias da Costa to that city, that if he could not convince the Bishop of the unfitness of such proceedings, he might afford the people the means of legal redress. This Magistrate being also a Judge of the *Tribunal da Coroa*, under whose cognizance offences properly fell, requested the Bishop in three successive letters, and with all due respect, to release the persons whom he had committed to prison for their first offence, or remit the process against them to the competent tribunal, conformably to law. These applications being haughtily answered, and set at defiance, the *Ouvidor* gave orders to set at liberty the individuals who were thus illegally confined. The Bishop was a man whose spirit would have qualified him for the papacy in the days of the Guelphs and Ghibelines: he menaced the *Ouvidor* with the censures of the Church, unless by a certain time he should annul the proceedings; . . . the term elapsed, and then he excommunicated him. But in the interval the *Ouvidor* had appealed against his censures before P. Fr. Antonio do Calvario, who held, it seems, some ecclesiastical office which enabled him to suspend them. Thus so exasperated the Bishop that he pronounced a

CHAP.
XXXI.
1697.

*Troubles in
Maranham
with the
Bishop.*

*He excom-
municates
the Ouvidor.*

CHAP. general and local interdict. The *Ouvidor* called upon the Chief
 XXXI. Captain Joam Duarte Franco, for military assistance, and be-
 1697. sieged the Bishop. . . . What had passed in Paraguay might
 have taught him the danger as well as the inutility of such mea-
 sures : he perceived that the soldiers acted with reluctance and
 manifest fear, so on the second day he had recourse to the
 starving system, and nailed up the Bishop's doors. The Bishop
 had not stored his house for a blockade ; he agreed that the
 whole matter should be referred to the home government, . . . upon
 which the interdict was taken off, and the siege was raised.

*The matter
 is referred
 to Portugal.*

Berredo.
 § 1390—
 1397.

*Death of
 the Ouvidor.*

After this compromise the *Ouvidor* returned to Belem, and
 conceiving himself under no ecclesiastical censures, frequented
 the sacrament as he was wont. Shortly afterwards he fell ill,
 and knowing that the disease was mortal, he protested at the
 time of receiving the *viaticum*, that he fully expected a favoura-
 ble opinion upon his conduct from Portugal ; but if the Priest
 of his parish, from whose hands he now communicated, was
 of opinion that he had acted wrongly, and that any private
 or public atonement was required, he authorized him to make it
 in his name ; and if a pecuniary satisfaction were necessary, he
 desired that his whole property might be charged with it. On
 the following day he received extreme unction, and died with
 every catholic demonstration of true repentance. Some little
 scruple was felt by the Vicar who administered the *viaticum*,
 whether the deceased under these circumstances might receive
 Christian burial : on the whole however it was thought that
 no sufficient reason existed for withholding it, and the body
 being drest in the habit of the Order of Christ, was deposited in
 the Carmo Church, the Religioners of that Order, the Mercena-
 rios, and some of the Clergy attending. The next dispatches
 brought out the resolution of the Court. The King reprimanded
 the Bishop in severe terms for the violence and ille-

*Decision of
 the Court.*
 1699.

gality of his proceedings, for having usurped the royal authority in the first instance, and resisted it afterwards by refusing an appeal to the tribunal which had been instituted in his kingdoms for the purpose of protecting the people against the vexations of the Clergy. His Majesty therefore reprov'd him for having given occasion to such scandals, admonish'd him not to exceed in future the jurisdiction of the sacred Canons, Councils, and Concordats, and commanded him to release the persons forthwith whom he held in confinement. But at the same time a more severe reproof was address'd to the *Ouvidor*, and all who had cooperated with him: the Governor was order'd to summon them before him, and declare to them his Majesty's high displeasure; . . . the temporal laws, it was said, allow'd of no such harsh proceedings against a simple Priest, much less against a consecrated Prelate; and they were command'd to go before the Bishop, beg absolution with all humility from his hands, and in the same humble spirit accept whatever penance he might impose. The same dispatches admonish'd the Bishop to proceed in this point with moderation and prudence, like a shepherd applying to his flock that spiritual medicine which was necessary for their health, and not inflicting punishment to gratify an angry and vindictive mind.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1699.

Berreão.
§ 1398—
1405.

*Insolence of
the Bishop.*

The Bishop attend'd only to that part of the dispatch which accord'd with his wishes. His censures were allow'd by this decision to be valid, and the *Ouvidor*, though dead and buried, was still within reach of ecclesiastical vengeance. He sent off a boat immediately for Para with a pastoral letter to be read in the Mother Church, giving notice to the Prior and Brethren of the Carmo, that within three days they should abstain from celebrating divine service in their Church, and should fasten its doors, because it was polluted by the body of one who had died under sentence of excommunication. The Prior obey'd with-

CHAP. out delay ; but at the same time that he notified his obedience
 XXXI. to the imperious Prelate, he submitted the reasons upon which
 1699. they had acted, and petitioned him to relieve them from this
 undeserved indignity, or at least that he would let them see the
 process against them, and suspend the measure, which was
 notoriously informal, as they had not been previously cited.
 The Prior of the Carmelite Convent at S. Luiz was instructed
 to act in behalf of his brethren. Twice he attempted to see the
 Bishop, and was refused admittance ; he then presented a me-
 morial, which after some days was returned with a simple super-
 scription that the petition must be made in form. To point out
 the informality, the epithet *Most Reverend* was erased that the
 word *Sir* might stand alone, this being the most respectful of all
 forms of address, and such as was used to the Sovereign. A
 second petition was presented in this form, but no answer was
 vouchsafed. The Prior then appealed to the *Juizo da Coroa*,
 as a competent tribunal ; upon which the Bishop notified to
 him, that unless the appeal were withdrawn within three quar-
 ters of an hour he would excommunicate him and the commu-
 nity for which he acted, .. a threat which was punctually ful-
 filled. The Prior now had recourse to the *Juiz Conservador* of
 his Order, who required the Bishop to desist from these vexa-
 tious proceedings : the Bishop demurred to his authority, ob-
 jecting some informality in his appointment ; the *Juiz Conserva-
 dor* proceeded in form to interdict the Bishop ; the Bishop
 replied by excommunicating him ; and every step in this con-
 test afforded a case for the Canonists. Orders arrived from
 Portugal that the Prelate should suspend the censure, and take
 off the interdict from the Carmelite Church : he disregarded
 them ; and the Carmelites, having waited a month after the
 receipt of these dispatches, opened their doors for service in
 defiance of the unjust and irregular prohibition. More and more

irritated, and therefore acting more and more imprudently, the Bishop issued a fresh interdict, and declared that the King had no power to interpose in an affair which was purely ecclesiastical. He then embarked hastily for Lisbon. There he was received with the marked displeasure which he so well deserved ; so that he retired from Court sullen and ashamed to a poor *Quinta* near Setubal, and being summoned to appear either in person or by his *Procurador* at the decision of the cause, refused to do either. He was therefore declared contumacious : and the affair terminated by his signing a declaration that all his excommunications had been null and void.

CHAP.
XXXI.
1699.

He returns to Lisbon, and is disgraced.

Berredo.
§ 1406—
1417.
1427—8.

CHAP.
XXXI.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Discovery of the Minas Geraes. First code of regulations. Discovery and fate of Marcos de Azevedo. Gold exhibited at Espirito Santo by Antonio Rodriguez Arzam. Berto'omeu Bueno inherits his papers and prosecutes his researches. Growth of Settlements. Second code. Influx of adventurers to the Minas. Decay of commerce in consequence at Bahia. D. Rodrigo da Costa Governor General. Siege of Nova Colonia, which is evacuated by the Portuguese. Luiz Cesar de Menezes Governor. Affairs of Maranham. Civil war in the Minas. Disturbances at Pernambuco.

CHAP.
XXXII.

While these disputes in the spirit of the twelfth century were disturbing the northern Captaincies, the hopes which the Portuguese Government had cherished from the first settlement of America were at length realized, and the golden age of Brazil arrived. It brought with it no moral melioration, no increase of happiness, and it may be doubted whether it promoted or retarded the progress of the colonies ; but it produced a great change in the system of administration, and in the condition and pursuits of the people.

*First laws
of the mines.
Vol. 1.
p. 358.
Santuário
Mariano.
t. 10. p. 149.*

It had long been known that the precious metals existed in the Captaincy of S. Paulo. In the last year of the sixteenth century, D. Francisco de Sousa, after his unsuccessful search for the mines of Roberio Diaz, sent to Philip III a rosary com-

posed of native grains of gold ; and in the year 1618 that King issued a code of regulations. Being informed that mines had been discovered, and that farther discoveries might easily be made, the King, it was said, in order to shew favour to his vassals, and for other respects which behoved his service, held it good to confer such mines upon the discoverers, that they might work them at their own cost, reserving to himself a fifth of the refined produce, to be delivered at his treasury free of all expence. Any person therefore who adventured to discover a mine was to give notice to the *Provedor* whom the King appointed in those parts, and bind himself to pay the royal fifths : his declaration was to be registered and signed by himself. After these preliminaries had been observed, all persons in authority were bound to afford him the necessary assistance ; and when he should have succeeded in his search, the time and place of the discovery were to be entered, with all proper particulars, in the same book. He was to present a sample of the metal to the *Provedor* within thirty days after the discovery, and make oath that it had been extracted from the place which was registered on his account. If it should afterwards be proved that he had sworn falsely, he was amenable for all the expences which other persons might incur by working at that place in consequence of his deceit, and to be punished also ; and if the manifestation were delayed beyond the time appointed, unless a sufficient reason could be adduced for the delay, his privileges as a discoverer were forfeited.

CHAP.
XXXII.

*Regimento
das Minas.
MS. c. 1. 2.*

c. 3.

The privileges of the discoverer, according to the original code, were, that he should have one mine, as it was then called, of eighty Portugueze *varas* by forty, allotted him ; and a second allotment of sixty by thirty, upon the same *beta* or vein : both were to be at his own choice ; but an hundred and twenty *varas*, being the space which two such smaller grants would occupy,

- CHAP. were to intervene between his two portions. He had thus the
 XXXII. first choice, and a second allotment, which was permitted to no
 c. 4. other person. In running waters, and in ravines whether wet
 or dry, the discoverer's portion was sixty *varas* in length, and
 twelve in width, measuring from the middle of the water or
 ravine; that of the other adventurers was less by one third in
 length; but if the stream were large the discoverer was then en-
 c. 41. 43. titled to eighty *varas*, and the other persons to threescore. In
 what were called *Minas Menores*, lesser mines, which were in
 the plain country, upon little hills, or by the side of rivers,
 the allotment of the discoverer was to be thirty square *varas*,
 others having a square of twenty: but if the ground was not
 extensive enough for the number of claimants, the allotments
 were to be reduced in proportion by the *Provedor*. No new
 c. 44. 45. discovery could be allowed in such places, within half a league.
 Any adventurer might demand a mine, but he could only
 have one which was to be of the same extent as the discoverer's
 first portion: two days were given him to chuse for himself, and
 c. 7. the choice having once been made might not be altered.
 Boundaries were to be raised, either of stone, or earth well
 compacted and beaten down, a *covado* high, and made in a
 durable manner: the person who neglected to raise his bound-
 c. 10. ary forfeited his grant, and was subject to the same penalty if
 he removed it: and if any one had more than a lawful allot-
 c. 16. ment, all beyond that measure might be taken by any person who
 should think proper to claim it. No one, except the discoverer,
 might have more than one allotment within the distance of a
 league and half, unless he purchased another person's; but he
 who possessed a mine upon a rich vein, was allowed to hold
 another upon a poorer, though it might be within these limits,
 c. 21. 22. because rich silver ore melted better for being mixed with some
 of poorer quality. If more persons than one undertook the dis-

covery, he who first found the ore was to be accounted the discoverer; and an adventurer might seek and work a mine upon private property, because it was for the King's service; but he was bound to indemnify the owner of the land for any injury which might be sustained.

CHAP.
XXXII.

c. 4.

c. 20.

Mines might be granted to such persons only as possessed the means of working and peopling them, seeing it was a disservice to the State if they were not worked and settled. If therefore a grant were not taken possession of within fifty days, it was forfeited, unless the delay had been caused by the want of tools, in which case the *Provedor* might extend the term at discretion: and it was not to be deemed settled (*povoado*) unless two labourers at least were constantly employed upon it. It might sometimes happen, when the vein lay deep, that the discoverer could not get at it because of poverty, and that others who possessed allotments there would not work to extract ore for his benefit: but this was injurious to the King's service, and therefore all other adventurers were bound to assist him in digging to the depth of ten *braças*, upon payment of a fourth part of the value of their labour: when they should reach the true vein, then they might demand the full price. By another provision, every person seeking for gold was required to continue the search till he came to the rock. It had been shown by experience in Peru and Mexico, that where the veins were certain and lay deep, it was easier to reach them by horizontal shafts, than by sinking; an entrance therefore might be made wherever it seemed best, even though it should prove to be from the open mine of another adventurer; and in such cases he was bound to allow entrance during fifty days, in which time a pit might be sunk for the service of the mine. Every miner was expected to lay his rubbish upon his own ground; he was not to annoy his neighbours with it, and should he cast it into

c. 30. 33.

c. 25.

c. 47.

c. 36.

CHAP. a stream he was responsible for any damage which it might
 XXXII. occasion: the same law applied to the trees which he might cut
 c. 46. down.

In order that the mines might prosper; and that *Engenhos* and dwelling houses might be erected in the mining country, adventurers were admitted to all common rights of the district. They might turn their cattle into the lands of the *Conselho*, upon the public ground, and even upon private estates if it were necessary; in this case they were to pay the value of the pasturage, but the owner had no power to forbid them. No man could be arrested for debt while he was engaged in mining, neither might distress be levied upon his slaves, tools, provisions, or any thing needful for the work: the public interest, which was paramount to all other, being concerned in facilitating such operations.

c. 49. 50.

The superintendance of the mines was vested in a *Provedor*; he and his secretary were to visit them as often as they could, to see that all was in order; and they should not allow any idlers or vagabonds to remain there. Neither they nor the Treasurer were to hold any share directly or indirectly, nor to trade in the metal, on pain of losing their offices and having their whole property confiscated, . . . a like confiscation attaching to those who traded with them. The *Provedor's* decision was final in all disputes to the amount of sixty *milreis*: an appeal lay to the *Provedor Mor da Real Fazenda* in causes of greater value. A refining house was to be erected at the expence of the Treasury, and no person be allowed to enter it without just cause. Here all the ore was to be melted; it was to be weighed and registered at entering, and after it had been melted and refined, registered again and stamped. The fifth was then to be taken, and deposited in a chest under three locks, the keys of which were to be kept by the Treasurer, the Secretary, and the *Pro-*

c. 53.

vedor. The stamping iron was to be kept in this chest, which was never to be opened except in presence of these three persons. The punishment for selling, exchanging, giving, embarking, or possessing unstamped gold, was declared to be death and confiscation of property, two thirds being forfeited to the Crown, and the remainder assigned to the informer as his reward. A yearly account was to be returned of all the discoveries and produce. It was added, that if copper or pearls should be found, the King was to have his fifth, and would purchase the rest at an equitable price¹⁰.

CHAP.
XXXII.

C. 56.

C. 59.

This was the first code of the mines in Brazil. Soon after its promulgation the Dutch war began; the home government then bestowed but little thought upon increasing the resources of a country which they found it so difficult to defend; and the Paulistas carried on at that time their hostilities against the Reductions with so much passion in the pursuit of their execrable slave trade, or so much profit in its results, that while it

*Marcos de
Azevedo's
discovery.*

¹⁰ This *Alvara* was issued at Valladolid, August 15, 1618, and registered at Lisbon January 30, 1619. The copy in the *Casa da Fundaçam* of S. Paulo, from which my manuscript is transcribed, gives the first date 1603; but a marginal note observes that the *Alvara* of December 3, 1750, in referring to it, makes the date 1618; and this correction is proved to be right by the time when it was registered. The copy at the Rio bears date May 29, 1652, and is signed by Salvador Correa de Sa Benavides, then Governor. This is the only paper in which I have found the name of the country so written as if the plural form were in use: *partes dos Braziz*:—the form is frequently used in England, but is certainly improper. There is an *Alvara* dated at Lisbon Aug. 8, 1618, which also throws the mines open to all adventurers, reserving to the King a fifth: the reason for this measure is fairly declared; .. many years had elapsed and great search been made, particularly by D. Francisco de Sousa when he was Governor, and by Salvador Correa de Sa, and yet nothing had been ascertained respecting the mines, and no benefit whatever had accrued to the Treasury.

CHAP.
XXXII.

*He conceals
it and dies
in prison.*

*Memorias.
MSS.*

*Agostinho
Barbalho
and Fernan-
do Diaz, di-
rected to
pursue the
search.*

*Carta d'El
Rey D. Af-
fonso 6. MS.
27th Sept.
1664.*

continued at its height the enterprising spirit of this active community took no other direction. Specimens of gold however were found about the middle of the century in the Serras of Geragua and Pernagua, and an adventurer by name Marcos de Azevedo went up the Rio Doce and the Rio das Caravellas, with one companion, and brought back samples of silver and of emeralds. This in its consequences proved a most disastrous expedition for the discoverers; it appears as if they had wished to enhance their importance with the government, and keep the scene of their fortunate search secret, till they could make terms which might secure to them the profit as well as the merit of the discovery. On the other hand, the Government remembered the affair of Roberio Diaz, and insisted upon a disclosure: this the adventurers refused to make, acting first upon a mistaken view of self-interest, and afterwards from that stubbornness which the sense of oppression provokes. The result was, that these unhappy but obstinate men were thrown into prison at Bahia, and detained there as long as they lived, .. so absolute was the Government, so tenacious of its sovereignty, when the precious metals were in view, and so tyrannical in its proceedings.

Agostinho Barbalho Bezerra, who held the rank of Camp-master at Bahia, was instructed to search for these mines, upon such vague notices as were remembered after some lapse of time; and Fernando Diaz Paez Leme was desired by a letter from Affonso VI, to assist him in the enterprize. Disputes arose concerning their respective powers, between Bezerra, the Governor Salvador Correa, and the *Capitam de Mar e Guerra*. Bezerra died before the question was decided, and Fernando Diaz, at the age of eighty, solicited and obtained permission to undertake the service at his own charge. So many instances of high public spirit are found in Portugueze history, that such an offer would not be remarkable if it were not for the great age

of the adventurer. A commission was given him, with the command of all the troops who might be employed; and at his own expence he explored, conquered as it is called, and took possession of the whole country included in the present Captaincy of *Minas Geraes*, opening roads and forming ¹¹ settlements.

While Fernando Diaz was thus employed, D. Rodrigo de Castello Branco, and Jorge Soares de Macedo, who had been upon an unsuccessful search for silver and gold in the district of Pernagua, were ordered to join him, and assist in exploring the Serra of Sabara Bussu, from whence he had remitted specimens of chrystals and other stones. The hopes of the Court seem at this time to have been almost exhausted, so many attempts having proved fruitless; and in the letter which the King wrote to Fernando Diaz upon this occasion, it was intimated that if the present mission also should fail, it would be the last. These officers were at the Arrayal de Peraupaba, one of his establishments, when they received tidings of his death in a wilder part of the country far distant. His son Garcia Rodriguez Paez, whom at the age of fifteen he had taken with him upon this severe service, delivered to them according to his last

CHAP.
XXXII.

Fernando
Diaz ex-
plores the
country.
Pedro Diaz
Paez Leme.
Memorias.
MSS.

His services
and death.

Carta d'El
Rey D. Pe-
dro. MS.

1677.
Dec. 4.

¹¹ Among the settlements which he formed was one in the *Comarca* of the Rio das Mortes, called A Vituruna; three in Sabara, . . . Peraupeba, the Sumidouro do Rio das Velhas, and Rossa Grande; and others at Tucambira, Itamerendeba, As Esmeraldas, Matto das Pedrarias, and Serra Frio. The memoir from whence these particulars are stated was written about the year 1757, by his grandson Pedro Dias Paez Leme, who had succeeded to the office of Proprietary Guarda-Mor. It is stated in this memoir, that the old man would suffer no person to extract gold while he lived, or even to approach the mines, but that he contented himself with sending to the Court a clear account of his discoveries, and of the riches of the land; and then awaited its pleasure. But it is evident from a letter of K. Pedro, and from the official report of his death, that no mines were found during his life.

CHAP.
XXXII.

Vol. 1. p.
314.

instructions, some green transparent stones which he believed to be emeralds, and put them in possession of all his plantations of millet, kidney-beans, and mandioc, and of his herds of swine. It was in search of the emerald mines which Marcos de Azevedo Coutinho had discovered, that Fernando Diaz encountered his last and greatest difficulties. From his head quarters at the *Sumidouro* (or Swallow, as those places are called where a river sinks into a subterraneous channel) he explored the Serra of Sabara ¹² Bussu, and underwent during four years so many hardships in the adventure, that his companions, in despair of persuading him to abandon it, conspired against his life: this danger he escaped; but they forsook him, and he was left alone. The persevering old man persisted in his purpose: he had reason for supposing at this time that the mines lay near *Vepabussu*, the great lake; and he procured more men and means from S. Paulo, having commanded his wife to execute to their full extent any orders which she might receive from him to this effect. He reached the lake with so large a party, that he was able to detach an hundred men ¹³ to survey the country and take a prisoner if possible; for it was not doubted but that the natives knew where the green stones were found. They brought back a young savage, who being kindly treated, led them to the spot. But this discovery was obtained at a heavy price: the country was pestilential round about the lake. It

¹² *Guazu, Ouassu, Wassu, Vasu, and Bussu*, are so many different forms of writing the Tupi word which signifies *great*. *B* and *V* are used indiscriminately in common orthography by the Portuguese as well as the Spaniards and both those nations, like those who wrote in Latin, represent the sound of our *W* by *Gu*.

¹³ *Bastardos* they are called, and the word is explained to mean a kind of light troops.

required all Fernando's vigilance and exertions to quell repeated mutinies among his people; . . . even one of his own illegitimate sons whom he greatly loved, was convicted of a design to murder him, and was hung for the intended parricide by his father's orders. He was on the way to S. Paulo with the green stones which had cost him so dear, when he was seized with a fever; and then perhaps, when the next world was opening upon him, he may have understood the vanity of his pursuits in this. The services of this adventurous old man were reported by D. Rodrigo as they deserved. It was represented that in his old age he had left his family in S. Paulo, of which town he had been one of the wealthiest inhabitants, and had engaged in an enterprise which even the Paulistas at that time thought desperate. No person would assist him with means of any kind; he spent his own property in the pursuit, and was reviled for it as a madman who was wasting the substance of his wife and children. He had hired Indians to accompany him at the price of eight *milreis* a head: they had all deserted, and not one was sent back from S. Paulo, whither they had returned. He had lost thirty of his own Negroes, some dying before him, others of the infectious malady which proved fatal to their master. No priest was sent to him in his last illness, not even though he had kinsmen in S. Paulo who were in orders; and thus he expired in the midst of the wilderness, without confession, and without human assistance. This representation was not ineffectual, and the services of Fernando Diaz were remembered to the benefit of his posterity. He himself did not live to see the desired end of his labours; but he prepared the way for others, and more than any other individual, facilitated their success.

Claudio Manoel da Costa. Patriota. April, 1813. p. 53-5.

Attestam de D. Rodrigo de Castel Branco. MS.

Antonio Roiz Arzom exhibits the first gold.

The first gold which is certainly known to have been produced from this district was a sample of three *oitavas*, presented in 1695, to the *Capitam Mor* of Espirito Santo, by Antonio Ro-

CHAP.
XXXII.

*Bartolomeu
Bueno in-
herits his
papers.*

driguez Arzam, a native of the town of Taboate. He had entered with fifty men by way of the Rio Doce, and brought back this proof that his search had been successful. The Commander supplied him and his people with food and clothing, according to the King's instructions; but Arzam could not raise a party sufficient for a second expedition in that Captaincy. In expectation of succeeding better he went therefore first to the Rio, afterwards to S. Paulo, and he died in the latter town, in consequence of the hardships which he had endured, leaving his papers and his pretensions to Bartolomeu Bueno de Sequeira, his brother-in-law. This person had gambled away all his substance, and hoped now to retrieve his ruined fortunes by an enterprize for which he possessed the qualifications of intrepidity, activity, and bodily strength. He raised a competent party among his kinsmen and friends; and they struck into the woods, following the directions which Arzam had left. The tops of certain mountains were their landmark; and after many difficulties, they came out upon a place called Itaverava, or the glittering stone, about eight leagues from the spot where Villa Rica now stands. Here they sowed half a bushel of maize, and then went toward the Rio das Velhas, to support themselves till their crop should have grown and ripened, .. game being more abundant on that side than in the part of the country which they had traversed. When they returned to gather their maize they found a party of other conquerors, as they are called, under Colonel Salvador Fernandes Furtado, and the *Capitam Mor* Manoel Garcia Velho. There were now hands enough for mining, for they had brought plenty of slaves from the Caete and the Rio Doce; but they had neither skill, knowledge, nor iron tools, and were fain to open the earth with no better instruments than sharpened stakes. Miguel de Almeida, one of Bartolomeu Bueno's company, proposed to the Colonel

1691.

1692.

to change blunderbusses, and as his own piece was much inferior, gave him to boot all the gold which he and his companions possessed, amounting to twelve *oitavas*. Manoel Garcia, desirous of exhibiting this gold at S. Paulo, offered in exchange for it an Indian woman and her daughter¹⁴: the offer was accepted, and the new possessor, proud of his acquisition, set off for S. Paulo. His way was through Taboate: there he visited a certain Carlos Pedrozo da Silveira; and this person, conceiving the same hopes as his visitor, found means to obtain the gold from him for his own use. He then hastened to the Rio, and presented it to the Governor Antonio Paes Sande; in reward for which he received a commission as *Capitam Mor* of the town of Taboate, and was appointed *Provedor* of the royal fifths, with orders to establish a *Fundiçam*, or smelting house, in that town, being the place where the first conquerors disembarked. The erection of this *Fundiçam* had the same effect as a proclamation from Government would have had, announcing that there was gold in the land, and inviting all persons to search for it.

No men had ever thirsted for gold so insatiably as the first discoverers of America. The Spanish conquerors sought for mines, and for mines only: they would not settle in Florida because none were found there;..they had not left their own fair and fertile country, they said, to become tillers of the earth, nor had they forsaken it like the barbarous northern nations of old time, because it was incapable of supporting them. Ava-

CHAP.
XXXII.
1692.

Gold exhibited at the Rio.

1693.

Smelting house established at Taboate.

Memorias sobre a historia de Minas Geraes. MSS.

The discovery of the mines not injurious to the Indians in Brazil.

Herrera. 7. 2. 4.

¹⁴ It proved a happy exchange for these poor women, who thus fell into humane hands. They were instructed in the Catholic faith, and baptized by the name of Teresa and Cecilia; the latter died at a great age in the house of the Colonel's daughter, a short time before the memoir was written from which these circumstances are taken.

CHAP.
XXXII.

Herrera.
5.3.15.

rice was so notoriously the ruling passion which led them on, that their great historian attributes the abundance of gold and silver in the New World to an especial provision of Providence, whereby the Castellians might be induced to seek the idolatrous natives, and thus communicate to them a knowledge of the saving faith. But if Herrera had considered the mines to be a lure disposed by the Evil Principle, for the purpose of drawing the Spaniards themselves to perdition, facts would have been more in favour of the assumption; for never was there a more damning tyranny than that to which the discovery of these fatal treasures gave occasion. For it was in great measure by working in the mines that the original inhabitants of the Islands were exterminated, and that Mexico, Peru, and the countries of Bogota and Tunja underwent so rapid and excessive a depopulation as would scarcely be credible, if the evidence were not such as to enforce belief. After all possible allowances have been made for exaggeration, and the utmost weight allowed to every extenuating circumstance arising either from the general spirit of the age, or the inhuman customs and idolatries of the native Americans, the early history of Spanish America must for ever stand prominent in the records of human wickedness. Happily for Portugal, the Brazilian mines were not discovered till humaner principles had been acknowledged. The contest for them had been long and arduous; they who stood foremost in a right cause were exposed to all those calumnies, obloquies, and indignities, which are the weapons of profligate men. But Las Casas and Vieyra had not lived in vain;.. though they saw their hope deferred, the principle for which they contended was at length established, and when gold was found in Brazil the Indians had no cause for lamenting the discovery. That event seems even to have put an end, in this part of the country, to the Indian slave-trade: certain it is,

that it came in aid of the laws. A new object was held out to the cupidity of the Paulistas, and every other pursuit was abandoned for one which afforded an excitement strong as gambling, and which was as permanent as it was powerful.

When the Spanish mines were first discovered, a false theory in this as in other instances led to disastrous consequences. They were regarded as trees, of which the veins are the branches; and it was supposed that the root was the richest part: the root therefore would naturally be sought; and as there was no other expence in the search than that of Indian life, that expence was not spared by the *Encomenderos* and their remorseless agents. It was happy that no such opinion prevailed in Brazil; the toil of discovering the mines was far more severe than that of working them. The common method at that time was to open a square pit, which they called *cata*¹⁵, till they came to the *cascalho*, the hard and gravelly soil in which the ore was imbedded; this they broke up with pickaxes, and placing it in a *batea*, or wooden vessel broad at the top and narrow at the bottom, exposed it to the action of running water, shaking it from side to side till the earth was washed away, and the metallic particles had all subsided. Lumps of native gold were often found from twenty to an hundred *oitavas*¹⁶ in weight, . . . a few which weighed from two to three hundred, and

CHAP.
XXXII.

First method of
mining.
Acosta.
l. 4. c. 2.

RochaPitta.
8. § 58-65.

¹⁵ *Cata*, search, pursuit. *Catar* to seek, to explore. The verb is used to denote the chase of certain "small deer" with the fingers, which is among the favourite enjoyments of low life in the south of Europe, and not always disdained by persons of superior rank. By an easy license, the substantive was used in Brazil for a searching-place.

¹⁶ The *oitava* is the eighth part of an ounce, and passed in Brazil at this time for 1200 reis, . . . being the quarter of a moidore; in English money six shillings and nine pence.

CHAP.
XXXII.

Memorias.
MSS.

Rivalry between the Paulistas and the men of Taboate.

Garcia Roiz Paes appointed Guarda Mor.

Provizam. Dec. 4. 1702. MS.

Pedro Dias Paes Leme. MS.

one, it is asserted, of thirteen pounds : but these were insulated pieces, and the ground where they were discovered was not rich. All the first workings were in the beds of rivers, or in the *tableiros*, the table ground on their sides.

The first discovery which Government authenticated and proclaimed, had been made by two parties casually meeting in the search, one from S. Paulo, the other from Taboate. These parties seemed to have coalesced cordially ; but when adventurers now crowded from both towns, and their surrounding districts, a jealous emulation was excited, bordering upon enmity, so that the Paulistas would not cooperate with the men of Taboate, nor they with the Paulistas. A wider extent of country therefore was explored, and consequently more veins were discovered than if they had acted in unison. At this time, when circumstances were thus prosperous, and the prospect still more flattering, Garcia Rodriguez Paes was named *Guarda Mor*, with a salary of two thousand *cruzados*, with the privilege of appointing deputies in distant parts, and with a special exemption from all fees and formalities at entering upon his office. This was in consideration of his father's services ; and when he would have declined it as an invidious charge, the Secretary of State wrote to him in reply, that the favours of the Sovereign were not to be rejected, and that in bestowing this favour upon him, the king believed he was giving him a great thing, and one which in time would be well worth soliciting. Garcia Rodriguez continued the course in which his father had been so usefully employed, and opened a road to the Captaincy of the Rio. The increase of adventurers, and the growth of jarring interests, made them request that a minister might be sent to put the laws civil and criminal in regular course ; and a *Dezembargador* was accordingly appointed.

At this time, and by such means, the foundations were laid of many places which now hold a respectable rank among the towns and cities of Brazil; some settlements still retaining the name of Camps, originally given them from the gypsey-like habitations and habits of the first adventurers, who hutted themselves upon the ground. Thus the city of Mariana had its beginning, notwithstanding the difficulties which were at first encountered in working the rich veins in the Rio do Carmo, upon which it stands. The river was shaded on both sides with woods almost impenetrably thick, and the water in consequence was so intensely cold, that it was not possible to work in it more than four hours during the day; provisions were at an enormous price, till the ground could be cleared and cultivated; the *alqueire* of maize (about the fifth part of an English bushel) varied in price from thirty to forty *oitavas*, and the same measure of kidney beans sold for fourscore, which is equal to twenty-seven pounds sterling, . . . prices which could only be paid by men who were employed in finding gold, and who found it in abundance. They who destroy cities have their names recorded in history, when those who founded them are forgotten. Such founders indeed as these in the Minas Geraes have nothing interesting in their actions, or ennobling in their motives; yet were they men of undaunted courage and unconquerable endurance. Some local interest may justly be attached to their memory, and families in their own country may trace their origin to them with pleasure, and even with pride. The first discovery on the Rio do Carmo was registered in the name of Miguel Garcia of Taboate; the second, nearly at the same time, for Joam Lopes Lima, a Paulista. The ground where they endured and overcame so many difficulties is now the site of a neat and well built city, containing between six and seven thousand inhabitants, and having a college for the education of the clergy.

CHAP.
XXXII.

First settle-
ments called
Camps.

Origin of
the city of
Mariana.

1700.

Memorias,
MSS.

Mauves'
Travels.
p. 181.

CHAP.
XXXII.

Villa Rica.

About eight miles to the west of Mariana stands Villa Rica, the capital of the Captaincy of Minas Geraes, and at one time the richest place in the world, if gold alone were riches. Its population is still estimated at twenty thousand, though it has declined in proportion as the mines have failed, and partakes still of the moral and political evils, which both the habits and the laws of mining produce. It is built upon the side of a mountain, part of a long and lofty chain; the streets form so many steps or terraces, crossed by others which lead up the acclivity; and the manner in which the inhabitants have profited by the situation, may be referred to as proof of their ingenuity and activity, when they perceive an adequate motive for exertion. The water with which the mountain abounds is conducted into almost every house, and for public use there are numerous and well constructed fountains in the streets. The whole side of the mountain is husbanded in a manner not unworthy of the Swiss or the Savoyards: it is cut into level gardens at regular distances, supported by low walls, and on these terraces the finest flowers, and the choicest esculent plants are cultivated. The *Bairros*, or Wards, into which the town is divided, bear at this day the names of the first adventurers who pitched their tents upon the ground, and formed what was then called, the Arraial do Ouro Preto; they were, Antonio Dias of Taboate, Thomas Lopes de Comargo, and Francisco Bueno da Silva, both Paulistas, the latter a near kinsman of Bartolomeu Bueno.

1701.

Mave. 167.
Memorias.
MSS.

Sabara.
1700.

The mines of Sabara were registered by the Lieutenant General Borba Gato. Manoel de Borba Gato was son-in-law to Fernando Dias Paez; and the gunpowder, lead, and mining instruments which the old man possessed in this part of the country, were in his charge when D. Rodrigo de Castello Branco, with a party of Paulistas in his company, arrived there on

their way to prosecute the discovery of the emeralds. They demanded these materials for the public service; and some of D. Rodrigo's companions, perceiving that Borba was not disposed to give them up, attempted to take them by force. D. Rodrigo interfered to prevent this; but before the resentment which had thus been roused was allayed, he threw out a rash menace, which kindled the anger of Borba's retainers, and they killed him upon the spot. They were the weaker party, but Borba Gato, with great presence of mind, pretended that a ¹⁷ large body of his friends were hastening up, and D. Rodrigo's people took flight to save their lives. When they discovered how they had been deceived, it is said that they were ashamed to return to their own country, and therefore struck toward the sources of the river S. Francisco: they were the first persons who established themselves in that part of Brazil; and from the cattle which they took with them, those herds were produced by which the Minas Geraes are at this time supplied. Borba Gato, believing that no efforts would be spared for arresting and punishing him for the murder, withdrew with some Indians into the Sertam of the Rio Doce, and lived there for some years as a Cacique. But he applied for pardon through his kinsmen at S. Paulo; and as the act had not been committed by his orders, the Governor Artur de Sa, with whom he obtained an interview, promised him reward as well as forgiveness, if he would verify the discoveries at Sabara. Borba gladly fulfilled the condition, and was rewarded with the rank of Lieutenant

CHAP.
XXXII.

*Claudio Manoel da Costa.
Patriota.
April, 1813.
p. 56-8.*

¹⁷ He pretended, says Claudio Manoel, that Fernando Dias was unexpectedly arrived. This is certainly erroneous: for the letter to the Government which contains an account of the death and services of Fernando Dias was written by D. Rodrigo.

CHAP. XXXII.

General. This side of the country was explored before the other parts of the Captaincy, because the first conquerors directed their course toward the Rio das Velhas, where the open country abounded with game, and probably for that reason with Indians, the chase of which they were in pursuit. The *Sargento Mor* Leandro Vardes, and the Guerras who were natives of Santos, made their discovery in a place called Caethé, which signifies a forest without any intervening glade; and this inappropriate name is still the common appellation of the town into which their settlement has grown, though it was chartered by that of Villa Nova da Rainha. The town of S. Joam owes its foundation to Thomé Cortes d'El Rei, a native of Taboate; that of S. José, to his townsman José de Sequeira Affonso; both are upon the Rio das Mortes. Antonio Soares, a Paulista, and Antonio Rodriguez Arzam, a descendant of the first adventurer of that name, explored a wilder region, which the Indians called Hyvituray, because it is exposed to violent and piercing winds: and which for the same reason is now denominated Serro Frio. The former has left his name to one of the *Serras* in this district, the richest part of all Brazil, in its mineral productions, but the poorest in whatever truly constitutes the wealth, or contributes to the well-being of man.

Memorias.
MSS.

Second code.

It was found necessary to alter the existing laws. A greedy desire of gain induced the powerful, (as the new code called them) to solicit so many grants, that none were left for poor adventurers; . . the former code seems therefore to have been disregarded, or to have fallen into disuse; . . these men of influence had not means for working the numerous grants which they monopolized, so they sold them to those whom they had forestalled, or let them lie unopened; in the first case to the injury of the people, and in the second to the detriment of the revenue. Therefore it was enacted, that no second grant should be made

Regimento
das Terras
Mineraes.
April 19,
1702. MS.
§ 7.

to any person till he had worked the first; and if ground were still remaining after all the adventurers had received their allotments, it should be apportioned among those who possessed more than twelve slaves, a certain quantity being allowed for every additional head. On the other hand, when there were more claimants than could find shares in the extent of ground upon the scale prescribed, the proportions were to be lessened, that all might be satisfied, as well the poor as the powerful, . . . though it should be necessary, said the law, to measure the ground by spans instead of fathoms. The allotments were now regulated by the number of slaves which the miner employed, in the ratio of two *braças* and a half for each. Beside its fifths, the Crown took to itself an allotment, to be marked out in the best place, after the discoverer had taken his first grant, and before he had chosen his second: and if an adventurer did not begin to work his ground within forty days, a third part of it, upon information of the lapse, should be assigned to the informer, and the other two thirds fall to the Crown: but distance, want of provisions, bad weather, and ill health, might be pleaded against the forfeiture; and if this plea were substantiated, it was to be held good. The royal allotments were to be let by auction, after nine days notice; and the law declared, that the powerful should not be suffered to prevent the poor from bidding for them: if the bidding were not thought high enough, the superintendent was then to see them worked for the Treasury by Indians, paying them the same price for their labour which they would have received from private individuals. The inconvenience of this was soon perceived; it was then determined, that if the Crown allotments were not leased, adventurers might work them at their own expence, and take half the produce: the preference, in such cases, was to be given to persons of most conscience and credit; . . . a necessary proviso, when these persons were to

CHAP.
XXXII.
1702.

§ 20.

§ 5.

§ 5. 8.

§ 22.

CHAP.
XXXII.

1702.

Carta Re-
gia. May 7,
1703. MS.

Regimento,
§ 9.

§ 26. 28.
10.

Carta Re-
gia. Mar. 7,
1703. MS.

work for half the produce of the mine, and all other adventurers for four fifths. No officer of the treasury, or of justice, might possess a grant, nor share in one, nor derive from the mines any other emolument than his salary, on pain of loss of office, and forfeiture of all his forbidden gains, with a threefold fine, one third going to the informer. Any person engaging with an officer in such transactions, should forfeit his grant as well as his profits; and a heavy fine was imposed upon the *Guarda Mor*, or Superintendent, who should connive at these proceedings.

The salary of the Superintendent was fixed at three thousand five hundred *cruzados*; the *Guarda Mor* had two thousand; the *Guardas Menores* one thousand each, and in that ratio for the time these latter might hold these appointments. The appointment of a Treasurer was vested in the Superintendent. He was to be one of the principal and wealthiest inhabitants, with a salary of three thousand *cruzados*; and if the funds appointed for these payments fell short, the deficiency in this case was to be supplied from the fifths. As this officer could not be present every where where his services were required, he was to have deputies with salaries of five hundred *cruzados* each. The law said, that because all these officers were created solely for the advantage of the mines, it was fit that the miners should provide their salaries; each adventurer therefore was taxed in a tenth of the sum for which the royal allotment was let; . . . the assessment however being lowered in proportion to the inferior quality of an allotment. This law also was soon revoked, and the privilege of mining was conceded to the officers in lieu of a salary. The prospect of gain must have been very attractive, if this commutation were as agreeable to the officers, as it would be to the miners. Upon the face of this law, it appears to give them nothing but what they might have claimed as simple adven-

turers, and to impose upon them the burden of office without reward. CHAP.
XXXII.

30 Holders were not allowed to sell their grants for the purpose of obtaining others in better situations; this practice was forbidden, on pain of forfeiture of a year's value from both parties; but he who could not work his grant either for want of slaves at first, or afterwards by reason of their death, might in such case obtain a license from the superintendant to sell, that license disqualifying him from receiving another allotment, unless it were proved that he had obtained slaves enough to benefice it. When a discovery was made upon the banks of a river, the artifice was sometimes practised, of asking time to examine the ground, and employing that time in working it, to defraud the government by securing the first fruits. To prevent such frauds, eight days only were to be allowed for examination, and the discoverer if he exceeded that time forfeited his claims. But as it was difficult to lay down a positive law for cases, which might be so greatly varied by circumstances, it was provided, that this term might be enlarged at the discretion of the Superintendent, when the *ribeiro*, or bank, was extensive, and the *catas*, or searching places, deep. Allotments on the shore were to be straight, not measured by the course of the water. When gold had been discovered in the bed of a river, claims were sometimes made for new discoveries in the streams which fell into it; these claims were to be allowed or not, according to the magnitude of the streams. This was a point of some importance; for the fortunate adventurer who made four discoveries was entitled to four allotments in the last, instead of two. Regimento.
§ 11.

The whole ordinary, civil, and military authority, was vested in the Superintendent, as the *Juezes de Fora*, and the *Ouvidores Gerais*, possessed it in other parts of Brazil; and because of the dis- § 18.
§ 24.
§ 23.
§ 5.

CHAP.

XXXII.

1702.

- tance of the mines from the capital, definitive powers were allowed him in treasury causes, to the amount of a hundred *milreis*; for other and graver cases an appeal lay to the Supreme Court at Bahia. Secret information would be received of any frauds committed upon the Government, that proceedings might be instituted against the offenders, conformably to law. Cattle were driven from Bahia to the mines, and gold dust given in payment for them. The drovers were now required to notify their arrival in the mining district, and specify what number of head they imported, on pain of forfeiting the value three-fold of so many as they should attempt to conceal, and suffering the other penalties of smuggling. They were also to inform the Superintendant of the prices which they obtained, in order that if the gold wherewith they were paid had not previously been fifthed, the Treasury might then exact its due. Any person might go from the mines to Bahia for the purpose of purchasing cattle with gold dust; but unless he previously paid the fifth, and provided himself with a certificate, whatever he took with him was confiscable. The ingress was not equally free, no persons being allowed to enter from Bahia, except the drovers. Slaves might not be introduced in this direction, the law not permitting Negroes to come from any other place than the Rio. Nothing but cattle might be imported from Bahia by way of the *Certam*; it was required that all other commodities should be shipt for the Rio, and introduced by way either of Taboate or S. Paulo. These restrictions were designed to prevent the clandestine extraction of gold dust. And the Superintendant and *Guarda Mor* were charged especially to look that no idle persons were allowed to remain in the mines; for such persons, it was said, could only serve to consume provisions and smuggle out the gold.
- § 31. 25. No goldsmith was to be tolerated there, nor any settlers suf-
- § 13.
- § 16.
- § 17.
- § 21.

ferred to remain, who had a slave capable of exercising this forbidden craft.

The passion for mining is described by those who have witnessed it in Spanish America, to be a sort of madness, .. at once the most acute and chronic form of that disease which the love of gaming produces. Whoever, it is said, has once begun to use the technical language of the miners, ceases to think of any thing else: from the first trial, although he may resolve that it shall be only a trial, the course of his future life receives its unalterable direction. He has tasted of the insane root; he hears and repeats the common saying, that God has deposited the precious ores in the earth for those whom he has predestined to be the happy discoverers; applying this to himself, he determines that he will not be wanting to his own fortune, and he engages the whole of his means in the search. Men who have been noted for prudence, and even for penuriousness, till they have been persuaded to adventure in mining, acquire a new character from that pursuit, and avarice itself is hurried by its own greediness into prodigality. They are led on not only by those mineralogical indications which may reasonably be trusted, but by fantastic correspondences, .. the direction, the form, the magnitude of the hill or mountain, the herbs which it produces. From the hour wherein they commence this enterprize, they live in one continued dream of hope: the gleanings of a wasted property are devoted to the work with more eagerness and keener expectation than the first outlay; one adventure more may bring back all that has gone before it; they are near the vein, wealth will overflow upon them when they hit the spring, and to-morrow repay the labour, and richly realize the hopes of so many patient and painful years.

The passion was not less vehement in Brazil, but it was less ruinous; and it was far more prevalent, because the ore lay near

CHAP.
XXXII.

1702.

*Effects of
mining upon
the people.*

*Ulloa. En-
tretenimien-
to. 12. § 9.
14.*

*People flock
to the mines
from all
parts of
Brazil.*

CHAP.
XXXII.

1702.

Rocha Pitta.
8. § 67.

Regimento.
MS. § 30.

*Decay of the
sugar trade,
and depopu-
lation.*

the surface, and gold instead of silver was the bait; less labour and less capital were required for the search, the temptation was stronger, the risque less, the reward greater. The gold of the mines became now, says Rocha Pitta, the magnet of the Brazilians. Even the Governor of the Rio, Artur de Sa da Menezes, forgetful of his official character and obligations, went there, made himself the companion of the miners, engaged in the pursuit with equal avidity, and did not return till he carried back with him enough to enrich himself. Such conduct did not escape without the reprehension which it deserved; it was noted in the new laws. Experience, it was there said, had shewn that the Governor could not go to the mines without inconvenience to the public service, his presence being necessary in the seat of his government: he was therefore forbidden to visit this district unless by express orders from the Court, or in case of some unforeseen urgency wherein he would be culpable if he did not immediately repair thither. Adventurers now crowded to the scene of action from the other Captaincies, more especially from Bahia; and not mere adventurers alone, to whom having their fortunes to seek all places were alike, and who with regard to the general good might as well be cast upon one place as another, but men of substance also, who were well settled and beneficially employed for the community and for themselves. Farms were forsaken and left to run waste; the cultivator was not content to wait patiently for the wealth with which the ground repaid him, when he might dig for gold, and had in imagination the prospect of coming at once upon the well-head of riches. For this purpose Negroes were bought up at any price. The owners of the *Engenhos* could not stand the competition with speculators as eager as they were adventurous; none but the wealthiest proprietors could afford to keep up their stock

when the price was thus enormously advanced; the greater part soon became distressed for want of hands: they made less sugar in consequence, and as less was made it was naturally made worse, .. that business being usually neglected which is carried on without hope; and the works at length were necessarily abandoned as the slaves dropt off, or as the masters were ruined. Hitherto the European states had been supplied with sugar almost exclusively from Brazil; the exportation now rapidly diminished, and the French and English who were beginning at this time to carry on the culture of the cane with success in their islands, took advantage of the opportunity and occupied the markets. Commerce of every sort declined when the staple article was thus reduced, and the inevitable consequence of this decline was to increase the spirit of emigration by which it was occasioned. Thus villages and towns and cities were thinned, and the marks of depopulation were plainly visible thirty years afterwards.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1702.

Labat. Voyage aux Isles. T. 4. p. 77.

RochaPitta. 8. § 111—112.

Alarmed at the rapid progress of this unforeseen evil, the Government hoped to check it at once by a decisive interposition: it therefore prohibited the passage of slaves from Bahia to the mines, and enacted that all who were apprehended in making the attempt should be confiscated, and shared between the Treasury and the Informer. Troops were employed to cut off this contraband transit, and many seizures were made. But it was impossible to guard all the passes in so extensive and so wild a country; and fiscal vigilance is seldom so ingenious, and never so indefatigable, as individual enterprize. Hope is stronger than fear; and in these cases, and to men who were either desperate in fortune, or full of confidence, the stake was little in comparison with the prize for which it was adventured. By sea as well as by land the game was carried on with equal exertion. Every vessel which sailed for the Rio, or for the ports

Government attempts to prevent this emigration, but in vain.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1703.

of Santos, S. Vicente, and Espiritu Santo, was diligently searched at the hour of its departure;..the schemers evaded this by previously sending off the Negroes to Itapirica, or some other island in the bay, from whence they went off in boats and waited for the ships upon the bar. When this arrangement was discovered guards were embarked in every vessel, with orders not to leave it till they were many leagues out at sea. This state of things did not continue long before Government perceived the impolicy of counteracting the natural course of enterprize, and attempting to turn the stream when it was set so strongly in this direction. Accordingly the prohibition was revoked,..the fortune of the mines, says Rocha Pitta, prevailing over that of the *Engenhos*: their produce contributed to the victory, and converted the Court to the opinion of the Brazilians, that it was better to find gold than to cultivate the sugar cane.

RochaPitta.
8. § 114—
117.

D. Rodrigo
da Costa
Governor.
Disputes
concerning
Nova Co-
lonia.

These golden discoveries occurred during the administrations of D. Joam de Lancastro, and his successor D. Rodrigo da Costa. In the time of this latter Governor Brazil was again affected by the fluctuation of affairs in Europe. The arrangement which had hitherto been made respecting the territory of Nova Colonia was so indefinite, that it seems as if the terms had been rendered studiously inconclusive, with a view to after litigation. Frequent bickerings occurred. The Portuguese complained of aggressions and murders committed by the Indians from the Reductions. On the other hand, the Jesuits affirmed that the Portuguese had entered into alliance with the Indians who occupied the country between Nova Colonia and their establishments; that they supplied them with fire-arms, instigated them to attack the Christian settlements, and sent troops to their assistance when they were repulsed and pursued. It was necessary for their own preservation, that they should be upon good terms with the neighbouring tribes, and

that the Indians should obtain fire-arms from them would be the injurious but natural consequence of a friendly intercourse. But for the Portugueze, who were few in number, far from succour, and in front of Buenos Ayres, to have provoked hostilities from the Reductions, in which it was certain that Buenos Ayres must take part, would have been an act of impolicy and even folly, which it is by no means likely that they should have committed. With better grounds, the Spaniards accused them of intruding far into the country, by land and by water, of cutting down the wood upon the Isle of Martin Garcia, which they did not pretend to claim, and of slaughtering the cattle for the sake of exporting the hides, with so little regard to any other consideration that the Spaniards had reason to apprehend a scarcity of food in consequence of this wasteful havoc. These complaints were urged by the Governor of Buenos Ayres, D. Manuel del Prado, with as much asperity as if it had been a personal dispute, and he were ambitious of displaying his talents for acrimonious controversy. Yet upon a strange report that the Danes intended forcibly to establish themselves in the Plata, he called upon the Portugueze Governor to cooperate in opposing them, and required him for that purpose to fortify the position of Monte Video;.. a remarkable circumstance in other respects, as well as for the singular cause of alarm: it shows, notwithstanding the frequent contention and bitter enmity between them, how well both nations were disposed to act together for their common interest against all interlopers; and it shows also that the site of Monte Video was at this time acknowledged to be within the Portugueze demarcation.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1703.

Charlevoix.
2. 257.
Sobre o Ter-
ritorio de
N. Colonia.
MS.

Prado had been succeeded by D. Alonso Valdes, when the part which Portugal had taken in the war of the Succession legitimized hostilities in America. Preparations were imme-

War with
Spain, and
siege of No-
va Colonia.

CHAP. diately made for attacking Nova Colonia, and the Governor
 XXXII. Sebastiam da Veiga sent to Bahia and to the Rio for succour.

1703.

Four hundred men, with stores and ammunition, were embarked with the utmost activity from the former city. As they were crossing the bar, a ship homeward bound from the Spanish Indies came in, having been driven thus widely out of her course, in distress for provisions and water, standing in need of repairs, and ignorant of the war. There were not wanting persons who advised D. Rodrigo to seize her, and thus indemnify the State for the expence of dispatching these reinforcements to Nova Colonia: but conformable as this would have been to established usages, a better feeling prevailed. The Governor prohibited all persons from going on board the ship, or holding any communication with the crew, except those whom he appointed: he allowed the Spaniards to supply themselves at fair prices with whatever they required, to remain as long as was necessary, and when they were thoroughly refitted suffered them to depart in peace, admiring the generosity with which they had been treated.

RochaPitta.
 8. § 84—7.

*The Portu-
 guese eva-
 cuate the
 place.*

Other reinforcements were dispatched from the Rio. Mean-
 time Sebastiam da Veiga had laboured diligently at the works,
 which had been carried on slowly when there was no appre-
 hension of immediate danger. There had been leisure for
 this, because the besieging force was to be collected from
 distant parts. The orders for the siege came from Peru; part
 of the troops were to be drawn from Tucuman, and the
 Reductions were summoned to supply four thousand men.
 These auxiliaries were formed into three divisions under four
 Cacique Camp-Masters, with four Missionaries, who were the
 real Commanders, and four Brethren who practised surgery.
 Two of the divisions¹⁸ came down the Uruguay; the third,
 having a shorter journey to perform, marched by land. The

Sargento Mayor, Baltazar Garcia, commanded the besieging army. The Portugueze burnt all the houses which were without the works, and made a gallant defence. The enemies' batteries discharged from an hundred and fifty to two hundred balls every day, which was thought a great exertion; mines were resisted by countermines, and the war was carried on by water as well as by land, till the Spaniards brought a flotilla from Buenos Ayres, and blockaded the bay. At length they resorted to the slow but surer means of starving out the garrison. Sebastiam da Veiga apprized the Government of his situation, and ships accordingly were sent from the Rio with orders for him to bring off his men and abandon the place; for it was not deemed prudent to spare men for reinforcing him and enabling him to maintain it. These vessels broke through the smaller craft which formed the blockade; . . . six of the largest guns were spiked, the rest were put on board with all the moveable things of value, including the church vessels and the images; the Portugueze then set fire to the fortress, and embarked in safety, after having supported a six months siege.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1703.

Rocha Pitta.
8. § 88—
100.

D. Rodrigo da Costa was succeeded in the government by Luiz Cesar de Menezes, *Alferex Mor*, or Standard Bearer of Portugal. During his administration, Pedro II. died, and his

1705.
Luiz Cesar
de Menezes
Governor.
1706.

¹⁸ Charlevoix says they arrived with six thousand horses and mules of burden. . . He forgets that these were not necessary, and overlooks the difficulty of transporting them. Valuable as this author is on many accounts, he writes sometimes without reflection, and sometimes without thinking it his business to look for information where it might be found. For instance, he affirms that the Portugueze reestablished themselves at Nova Colonia, and fortified the place unknown to the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres, whereas the reoccupation was in pursuance of a Treaty.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1706.

*Exemplary
conduct of
the Archbi-
shop of Ba-
hia.*

son Joam V. inherited the throne. Brazil, which was once so little valued that space enough for a large kingdom was given to any adventurer who would undertake to settle a colony upon it, was now become the most important part of the Portuguese dominions. Hitherto, its Church had been governed by the Constitutions of the Church of Lisbon: the first synod was now convened by the Archbishop of Bahia, D. Sebastian Monteiro da Vide, and a body of constitutions adapted to the circumstances of the country were compiled for the Church of Brazil. The Bishops of S. Thomas and Angola were among the suffragans who were convoked. This distinguished primate had made himself well acquainted with the state of his own extensive diocese, by going through the whole of it in four visitations, in the last of which he administered the communion to eight thousand persons, and confirmed more than ten thousand: it is sufficient proof of his proper sense of duty and his zealous discharge of it, that he should have undergone the fatigues and difficulties of such journies in such a land. He built churches, and sometimes laid the foundation stone with his own hands, and in his pontificals, to make the ceremony more impressive: he erected a palace for himself and his successors: he provided becoming shrines for the relics in the Cathedral at Bahia, seeing that they were not preserved with that care, nor in that splendour, to which things of this kind are thought entitled by the Roman Catholics: he distinguished by his favour those Priests who were versed either in the Dutch, or English, or Danish languages, and encouraged them to convert sailors of those nations when they came to Bahia; and he drew up a summary of the religious instruction necessary for salvation according to the doctrines of his church, and distributed many thousand copies throughout the country, chiefly among the slaves; thus in all things acting like a true and faithful servant, according to his light.

Rocha Pitta.
9. § 11—
13.
Elogio pelo
P. Pruden-
cio de Ama-
ral.
Oratio Pa-
negyrica P.
Joannis An-
tonii An-
dreoni.

Meantime Antonio de Albuquerque, whose health had suffered from the climate of Para, returned to Lisbon as soon as the disputes with Cayenne were settled, leaving the government in the hands of Fernam Carrilho, till a successor should be appointed. Carrilho was a soldier of fortune, whose short administration is only remarkable for a circumstance which must have confirmed the people in some of their superstitious opinions. Two Franciscan missionaries had been murdered in the Ilha dos Joanes by the Aruans; a party of Portugueze and Indians were sent to take vengeance upon the savages: they found the bodies of these friars in a state of perfect preservation, although they had lain six months upon the ground exposed to animals, insects, and all accidents of weather, and although their habits were rotten. No enquiry was made into the natural causes of this phenomenon, because a miraculous one was immediately supposed: but fraud cannot be suspected; no persons whose testimony might reasonably be distrusted were concerned, and Berredo, who relates the fact, and who certainly had the means of verifying it, is not a credulous writer; ..the bias of his prejudices was toward the opposite direction. The bodies were brought to Belem as they had been found, and after the whole city had seen them, were buried in the *Capella Mor* of the Church belonging to their Convent.

Carrilho was soon superseded by D. Manoel Rolim de Moura, whose ill fortune it was, like so many of his predecessors in this troublesome government, to be embroiled with jarring authorities. The *Ouvidor Geral*, Miguel Monteiro Bravo, had concluded some contracts for the Crown, without having previously obtained the Governor's approbation, as the law required; being summoned by the Governor, that the matter might be settled, he refused to appear before him, for which act

CHAP.
XXXII.

1701.

*Fernam
Carrilho
Governor
pro tempore
at Para.*

1702.

*Berredo. §
1421—6.**D. Manoel
Rolim Go-
vernor of
Maranhã.**Disputes
with the
Ouvidor.*

CHAP. of scandalous disobedience, Rolim immediately suspended him
 XXXII. from all his offices. The *Ouvidor* withdrew to S. Luiz; but
 1704. after awhile he returned to Belem, and took up his abode in the
 Jesuits' College. Rolim, either from the placability of an easy
 temper, or because he apprehended that the *Ouvidor*, by favour
 of the Jesuits, might make his case good at Court, offered to
 reinstate him: the other would not consent to such an accom-
 modation; and in defiance of the express orders, both of the Go-
 vernor and the Government, that no person should embark from
 that State without a license, got privily on board ship and sailed
 for Lisbon. The representations which he there made were
 so effectual, that the Queen Dowager of England, who then
 acted as Regent during the illness of her brother King Pedro,
 deprived Rolim of his office, and ordered him instantly to resign
 1705. it to the *Capitam Mor* of Para, Joam de Vellasco Molina, till
 his successor should come out. His administration had been
 popular, and his conduct in this affair was thought so justifi-
 cable, and so little deserving of this extraordinary severity, that
 the chief persons of Belem advised him to appeal to the King,
 when his Majesty should be thoroughly informed of the circum-
 stances, and to retain his authority till such time, in perfect con-
 fidence of a favourable result. But Rolim submitted to the
 rigour of his orders, and having resigned the government in
 consequence, departed for Maranham, meaning as soon as his
 successor should have arrived, to travel by land to Bahia, that
 he might be in time for the homeward bound fleet.

Berredo.
 § 1429—
 1438.

1706.
Misconduct
of the Cap-
itam Mor.

This conduct ought to have exempted him from all suspicion.
 Joam de Vellasco however was informed that a conspiracy
 had been planned for setting him aside and reinstating Ro-
 lim in the government: and without questioning the grounds,
 or even the probability of such a charge, he hastened to S.
 Luiz with the *Ouvidor* of Para, who perhaps from motives

of personal animosity, believed that his brother magistrate of Maranham was implicated in the plot. Under this persuasion they proceeded in the most arbitrary manner, and without even the forms of law, to imprison the suspected *Ouvidor* and many of the chief persons of the land. Rolim himself escaped the same unworthy treatment by taking shelter in the Franciscan Convent, after he had for some time wandered about the island. These troubles were terminated by the arrival of the new Governor Christovam da Costa Freire, Senhor de Pancas, who amidst the acclamations of the people received possession of the government from Rolim, according to the instructions of his patent. This was a conclusive proof that the King had not approved the severity with which Rolim had been treated. Inquiry was instituted into the supposed conspiracy, and it was found that the parties had been accused without the slightest cause.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1706.

*Berredo. §
1439—46.*

*Jealousy in
the mines be-
tween the
Paulistas
and Forus-
teiros.*

Hitherto Maranham had been the most lawless part of Portuguese America. The restoration of order by Gomes Freyre, and the increase of its commerce, had now produced great and permanent improvement; so that from henceforth the authority of the mother country was as much obeyed there as at Bahia or at Rio de Janeiro. The country of the Mines was now becoming the most turbulent, as well as the most important district of Brazil. In the influx of people, the more desperate as well as the more adventurous had repaired thither: a place where there was no law and no appearance of government, and no restraint of any kind, attracted the dissolute and the criminal, as strongly as the knowledge that gold was to be found by searching for it, drew thither the needy and the enterprising from all parts. In the absence of any other authority, Manoel de Borba Gato, the founder of Sabara, arrogated to himself the title of Governor of the Mines, upon

*Manoel Al-
varo Carnei-
ro. MS.*

CHAP. the plea of his merits as a discoverer: the Paulistas, his country-
 XXXII. men, acknowledged him as the head of their party, and by
 1708. their support, and the active aid of a certain Valentine Pedrozo
 Barros, he maintained the rank which he had assumed. There
 are cases in which the wise and equitable administration of
 power has reconciled men to the defect or illegality of the
 title by which it is administered. Borba Gato's government
 was of this kind; it was justified by its expediency. But
 his influence seems not to have extended far beyond his own
 district; no individual possessed the same ascendancy after his
 death; and the jealousy which from the beginning had ex-
 isted between the Paulistas and the people of Taboate, assumed
 at length a formidable and destructive character. The latter
 were no longer the sole object of the Paulistas' enmity. This
 powerful party, long accustomed to give the law wherever
 they went, confounded all who were not from their own coun-
 try under the general name of *Emboabas*, a word of Tupi
 origin, and probably of hostile or contemptuous signification.
 They did not consider that the superiority of numbers which
 was at first on their side, had gradually been transferred to
 the *Forasteiros*, or Foreigners, as they were also denominated;
 still less did they call to mind that these strangers whom
 they had been accustomed to despise and insult, were as
 high-minded, and many of them as lawless and audacious, as
 themselves.

*The Forasteiros chose
 Manoel Nunes for their
 head.*

The first appearance of any serious resistance to the as-
 cendancy which they arrogated, occurred in the *Arrayal*, or
 Camp of the Rio das Mortes. A *Forasteiro* who carried on
 some humble occupation there, was put to death by a Paulista,
 with circumstances that were deemed tyrannical and iniquitous:
 the other *Forasteiros* in the settlement were so incensed, that
 they would have taken summary justice upon the murderer,

if he had not found means to evade their keen pursuit; but so weary were they of the state of anarchy in which they lived, and so sensible of the insecurity which was its necessary consequence, that they now sent to the Rio, intreating D. Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lancastro to send them a Captain who might maintain tranquillity and justice. The Governor accordingly sent a commission to one of the inhabitants whom he judged worthy of the charge. While this was fresh in the minds of the people, making indeed the common talk throughout the mining country, a more serious tumult arose at Caheté. Two of the most considerable men among the Paulistas, the one called Jeronymo¹⁹ Poderoso, and the other known by the not less noticeable name of Julius Cæsar, were standing in the Church porch, when they observed a *Forasteiro* passing by with a blunderbuss in his hand: the piece caught their fancy, and as the easiest way of obtaining it, they accused the man of having stolen it, and attempted with many injuries and insults to take it from him. Manoel Nunes Viana happened to see this: he was a native of the mother country, a powerful man in the Mines, and a person of great prudence and resolution; he happened also to know that the piece in dispute was the man's lawful property, and therefore he interposed in his behalf. High words ensued, and Manoel Nunes challenged both the Paulistas. At first the challenge was accepted; but this was not the customary mode of settling quarrels in Brazil: they excused themselves from meeting him in the field, and collecting their kinsmen

CHAP.
XXXII.
1708.

¹⁹ The name may probably have been Pedrozo, and the alteration either a pun of vanity or of malice. It has already been observed, that the distinction of *Poderosos*, or men of power, was so well known as to be noticed in the laws.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1708.

and friends, prepared to assault him in his own house. The intelligence was speedily conveyed to the Camps of Sabarabusú and of the Rio das Velhas; there, as well as at Caheté, the *Forasteiros* looked up to Manoel Nunes as their protector. They perceived how closely their own interests were connected with his safety, and therefore making common cause, they took arms and hastened to his defence. The quarrel now assumed a serious appearance; the Paulistas however, sensible perhaps that the circumstances of the aggression were disgraceful, and perhaps apprehensive of the result if they should proceed farther, proposed an accommodation, which was readily accepted; they promised on both sides to live in peace and friendship, and returned to their own houses.

RochaPitta.
9. § 20—3.

War be-
tween the
parties.

From the temper, habits, and circumstances of both parties, it was not likely that such an agreement would be durable; and the heart-burnings which were still cherished broke out ere long with aggravated force. Some *Forasteiros* went in pursuit of a Mamaluco who had killed one of their countrymen, to the house of Joseph Pardo, a Paulista *poderoso*, with whom he had taken shelter: Pardo conveyed him away into the woods, and for not delivering him up was murdered by the furious pursuers, who neither heeded his appeals to the treaty which had been so recently concluded, nor considered that they themselves would certainly have acted in the same manner on a similar occasion. Upon this atrocious outrage the Paulistas again took arms; . . . as in countries where there is none to render them justice, men will take it for themselves when they can. A report arose that they combined for the purpose of exterminating all foreigners from the Mines, as the only means of securing themselves: . . . in this opinion they were not erroneous: . . . and it was said and believed also, that they had determined at an appointed day and hour to fall upon them in every part of

the mining country, and massacre them all. Though perhaps not a man among them would have scrupled at a few occasional murders, it may well be doubted whether the whole body were capable of engaging in so execrable a conspiracy. But the report obtained full credit. The other party rose again in arms; they collected together from the three camps, went in search of Manoel Nunes Viana, and elected him Governor over all the inhabitants of the Mines; .. in order, they said, that he might curb the insolence of the Paulistas, and compel them to live in obedience to the laws. Manoel Nunes accepted the nomination; such indeed being the state of the country, that if he consulted his own personal safety in regard to either party, there was no other course. The *Forasteiros* of the settlement at Ouro Preto, and at the Rio das Mortes, as soon as they heard of this election, sent to notify their obedience to the chosen Governor, and to entreat succour against the Paulistas, who were strong in those districts, and who, they said, acknowledged no law but that of their own will.

CHAP.
XXXII.

1708.

Rocha Pitta.
9. § 24—5.

The country was now actually in a state of civil war. Manoel Nunes was presently at the head of a large armed force. He hastened to the mines of Ouro Preto, and having secured the ascendancy of his party in that quarter, dispatched more than a thousand men, under Bento de Amaral Coutinho, to the relief of the *Forasteiros* upon the Rio das Mortes, where they had thrown up a redoubt for their defence, and were in dread of being attacked, overpowered, and massacred. Bento de Amaral was a native of the Rio; .. a daring villain, who having committed so many outrages and murders in his own province, that relaxed as the laws were, he could no longer abide there in safety, had removed to a part of the country altogether lawless. The arrival of this reinforcement released the *Forasteiros* from their blockade, and gave them the superiority. Several

*Bento de
Amaral goes
to the Rio
das Mortes.*

CHAP. bands of Paulistas who were prowling about, and watching
 XXXII. for opportunities of vengeance, were pursued and driven
 1708. toward their own territory. One larger body had pitched
 their tents about five leagues from the Camp where Bento
 de Amaral was quartered: he sent a strong detachment against
 them, but the commander returned without attempting hos-
 tilities, declaring that they were far stronger than himself:
 this incensed Amaral, and he immediately proceeded against
 them with his whole force.

RochaPitta.
 9. § 26—8.

*He massa-
 cres a party
 of Paulistas.*

These Paulistas were hutted in a thicket in the middle of
 a wide plain. As soon as they saw their enemies approach
 they retired into the thicket and prepared for defence, knowing
 the man by whom they were attacked to be as resolute and
 as ferocious as themselves. Bento de Amaral gave orders to
 surround the grove; a fire was kept up from the trees, by
 which one of his men was killed, and several wounded; but
 after a blockade of four and twenty hours, the Paulistas seeing
 that their situation was hopeless, sent out a white flag, and
 offered upon an assurance of good treatment to surrender
 their arms. The assurance which they required was given;
 they came forth accordingly, and no sooner did Amaral get
 possession of their arms and see them compleatly at his mercy,
 than the villain gave orders for putting them to death. There
 were persons in his army who protested against this detestable
 act; but there were also a set of ruffians worthy of such a lead-
 er, and slaves, to whom the shedding of blood was sport; and
 the whole of these miserable Paulistas were butchered. Amaral
 returned boasting of his exploits. Manoel Nunes, who had
 been born and educated in a land where, ill executed as the
 laws were, the habits of subordination and humanity which
 they induce were still unimpaired, would gladly have expressed
 his indignation against this ruffian more effectually than by

reproaching him for what he had done; but the act was too consonant to the manners and temper of the people, and any attempt at punishing it would have endangered, or probably assured, his own destruction. He contented himself therefore with preventing farther crimes as far as his power extended, and exercised his illegal authority in the best manner he could for the public weal.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1708.

RochaPitta.
9. § 28—31.

When information of this war between the two parties, and of the massacre, reached Rio de Janeiro, the Governor rightly conceived that this was one of those urgent cases in which the law required him to repair immediately to the Mines, without waiting for permission or instructions from Portugal. He set off therefore with four companies of troops, and went to the Arrayal of the Rio das Mortes, the nearest place to the scene of this enormous crime, and he remained there some weeks endeavouring to restore order. The dreadful circumstances which had recently occurred, and the representations which were made by the suffering party, who now looked gladly for protection to an authority which at other times they would have set at nought, disposed him naturally toward the side of the Paulistas. Those of the other party who were on the spot and were treated with severity, some of them in all likelihood having been implicated in the massacre, sent round to inform the *Forasteiros* throughout the country, that the Governor was come for the purpose of subjecting and punishing them; that he had brought with him handcuffs and fetters for those who should fall into his power; and that no resource remained for them, but to march against him resolutely, and expel him from the Mines. These messengers roused the whole country, and the *Forasteiros* called upon Manoel Nunes Viana to lead them against the Governor. No man could have acted with greater prudence in such a situation. The conduct

The Governor of the Rio goes to the mines.

The people refuse to admit him.

CHAP. of his constituents, if he obeyed their call, placed him at once
 XXXII. in a state of actual and avowed rebellion; if, on the other
 1708. hand, he refused to act conformably to their demands, the
 refusal would probably have been fatal to himself; certainly it
 would have induced them to chuse some other leader, .. the more
 desperate the more likely at this time to be preferred. Bento
 de Amaral might be the man, and then the murder of the Go-
 vernor and his whole escort might be looked for. It is said that
 the people over whom he held his precarious authority, had
 determined to work the mines for their own exclusive benefit,
 and not to admit any Governor or Officers of the Crown till
 they had enriched themselves; then they intended to acknow-
 ledge the King's authority provided he granted them a full
 pardon, which if he refused to do, they would then retire with
 their wealth into the Spanish provinces. It is said also that
 the persons who suggested and supported this scheme were
 deserters from Nova Colonia, of whom there were many in
 the country. More probably they acted from passion and
 immediate impulse than upon any such settled purpose; but
 whatever their views might be, Manoel Nunes had no means
 of opposing their will; all that he could do was to temporize.
 He put himself therefore at the head of the armed people, and
 advanced to meet the Governor who was now approaching the
 Arrayal of Ouro Preto.

Rocha Pitta.
 9. § 31—3.
Claudio Ma-
noel da Cos-
ta, p. 69.

Manoel Nu-
nes per-
suades him
to retire.

About four leagues from the Arrayal, he took up his position
 upon a place called the Congonhas, from an herb of that name
 which grew there in abundance, and which the Paulistas used
 instead of²⁰ tea, and found in it the same virtues. When the

²⁰ *Humã herba da qual fazem os Paulistas certa potagem em que acham os
 mesmos effectos do chá. (Rocha Pitta. 9. § 34.) This I think cannot be the Herb*

Governor came in sight he drew up his force upon an eminence in order of battle, the foot in the centre, and the horsemen on the two flanks. D. Fernando was with good reason alarmed at this hostile manifestation, and sent a Captain forward to inquire what were the intentions of the people. Manoel Nunes took this opportunity of obtaining an interview with him; he represented to him the real state of things, the manner in which the minds of the *Forasteiros* were possessed, the wrongs which they had sustained, their perfect loyalty to the King, however erroneous their conduct, and the compulsion and necessity under which he himself was acting at their head. He declared that if the Governor was determined to proceed and enter the Arrayal, he as an individual would not attempt to resist him; but he explained so forcibly the perilous consequences which would ensue, that D. Fernando thought it more prudent to return to the Rio, leaving Manoel Nunes to govern the country as wisely as he could under such circumstances, and introduce if possible some degree of subordination among so turbulent a people.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1708.

RochaPitta.
9. § 34—5.

Thus encouraged, and in some degree sanctioned, Manoel Nunes found his task easy. The *Forasteiros* had won the ascendancy, which they had been provoked to assert; they had committed great offences during the struggle, and being conscious of this they were well disposed to entitle themselves to forgiveness by an ostentation of loyalty; therefore they readily supported their chosen Governor in every measure which bore this character. He appointed officers, military, civil, and ju-

*Manoel
Nunes pre-
pares the
way for the
restoration
of order.*

of Paraguay, because the Caa requires a low and swampy country, and must have been well known to the Paulistas by its usual name. Very possibly it may have been the tea tree itself, which is indigenous in Brazil.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1708.

dicial; he put up to auction the fifths which the cattle paid upon entering the mining district. *Procuradores* were nominated, who should go to Lisbon and solicit on the part of the people, that a Governor and proper Magistrates might be sent to reside among them, and money was collected by a voluntary assessment for the expences of their mission. Before these delegates could begin their journey, D. Fernando was succeeded at the Rio by Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho, who had conducted himself with such ability in the government of Maranham. The same apprehension which had induced the people to acquiesce in the measures of Manoel Nunes, led them now to propose that they should send and invite their new Governor; thus hoping by a voluntary tender of obedience to disarm the resentment which they deserved. There was a religioner at the Mines, who had been Antonio de Albuquerque's Secretary at Maranham; him they chose for their messenger, and he set out on this charge, bearing letters from Manoel Nunes and all the *Poderosos* of the party, with protestations of their unshaken loyalty and cheerful submission to the laws. Albuquerque was already on the way; he knew something of the state of the public mind, and prudently took with him only an escort of honour, aware how far the affections of a people may be gained by appearing to rely upon them. A *Poderoso*, by name Sebastian Pereira de Aguilar, who was at this time rising in influence, received him at Cahete. This man had put himself at the head of the Brazilians, in opposition to the natives of the Old Country, whom he accused Manoel Nunes of favouring; so that perhaps if the lawful authority had not been well established at this critical time, another civil war would ere long have broken out. Here also Manoel Nunes came to meet the Governor, and leaving him in undisturbed possession of the government, obtained permission to return to his estates upon the Rio de

*Antonio de
Albuquerque
goes to the
Mines.*

S. Francisco, happy to depart finally from the Mines and to escape from his perilous elevation. Whether his merits were rewarded by the court, is nowhere stated; they are however acknowledged in history. But it was not proper that a tacit amnesty should take place, as if there were no authority to be regarded; and therefore a general pardon, upon their submitting to obedience, was proclaimed for all the inhabitants of the Mines to the East and West of the Rio das Velhas, who had taken arms against the Paulistas.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1708.

RochaPitta.
9. § 35—9.
Alvares.
Nov. 27,
1708. MS.
Claudio Manoel da Costa. 63.

Antonio de Albuquerque went through the country, confirming the appointments which Manoel Nunes had made, and creating others, to the general satisfaction of the people, who were rejoiced at finding themselves once more within the pale of the law. Having put all things in order he set out for the purpose of quieting the ferment in S. Paulo and the towns in its district. Here there had been no man like Manoel Nunes to prepare the way. Far otherwise; the turbulent inhabitants were in a state of violent agitation. The men who had been driven from the Mines were received by their wives with indignation and stinging reproaches, for having dishonoured themselves by leaving their countrymen unrevenge. The fury with which these women were possessed speedily communicated itself to the other sex; an army was raised, and the command given to Amador Bueno, a man of high reputation for courage and conduct, probably a descendant of the person whom at the Braganzan revolution the Paulistas would have chosen for their King. Albuquerque met them on their march; he ventured to expostulate with them upon the offence which they were committing; but his representations were addressed to unwilling ears: private information was given him that they intended to secure his person; he withdrew therefore in time, made his way to the town of Parati upon the coast, embarked there for the Rio and dispatched couriers to the Mines to

The Paulistas invade the Mines.

Rage of the female Paulistas.

CHAP.
XXXII.

1709.

The Paulistas attack the Rio das Mortes, and are repulsed.

inform the *Forasteiros* of their danger. Strange as it may seem, they had never considered the probability of such an invasion, and were entirely unprepared for it. The place which had most to fear was the Rio das Mortes; there the bloodiest provocation had been given, and it lay exposed to the first fury of the Paulistas. Theredoubt wherein the inhabitants had formerly taken shelter was hastily enlarged, and succours were solicited from all the nearest points. Before they could be collected the enemy arrived, took possession of the church and of a hill which commanded the redoubt, threw up a cavalier, and from all these positions kept up a fire upon the *Forasteiros*. On their part they defended themselves valiantly, knowing how little mercy they had reason, or right to expect. After the siege had continued several days, the Paulistas were informed that a great force was approaching to relieve the place; they broke up therefore in the night, and returned homeward with all speed. The *Forasteiros* pursued them eight days; but the enemy had the start, and fear being swifter than hope, they reached S. Paulo safely, but with no great cause to expect a triumphant reception from the viragos who had goaded ²¹ them on.

RochaPitta.
9. § 40—7.*S. Paulo and the Minas formed into a new Captaincy.*

Antonio de Albuquerque lost no time in providing for the tranquillity of the district; he sent a sufficient body of troops

²¹ Claudio Manoel da Costa represents the Paulistas as undertaking this expedition, not from any desire of vengeance, but purely for the sake of restoring order, and securing to the King his fifths! And he says, that they were defied by a letter from Ambrosio Caldeira Bravo, who commanded the rebels. Partial, however, and confused as his account is, it accords with the view which Rocha Pitta takes of Manoel Nunes Viana's conduct sufficiently to authenticate it. In this part of his history, indeed, Rocha Pitta seems to have obtained fuller and better information than in any other. Manoel Alvares Carneiro also gives the same character of Manoel Nunes.

there, under a Camp Master, who was to act as Governor. The next fleet brought out a royal letter which separated S. Paulo and the mining country from the Captaincy of the Rio, and appointed Albuquerque to the new Captaincy, making him subordinate only to the Governor General of Brazil, and giving him authority to fix his residence wherever he might think fit.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1710.

Carta Regia. Nov. 9, 1709. MS.

Luiz Cesar de Menezes having held the general government nearly five years, was succeeded by D. Lourenço de Almada. The administration of this fidalgo was distinguished by unfortunate events, occasioned by no error or misconduct on his part. The first calamity was a civil war in Pernambuco. It had not been easy to bring the inhabitants of that Captaincy into a course of obedience to the law, after law had been so long suspended that a whole generation had grown up in habits of insubordination and violence. Perhaps also partly from condescension to circumstances, and partly from a sense of the services which the Pernambucans had rendered the mother country, a greater degree of relaxation may at first have been permitted there than in other parts of Brazil, relaxed as the rule of justice was everywhere. Two generations had past away since the expulsion of the Dutch, and meantime the increase of commerce had raised up a monied interest at Recife, whose growing wealth, activity and influence, were regarded with no friendly eye by the aristocracy of the land. For there existed a strong feeling of family pride; the descendants of those persons who had recovered the country plumed themselves with the merits of their ancestors; their fathers, they said, had restored Pernambuco to the Portuguese Crown by their own exertions and at their own cost, they therefore had claims upon the gratitude of Government in preference to all other persons; the Government had no right to that Captaincy but what it derived from them; and they hinted in a manner sufficiently intelligible, that if their

Lourenço de Almada Governor.

State of Pernambuco.

P. Luiz Correa. Sublevação de Pernambuco. MSS. RochaPitta. 9. § 52.

CHAP. hereditary merits were disregarded, they might find it as possible
 XXXII. to throw off one yoke as another.

1710.

*Recife made
 a town.*

The people of Recife solicited that that place might be made a town; for large as it now was, and important as it had become, while Olinda had greatly decayed, it was still in the estimation of the law nothing more than a village. They were desirous of this preferment, because municipal offices conferred rank and privileges from which they were at present excluded; for the Pernambucans took care that none but the nobles of the land should be admitted into the *Camara* of Olinda. The first applications from Recife for this honour were not successful; the petition however was so reasonable in itself, considering that in point of wealth and population this was the third, or perhaps at that time the second port in Brazil, and it was so much the policy of Government to curb a spirit which would ere long have led to all the evils of feudal independence, that the request was now conceded; and the Governor, Sebastian de Castro de Caldas, received orders to erect a pillar, and create Recife a town, according to the usual ceremonies, with all the establishments and privileges appertaining to that rank.

*P. Luiz
 Correa.
 MS.
 RochaPitta.
 9: § 52. 53.*

*This mea-
 sure is op-
 posed by the
 people of
 Olinda.*

The Pernambucans regarded the merchants and people of Recife with a mingled feeling of contempt and jealousy. They called the new comers, and the natives of the mother country in general, *mascates*; an opprobrious appellation, the origin of which perhaps is not remembered in the place where it originated, and perhaps was never understood elsewhere: a similar feeling, and a like mode of expressing it, had just at this time occasioned the disturbances in the Mines. But besides this party spirit, and the desire of preserving to their own oligarchy, the privileges which they enjoyed, there were strong local reasons why the people of Olinda should in this instance oppose what those of Recife solicited, the port lying so near Olinda

that whatever was placed within its jurisdiction must be taken from that city, which thus suffered not alone a relative loss of dignity, but an actual diminution of authority and revenue. The same order from the Court which required the Governor to erect the pillar, authorized him also to mark out the *Termo* or district, which was to be annexed to the new town: the inhabitants of the *Termo* were to be eligible to the new *Camara*, and the order expressed that some of the adjoining parishes to the south should be included in the demarcation. When this was communicated to the *Ouvidor*, Joze Ignacio de Arache, he demurred, being of the Olindan party, and delivered in a written opinion that the town should have no larger term allotted it, than from Fort Brum to the Ponta dos Affogados, which would have restricted it to its own single parish, and given it the right of taking shell-fish in only half the river. The Governor, however, in conformity with the *Procurador* of the Crown, and the opinion of other legal authorities, assigned the three parishes of Moribeca, Cabo, and Ipojuca, leaving to Olinda seven of great extent, besides the two which it contained.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1710.

P. Luis
Correa.
MS.

They protest
against it.

The Pernambucans affirmed, that the merchants of Recife had accomplished this object by bribery. Their displeasure was so well known, and so loudly proclaimed, that the Governor judged it prudent to have the stones for the pillars wrought in secret; and it is said, that they were carried privately from the fort where they had been cut, and set up during the night, so that in the morning the place was found to be a town, with the name of *S. Antonio do Recife*, . . . St. Antony of the Reef. A *Camara* was formed, consisting of townsmen and out-dwellers in equal number, and they went in procession with the wands of office. The Chamber of Olinda resented this so strongly, that they went to the Governor's palace and protested against it; and the *Vereador*, giving way to an intemperance of anger, told him that if he

CHAP.
XXXII.

1710.

*Arrest of
some Per-
nambucan
nobles.*

*Orders to
disarm the
people.*

*Attempt to
assassinate
the Govern-
or.*

could put the pillar up, they could throw it down again. In consequence of the high words which then past, and the seditious discourses which were afterwards held, this magistrate, and Manoel Cavalcanti Bezerra, were arrested and confined in one of the forts. Shortly afterwards, Leonardo Bezerra Cavalcanti, and his son Cosme Bezerra, were apprehended upon a public report that they were the authors of a murder committed upon one of the inhabitants in his own house at night. This report was verified by a judicial inquiry; but murder was too ordinary an occurrence in that country, and had too often been committed with impunity, for the people to regard it with any degree of indignation; . . . their sympathies were usually with the offender, not with the law; and the arrest of these persons was considered not as an act of justice, but of malice and political resentment. Plans for getting rid of the Governor were now formed by the malcontents, at the head of whom were the Captain Andre Diaz de Figueiredo, and his nephew Sebastian de Carvalho. He was apprized of these plans, and in consequence of the intimation issued an order that the Pernambucans should give up their arms to be deposited in the royal arsenals. Officers were sent through the different towns and districts to collect them. The people complained that they were deprived of the means of defending themselves against robbers; they who dwelt in the interior were exposed also to the savages, and shooting was one of the common occupations of all classes, . . . many indeed depending in great part for their sustenance upon what they could thus provide. The measure was both futile and offensive: it was certain, that those persons who intended to make an ill use of their weapons would not surrender them; and on the other hand, no security would be obtained by disarming the well intentioned and the inoffensive. The uselessness of this precaution was soon perceived for as the Governor was walking toward the Boa

Vista, which was his usual promenade, he was fired at from one of the houses and wounded in four places: three men with their faces painted and each with a musket, immediately ran out from a back door; but they were seen and recognized notwithstanding their disguise.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1710.

*P. Luiz
Correa, MS.*

Sebastian de Castro was carried home, and his wounds appeared so dangerous that they were not examined till he had previously settled his spiritual concerns. One ball was extracted which had a hole in it filled with corrosive sublimate. Andre Diaz de Figueiredo soon came to the palace, as if endeavouring to conceal his part in the intended assassination: his manifest perturbation increased the strong suspicion against him, and he was immediately arrested; one other person was also apprehended, and several fled. The Bishop of Olinda, D. Manoel Alvarez da Costa, was at this time preparing to set out on his visitation to Paraiba. When the public tranquillity was so likely to be disturbed, it was his duty to have remained upon the spot, and have exerted the great influence which his situation gave him, in behalf of the laws; and it was the more incumbent upon him to be present, because in case of the Governor's death he was to succeed him, the first person who had been nominated in the succession-papers being dead: nevertheless, after paying a short visit of ceremony to the wounded Governor, he began his journey. The *Ouvidor* accompanied him. Sebastian de Castro believed that this Magistrate was implicated in the conspiracy which had been directed against his life, and which was still going on against his authority; he therefore sent a party of soldiers to arrest him. They found him at the *Engenho* of Tapirema in Goyana; he took sanctuary in the Chapel of the *Engenho*. The commander of the troops surrounded the Chapel, sent to the Governor for instructions how to proceed, and informed the Bishop of his orders. The Bishop collected

*Andre Diaz
de Figueire-
do is arrest-
ed.*

*The Bishop
takes part
with the dis-
contented.*

CHAP. the clergy and friars of the neighbourhood ; many persons came
 XXXII. to assist their spiritual guides, the *Ouvidor* was delivered by
 1710. force of arms, and he and the Bishop accelerated their journey
 lest they should be overtaken by a second and stronger detach-
 ment.

*P. Luiz
 Correa. MS.*

*Insurrection
 of the Per-
 nambucans.*

Encouraged by the sanction which was thus given to their cause, the Pernambucans collected in armed bodies. Troops were sent against them with little success ; some were blockaded by the insurgents, others who were ordered to relieve them contrived to make circuitous marches and not reach the spot in time. In many places blood was shed. The Governor, who was still confined to his bed, found it necessary to recall those who were faithful, that he might secure the forts ; for the insurgents were increasing in numbers and audacity, and threatened Recife with a siege. Some of the officers obeyed, others permitted their detachments to be surrounded, that they might plead necessity as an excuse for surrendering and suffering their men to join the insurrection. Sebastian de Castro was now thoroughly sensible of his perilous situation, and in no condition either of body or mind to struggle against such circumstances. He had recourse to the worst of all means, those of timorous concession, and sent the *Ouvidor*, Luiz de Valençuela Ortis, with some of the more eminent Religioners of the different orders in Recife, to mollify the insurgents, and promise in his name that the persons whom he had arrested should be set at liberty, if it were on this account that they had taken arms. Not daring to await the event of this pitiful embassy in S. Antonio, where he resided, he removed within the walls of Recife. The *Ouvidor* returned at midnight, bringing for a reply, that as for the prisoners, the Pernambucans would set them at liberty themselves, and that the object for which they had taken arms was to have the head of the Governor and of certain other per-

sons. Upon this he immediately dispatched a boat to Paraiba to solicit assistance from the Governor, Joam da Maya da Gama. But the enemy would be upon him before this assistance could arrive. Some of the opposite party with whom he was upon courteous terms came into the city, and either really from personal regard, or under the semblance of it to promote their political purposes, advised him to withdraw: there was a vessel, they said, in the port, ready for sea; he had better embark for Bahia, and take those persons with him who were marked for popular vengeance: as soon as it was known that he and the other obnoxious individuals were removed, the insurgents would be satisfied, the people would escape the horrors with which they were now menaced, order would be restored, and he had good reason to expect that the King would approve his conduct in retiring, as the most judicious which under such circumstances could have been chosen. Sebastian de Castro was easily led to this determination; it had already been proved that there were men who sought to murder him, he knew that when a people threaten the life of their ruler it is not likely that any sense of duty or humanity will deter them from taking it; and whether in the present case the point of honour required that he should die at his post, was a question which the most indifferent person might have hesitated to answer in the affirmative, and which the most rigid would not condemn him too severely for resolving in his own favour. So he embarked, and with him some of the principal inhabitants of Recife.

One great body of the insurgents, with the nobles of the country at their head, were at Affogados; they saw the vessel cross the bar, but would not readily believe that the object of their vengeance had taken flight, and escaped their hands. When the *Ouvidor* returned and assured them of the fact, they demanded that he should grant them a formal pardon for all acts

CHAP.
XXXII.

1710.

*The Govern-
or is in-
duced to fly.**P. Luiz
Correa. MS.**The insur-
gents enter
the town.*

Nov. 7.

CHAP
XXXII.

1710.

committed during the insurrection. A legist of their party dictated the terms of the instrument, and a notary drew it up. They were interrupted by an uproar in this tumultuous assemblage; a person who had been to Recife ventured to speak on behalf of that obnoxious place, for which some of the insurgents and the soldiers who had joined them sought to put him to death. The *Ouvidor* and some Religioners rescued him from their fury, but owing to this confusion the pardon was left unfinished; perhaps they who required it had by this time recollected how futile it was to depend upon forms of law when they were acting in defiance of the law. On the following day they proceeded against the forts, which were given up without resistance. Another body had now arrived at Boa Vista; their collected numbers amounted nearly to twenty thousand men, and among their leaders were many names which had appeared with more honour in the history of the war against the Dutch. They prepared to enter Recife; the Religioners endeavoured to dissuade them, dwelling particularly upon the criminality of terrifying the women, . . . an argument little likely to be regarded by the multitude. Joam de Barros Rego was one of the most active in exciting and directing the insurrection; and he, it is said, expected that the chief authority would be confided to his hands, because in the former disturbances his father was the *Juiz Ordinario* who arrested the Governor Jeronymo Mendonça Furtado. A party was sent forward to throw down the pillar, . . . thus in their conceit annulling the obnoxious privileges which had been granted to Recife; and on the second day after Sebastian de Castro's flight, they entered the degraded town in a manner characteristic of the people. They had collected all the Magistrates and the Religioners of all the Convents, those who were not of the triumphant faction thinking it unavailing to resist the stream. These led the way with the image of Our Lady of the

Rosary; a train of children followed chaunting the *terço*, or third of the bead-roll, which was at that time the fashionable practice of devotion at Recife; then came the armed multitude, having laid aside the gala ornaments which before had been ostentatiously displayed, and bare of foot. In this manner they proceeded to the square where the pillar was lying broken on the ground, and there, in safe defiance, a champion on the part of the insurgents demanded if any person would defend the rights of Recife to the privileges of a town. The wealthier inhabitants had taken shelter in the Convents; they were nevertheless compelled to give ammunition, money, and whatever else, according to the license of the times, petitioners who knew that nothing could be refused them thought proper to demand; but no direct act of plunder was committed, neither were any outrages. The greater part of the people, misled as usual on such occasions, believed that they were only asserting their rights, and perhaps the forms of religion which had been brought forth were not without a humanizing and salutary effect.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1710.

*P. Luiz
Correa. MS.
RochaPitta.
9. § 57—58.*

Their business in Recife being accomplished, they went on to Olinda. Another body of insurgents from Serinhaem and Ipojuca arrived on the following day, and would have their triumph also; they entered in the same order, and finding no pillar to destroy, they broke open the prison and let out the criminals and debtors. For such persons there was perhaps a fellow-feeling among those who on this occasion led the rabble; it is more remarkable that they released some unhappy men who had been sentenced to banishment by the Portuguese Inquisition and were arrived at Pernambuco, and there waiting in jail for means of transport to their destined place of exile; . . . their deliverance is recorded as one of the great crimes of the insurrection! Being now collected at Olinda, the great proprietors

*Measures of
the Insur-
gents.*

CHAP.
XXXII.

1710.

took counsel how to proceed. It was known that the Bishop was named in the succession-papers for Governor; some however advised that the nomination should not be regarded, but that six of their own countrymen should be provisionally entrusted with the administration till a Governor should arrive from Lisbon; if he brought out a full pardon, and was authorized also to concede such terms as they should insist upon, they would deliver the power into his hands, and continue in their obedience to the mother country as heretofore; if, on the contrary, the conditions which they required should be refused, then they would establish a government for themselves, like that of Holland or of Venice. Such an intention may be traced less surely to their long intercourse with the Dutch, than to the natural tendency of all colonies toward republicanism. But the majority were not willing to proceed so far; they had been brought up in feelings of devoted loyalty, and they hoped or expected to make their case good at court; having therefore accomplished the purpose for which they had taken arms, they determined to proceed according to the course of law, and dispatched a messenger to summon the Bishop from Paraiba, that he might take possession of the Government which had devolved upon him: they knew that the Bishop was of their party. Some acts of authority were exercised before his arrival. Sentence of banishment was proclaimed by sound of trumpet against those who had fled with the Governor, and against a few other persons. A *Juiz do Povo* was elected, although that office had been abolished, because experience had shown how easily it was made subservient to seditious views; And all natives of the mother country who held offices in Pernambuco were required to present their commissions to the *Camara* of Olinda on the following day, on pain of death: their commissions were taken from them, and they were deprived of the insignia of their respective situations.

The Bishop lost no time in obeying the summons; and the Governor of Paraiba sent after him the *Ouvidor* of that Captaincy, and two *Desembargadores*, whom he charged to remind the Pernambucans that they had a King whom it was their duty to obey. There was need of such advice, for the republican party resolutely persisted in their purpose, and after three days warm contention, they prevailed so far as to have it agreed that the opinion of the people should be taken, and the question determined by vote. Accordingly delegates were convoked from all the parishes; but upon a division the royalists were found to be the majority, and the Bishop then took possession with the usual forms. His first act was to issue a full and general pardon in the King's name; . . . this was an act of necessity as well as prudence, and it enabled him to excuse himself from giving the same sanction to certain conditions which he was called upon to concede. He proceeded in the next place to divide the spoils of office; but here, as in all such cases, there were more claimants than it was possible to satisfy; and though men were appointed to situations who were below the age which the law required, and though a new regiment was formed for the mere purpose of creating commissions, many were discontented because they were not included in these promotions. Processes were now made out, and ²² depositions taken to be sent to Lisbon, for the justification of the

CHAP.
XXXII,
1710.

*The Bishop
assumes the
Govern-
ment.*

²² An Italian Capuchin was at this time in Recife, on his way to Portugal from the Mission in Angola. There were three ships preparing to sail, each of which carried some of these papers; and he declared he would not embark in either, because they had such a cargo of perjuries on board. P. Luiz Correa refers triumphantly to the event; for the Capuchin went round by Bahia and got safely to Lisbon, but not one of the three ships ever arrived.

CHAP. XXXII.
 1710. ruling party ; and the utmost vigilance was exerted to prevent any counterstatements from finding their way there. Every vessel that sailed for Bahia, or the Azores, or for any other part from whence intelligence might be conveyed to the Court, was rigourously searched, and private letters were examined with so little reserve or decency, that the manner was more offensive than the act. But while this odious authority was exercised for factious purposes, there was a total suspension of the needful and wholesome exercise of power. Men disguised by bringing their hoods over their faces, committed in the streets of Recife whatever outrages were prompted by private malignity, or the spirit of wanton mischief ; the inhabitants found it necessary to shut up their houses as soon as the Ave Maria bell sounded, and this precaution did not always preserve them from insult and injury.

P. Luiz
 Correa MS.

1711.

Bernardo
 Vieira comes
 to Recife.

Bernardo Vieira de Mello, who had commanded the successful expedition against the Palmares, had hitherto taken no part in these transactions. He had been rewarded with the rank of *Sargento Mor*, and a regiment called the *Terço do Palmar* in memory of that war, and stationed at the scene of his achievements. Under pretence that the affairs of the regiment required his presence, he came to the scene of action ; he brought with him an unusual number of attendants, and appeared in public with a retinue which was stronger, as well as more splendid, than any of the former Governors had thought necessary for the dignity of their office, or the security of their persons. He and his son Andre Vieira de Mello were two of the persons by whom the Bishop was directed ; and there occurred a scandalous and shocking instance of the influence which they possessed. Andre Vieira suspected his wife of adultery : she resided at an *Engenho* in the Freguezia do Cabo ; thither he repaired, taking with him some slaves and some soldiers of his

Case of jealousy in his family, and deliberate murder.

father's regiment. Joam Paez Barreto, the *Capitam Mor* of the place, was the person of whom he was jealous; him he put to death, and then putting his wife, who was pregnant at the time, into a hammock, dispatched her under the charge of his uncle and his brother to an *Engenho* of his father's, to be given into the keeping of his mother D. Catharina Leitam; there she was to remain with guards continually in sight till the time of her delivery, after which she was to be murdered:.. and for this service the detestable husband could rely upon his more detestable mother. Adultery has in many countries been punished with death;.. but horrible must be the manners of that land where a whole family could thus deliberately take upon themselves the office of executioners. In ordinary cases of murder, for it was a thing sufficiently common, men used to go through the form of obtaining an exemption from arrest, before they appeared in public; such a formality was not thought needful now, and Andre Vieira appeared in Recife, in gala dress, publicly avowing not only that he had committed one murder, but that he intended to compleat his vengeance by committing another, under the most inhuman of all imaginable circumstances. The matter was so notorious, that a Friar called upon the Bishop and exhorted him to interfere and prevent the crime; the Bishop coolly replied, that he could not interfere in the private affairs of noble men, who ought not to live, he said, under any note of disgrace.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1711.

*P. Luis
Correa. MS.*

Bernardo Vieira's object in coming to Recife was to act as leader of the republican party. The intention was to get possession of the forts; and if the new Governor, who was now daily expected from Lisbon, should not bring out a full pardon, and explicit powers of conceding all the conditions which should be demanded, to refuse him admittance, and proclaim a Commonwealth, .. Bernardo probably expecting to put himself

*Bernardo
Vieira acts
as leader of
the republi-
can party.*

CHAP.
XXXII.
1711.

*The Loy-
alists are
roused by his
designs.*

at the head of a new order of things. For this purpose, under pretext of an expedition against a *Mocambo*, which he said had been formed in that part of the country, he brought about a hundred soldiers from the *Palmares* to his *Engenho* in *Ipojuca*, where his daughter-in-law had been murdered, and where the *Capitam Mor* was one of his dependants. Leonardo Bezerra Cavalcanti went at the same time to the *Alagoas*, and there excited the inhabitants to throw off the yoke which subjected them to the ministers of the King of Portugal; . . . to be a native of which kingdom, he said, was the same thing as to be a rogue. These intentions were suspected in *Recife*; the inhabitants of that place were good subjects; and indeed, although ambitious and speculative men would gladly have raised a storm which they fancied themselves able to controul, the great majority of the *Pernambucans* desired the peaceful continuance of an order of things under which they endured few grievances or vexations from Government of any kind. Some of the better party, who were men of resolution, weary of the state of insecurity in which they lived, and perceiving that other and greater evils were designed, began to look about, and calculate the means of resistance, assured as they were of the support of the Crown. The person on whom they cast their eyes was the Governor of *Paraiba*, Joam da Maya da Gama; they apprized him of the designs which were brooding, and of their own disposition for the King's service. Joam da Maya wrote to the Bishop and exhorted him to be upon his guard. No man could be more unwilling to have his eyes opened; he would have disregarded this as he had done all former advice from the same quarter, if a more alarming intimation, coming about the same time, had not awakened him to some sense of danger. Late at night the commanding officer was roused by loud knocking at his door, and when he came forward, some unknown persons told him to

watch over the powder magazine, because a plan had been formed for seizing it, or blowing it up. When this was reported to the Bishop a double guard was set in consequence. Bernardo Vieira perceiving thus that the alarm had been given, sent for Leonardo Bezerra Cavalcanti to return to Recife, and directed him to make all their partizans along the road hold themselves in readiness. It is doubtful how far the Bishop was disposed to go with the revolutionary party; ignorant of their designs he could not possibly be, because they had been publicly avowed; and it may be suspected from the whole tenour of his conduct, that he was not disinclined to them, but that his chief solicitude was so to trim his administration, as that if the authority of the Crown were reestablished he might have merits to plead on that side also, and claims to promotion. In the present state of things it became necessary that he should at least appear to make an attempt for removing Bernardo Vieira; and accordingly, through a third person, he communicated his wish that he would depart from Recife. The *Sargento Mor* replied, he had not yet compleated the affairs which brought him there; and that he had now also the additional business of obtaining an acquittance for his son for the death of his wife and of Joam Paez Barreto; .. so easily were murders of this kind settled in Brazil.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1711.

*P. Luiz
Correa. MS.*

Orders had been given to arrest certain soldiers of the Recife regiment, for a quarrel with some of Bernardo Vieira's men; some of their officers interfered, and represented to the Bishop the real circumstances of the affray, by which it appeared that the soldiers had not been in fault: all the reply they could obtain was, that it was an affair in which Bernardo Vieira interested himself, and the men must be punished, and condemned to banishment. Upon this they took sanctuary in the Carmo Convent; they were eight or ten in number, resolute fellows,

*A counter-
revolution
effected in
Recife.*

CHAP.
XXXII.

1711.

*Arrest of
Bernardo
Vieira.**P. Luiz
Correa. MS.**The Bishop
assents to
the measures
of the Loy-
alists ;*

indignant at the injustice with which they were treated, and now also thoroughly zealous for the Government, seeing that their own present safety depended upon its triumph. They knew that there was a strong party of loyalists in Recife, that the Governor of Paraiba was looked to for support, and that they could reckon upon the fidelity of the Indians to the royal cause, who were still under the command of a Camaram, and of the black regiment still called the Henriques, in memory of their distinguished commander during the Dutch war. At noon-day they sallied from the Carmo²³ Church, sword in hand, went straight to the house of their drummer, whom they knew they should find sleeping at that hour, and made him take up his drum and beat the rendezvous, while they proceeded to the quarters of the infantry, crying, Long live the King, and Down with the Traitors. The troops instantly joined them; certain officers put themselves at their head, the inhabitants took up the loyal cry, and the Bishop perceiving that Recife was in their hands, retired into the Jesuits' College. He sent messengers to persuade them to disperse, and among others the *Ouvidor*. They were surrounding the house of Bernardo Vieira when this magistrate arrived, and he found it expedient, in conformity with their decided intention, to take upon himself the office of arresting Bernardo in legal form, and sending him under an escort to the public prison.

The soldiers now proceeded to the Jesuits' College, and de-

²³ "What however is most certain, says P. Luiz Correa, is, that Our Lady of Mount Carmel incited them to their attempt;" .. a sentence, which may be truly expounded thus; that having taken sanctuary in her Church, they said an additional number of Ave-Marias, and recommended themselves to her peculiar protection before they began their enterprize.

manded to see the Bishop ; he came accordingly to the window, and enquired what they would have. They told him they had arrested Bernardo Vieira, as a man whose tyrannical demeanour and treasonable practices were notorious ; and that it was necessary for the King's service to garrison the forts with men who might be trusted, and in like manner to set a trusty guard over the magazine : they required him therefore to give proper orders, and to direct that arms, ammunition, and stores, should be issued for this purpose. The Bishop did as he was required, and the commanding officer was instructed to see these orders carried into effect. The soldiers now put forth a proclamation in their own name, stating the motives of their conduct : when they had surrendered to the insurgents, they said, the fault was not in them, but in their officers ; they now vindicated themselves, and it would appear to the King and to the World, that they were his Majesty's faithful vassals. Sebastian de Castro, they maintained, was still their Governor, and the town of Recife was a City. This latter clause proved that the paper was drawn up by ignorant men, and that the insurrection in behalf of the Government originated with them, not with persons of superior rank. The *Capitam Mandante*, Joam da Mota, was the person whom they required to command them. Joam da Mota now went to the College and requested that the Bishop would return to the Governor's palace, protesting that the soldiers acknowledged his authority, and were ready to obey him, as men who desired nothing more than to be obedient in all things which were for the King's service ; he assured the *Ouvidor* also that no injury or disrespect was intended him, and besought him likewise to return to his own house. They both consented ; but before they left the College, they provided for the escape of Andre Vieira and Andre Diaz de Figueiredo, who had taken refuge there. Horses were brought for them to a

CHAP.
XXXII.
1711.

CHAP.
XXXII.

1711.

postern door, and they rode off into the country, telling those whom they met by the way, that they would speedily return and requite the people of Recife for that day's work. Leonardo Bezerra attempted to play a more artful part; at the first alarm he got into the country; but he endeavoured to assume the command of the troops, and sent in an order that the soldiers who received pay should separate themselves from the inhabitants. One of the men returned for answer, that on this occasion they were all soldiers, and that Leonardo Bezerra might reserve his orders for those who were engaged in the same projects as himself.

P. Luiz
Correa. MS.

The Bishop
goes upon
false pre-
tences to
Olinda.

It was soon known that the independent leaders were again raising the country. The people of Olinda were with them, and cut off the communication with Recife. D. Joam de Sousa, who resided in the city, and was resolved to prove his loyalty on this decisive occasion, had no other means of reaching Recife than by trusting himself upon a *jangada* and going out to sea at the imminent danger of his life. The Bishop, who appeared perfectly to agree in the propriety of all which had been done by the soldiers, registered a declaration that their intent in this insurrection had not been to injure any person whatsoever, but to secure his Majesty's town and fortress; he sent circular letters to the *Capitaens Mores*, and *Camaras*, exhorting them to exert themselves for the preservation of tranquillity; and he wrote to the chief persons of the revolutionary party, commanding them to abstain from all acts of hostility, and commending the disposition and conduct of the troops. Nevertheless, on the third day after the troops had declared themselves, it was known that he and the *Ouvidor* intended to remove to Olinda. Joam da Mota and D. Francisco de Sousa (father of that D. Joam who at such hazard had come to take his fortune in the town) waited upon him, and required him on the part of God and the King, to

give up an intention, the dangerous consequences of which to Recife, they said, were evident and certain. His answer was, that the object of his going was to quiet the minds of the people; and persisting in their purpose, he and the *Ouvidor* set forth. No attempt was made to restrain them; but when they came to embark upon the river, the *Capitam Mandante*, Joam da Mota, repeated in public the requisition which he had made privately, without effect. Sir, said he, since your Excellency will at this time forsake the King's fortress, and those inhabitants who have relied for their hopes of preserving it upon your presence, I protest against your departure in the King's name, for the sake of his town and forts, and of the lives, honour, and property of his subjects. The Bishop replied with much suavity to this emphatic protest; he again declared, that he departed only for the sake of preserving peace, and said that he trusted the security of the place to the *Capitam Mandante*, whose zeal, fidelity, and valour, were such as to render his own presence unnecessary for its safety; and he invested him verbally with full powers to do whatever he might think expedient for the King's service; and he promised also in public, as he had done in private, that he would speedily return. Joam da Mota well understood how little such promises were to be credited; he repeated them however to the inhabitants and the soldiers, to allay their apprehensions and discontent, and he lost no time in preparing against the danger which he foresaw.

The Bishop was received with great ceremony at Olinda, and immediately on his arrival went in procession to hear²⁴ mass.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1711.

P. Luiz
Correa. MS.

He takes
part with
the Insur-
gents
against Re-
cife.

²⁴ It was performed by the Coadjutor, a man of whom P. Luiz Correa gives a vile character; on this occasion, he exclaims, *Bendita seja a misericordia de Dios, que por este sacrificio se poem em maons de hum tal sacerdote!*

CHAP.
XXXII.
1711.

On the following day he wrote to the *Capitam Mandante*, saying that the Olindans had intreated him to remain with them till St. John's Day, in order that he might assist at the festival; he desired therefore that his beds and his kitchen furniture might be sent, assured the Captain again of his approbation, and informed him that he should order prayers to be said in all the convents and parishes for the preservation of the public peace. The household goods which he required were sent accordingly, and there were persons who entertained a hope that when the holyday was over he would return as he had promised; their credulity was speedily undeceived, for on that very day there appeared an address from the *Camara* of Olinda to the Bishop, assuring him that they were true subjects of his Majesty, whereas the people of Recife had traitorously seized that place and its fortresses, which the Pernambucans had so honourably won, and requiring him as their Governor, to order the Black regiment to the Salinas, and to command D. Francisco de Sousa to return to the city, or retire to his own house: if these things were not done, they said, they would take the satisfaction which was denied them. This requisition was published by the Bishop, and he accompanied it with an order in perfect accord, denouncing the pains and penalties of treason against all persons who should refuse obedience. Obedience was not expected; a proper and firm reply was returned. The aristocratic party then prepared to besiege Recife, and began by intercepting its supplies of food. Parties continually lay in wait for the slaves belonging to the town, who collected shellfish for their owners; these were good booty when they could be captured, and when they could not be carried off there was an Olindan officer who delighted in the sport of shooting them. The pillage of Recife was held out as a temptation to all who would assist in besieging it.

Joam da Mota and the officers of the loyal party now prepared a summary statement and vindication of their conduct; and in the presence of the notary by whom the instrument was drawn, every man after having signed it, laid his right hand upon the Gospels, and swore to defend his post for the King till the uttermost, and never to deliver it up without his orders. They resolved also that no priest should enter the town, having found by experience that these persons were the most convenient agents of the hostile party. Things were now in such a state, that the Bishop, whether he acted merely with reference to his own personal safety, or that he had hitherto supposed the Pernambucans would not venture to proceed so far, thought it prudent to discharge himself from all farther responsibility, and therefore resigned his authority, vesting it in the Camp-Master of the Regiment of Olinda, the *Senado da Camara*, and the *Ouvidor*. A war commenced, more fertile in crimes than in actions worthy to be recorded. The hope of the independent party was to win Recife by famine: it was reduced to great distress; but the sea was open to the loyalists, and they had adherents in the country, who shipped provisions from the ports in their possession, and succeeded sometimes in introducing them by land. The insurgents however had the superiority in the field; they compelled the Governor of Paraiba to retire into Fort Cabedello, they defeated Camaram at the Lagoas, and they besieged the fort of Tamandare. The garrison of Recife dispatched a vessel to Bahia to represent their perilous situation, and to intreat the Governor General that he would interfere, and send one person to take upon himself the command, and another to inquire judicially into the conduct of all parties; and that they might acquit themselves from all appearance of partiality, they said it was not their wish that Sebastian de Castro should be reinstated, because his presence would be in-

CHAP.
XXXII.

1711.

*Resolute
conduct of
the loyalists.**The Bishop
resigns the
government.*

CHAP.
XXXII.

1711.

A new Governor arrives, and order is restored.

jurious under the existing circumstances. During this state of affairs, and after the siege had continued for three months, the fleet from Portugal hove in sight, having on board the new Governor Felix Joze Machado de Mendonça. The *Camara* of Olinda immediately sent off to inform him that Recife was in the hands of mutineers, who had taken possession of it for the purpose of delivering it up to the French; and they urged him to put into the Rio Amarello. But Joam da Mota also had lost no time in going on board;.. the sincerity of his professions could not be doubted when he thus put himself in the Governor's power: Machado entered Recife, and on the day following took possession of his appointment without opposition, at Olinda. Andre Vieira, Andre Diaz, and Leonardo Bezerra, were absent, directing some of the military operations; they regretted that they had not been on the spot to have encouraged the independent party, and they said that since their friends had so liberally given the Governor possession, they must be content to pay the costs. Machado proceeded with temper and discretion, listening to all parties, and taking part with neither, till he was well informed and felt his authority established. A second insurrection was attempted, without success. The principal offenders were then arrested and sent to Lisbon. After a long confinement in that city two ²⁵ of them were banished for life to India, and the others were permitted to return to their own coun-

*P. Luiz
Correa. MS.
RochaPitta.
9. § 66—67.*

²⁵ Rocha Pitta has not mentioned who the offenders were that were thus punished. His whole account of these transactions is a miserable apology for the Pernambucans, for whom he endeavours to make a plausible story by suppressing every thing which throws any light upon their purpose or their proceedings: he does not even hint at the intention of separating from the mother country! Nevertheless it is so difficult to make a falsified narrative coherent, that

try. The consequences of this civil war were fatal to some of the great families; .. their lands had been neglected or laid waste during the anarchy; they had expended large sums in the siege of Recife, and they were thus reduced to poverty.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1711.

CHAPTER XXXIII

this garbled and partial account serves upon comparison fully to corroborate the statement of P. Luiz Correa, who was an eye-witness of the troubles. Correa ends his story with the arrival of the Governor.

CHAP.
XXXII.
1711.

As they approached the bar, the fort of S. Cruz fired, according to the morning the ships were seen standing off shore; in the face of this state of preparation and alarm the night past; in those points which were judged to stand most in need of defence. In this state of preparation the fortresses, others were sent to be hastily drawn out; some were stationed upon the beach, some darkness had closed; the alarm was beat, and the troops were the bar, that five large ships were in sight. This was just as the the coast; and soon afterwards he was apprised from the forts on was expedited to him from Cape Rio, that a squadron was off was removed to that of S. Paulo and the Minas. Information government of this Captaincy when Antonio de Albuquerque Castro de Moraes had been appointed to the been was now to have the course of its prosperity interrupted. based to flourish during all the calamities of Bahia and Port-au-Prince. His de Janeiro, which throughout the Dutch war had conti-

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Rio de Janeiro attacked by the French under Du Clerc, who are defeated, and the whole force slain or taken. A second expedition, under Du Guay-Trouin, captures the city; which is ransomed. Tumults at Bahia. Negotiations at Utrecht. Insurrection in Minas Geraes. That Government is separated from S. Paulo, and made a distinct Captaincy.

CHAP. Rio de Janeiro, which throughout the Dutch war had continued to flourish during all the calamities of Bahia and Pernambuco, was now to have the course of its prosperity interrupted. XXXIII. Francisco de Castro de Moraes had been appointed to the government of this Captaincy when Antonio de Albuquerque 1710. was removed to that of S. Paulo and the Mines. Information Alarm of invasion at the Rio. was expedited to him from Cabo Frio, that a squadron was off the coast; and soon afterwards he was apprized from the forts on the bar, that five large ships were in sight. This was just as the darkness had closed: the alarm was beat, and the troops were hastily drawn out; some were stationed upon the beach, some were dispatched to strengthen the fortresses, others were sent to those points which were judged to stand most in need of defence. In this state of preparation and alarm the night past: in the morning the ships were seen standing off shore; in the afternoon they stood again for the harbour with the sea breeze. As they approached the bar, the fort of S. Cruz fired, according

August 16.

to custom, without ball, that they might put out a boat, and explain who they were before they proceeded farther: the signal was not answered; upon this a shot was fired, and struck the leading ship, which then came to anchor. Had any doubt still remained of their intentions, it would now have been removed; for a small vessel, which supposing them to be English made no endeavour to avoid them, was captured in sight of the forts. A second night was past in the same apprehensions as the former; but when it was perceived in the morning that the ships were again standing off, it was believed that all danger was at an end.

It was a French squadron under M. du Clerc. Views of colonization and conquest which that nation had so often attempted on this part of the American continent, were no longer practicable; but the Portugueze city which had arisen in Antarctic France, had now become a place of great commerce and great wealth; the produce of the mines might be found there, and this was an age of buccaneering expeditions. They stood to the southward, and made a show of landing on the beach of Sacopemba; but the appearance of the *Ordenança* deterred them. They then made for Ilha Grande; here entrenchments had been thrown up; after a short cannonade, they carried off two Negroes to serve as guides, proceeded to the bar of Guaratibi, some forty miles from the Rio, and there landed about a thousand marines. No attempt was made to prevent them from reaching the city, though they were seven days on their march through the woods. The Governor contented himself with taking a position in the Campo, where the Church of the Rosary at this time stands, and there he entrenched himself, one wing resting upon the hill of S. Antonio, the other upon that of the *Conceiçam*. He had no less than eight thousand troops, including the *Ordenança*, and besides these there were five thou-

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1710.

*Du Clerc
lands and
advances
without op-
position.*

CHAP. sand blacks and mulattoes armed with matchlocks and pikes,
 XXXIII. and six hundred Indian archers. With this great superiority of
 1710. force, the Governor thought proper to wait for the enemy, only
 sending out a few small parties to observe their progress. One
 of these, under Captain José Freire, by putting themselves in
 ambush, killed about twenty of the invaders; and this was the
 only loss they suffered upon their march, and the only attempt
 to impede them, though by similar measures in such a country
 it would have been easy to have cut them all off. Thus unmo-
 lested they reached an *Engenho* of the Jesuits, now called the
Engenho Velho, which is near the city, and there they were suf-
 fered to pass the night without being disturbed. On the follow-
 ing morning about seven o'clock they came in sight of the Por-
 tugueze army.

Sept. 18.

*The French
 enter the
 city.*

Here they met the first resolute resistance, and this not from
 any strong detachment, but from a handful of men headed by
 Fr. Francisco de Menezes, a Trinitarian Friar. This person,
 with a spirit worthy of the name which he bore, occupied a
 position near the Morro do Outeiro, and when overpowered by
 numbers, for the Governor still remained inactive, the men
 took possession of the Igreja do Desterro, a church named after
 the flight into Egypt, and defended it while the Friar hastened
 to procure assistance. The enemy lost several men in attempt-
 ing to enter this church; nevertheless, they persisted in attacking
 it with exasperated perseverance, which makes it remarkable that
 when they succeeded they should not have put the defenders
 to the sword, but at this time the French were more humane
 than their antagonists. They now past within a few hundred
 yards of the Portugueze position, proceeded along the Rua
 d' Ajuda, and having suffered considerably from the fire of the
 Castle, and from parties posted at the corners of the streets and
 directed by Menezes the Friar, who was seen every where, they

came into the Rua do Parto, and there divided: one body went along the Rua do Padre Bento, the larger one by the Rua de S. José towards the Quay. Francisco de Castro, venturing now at last to act when he had suffered the enemy actually to enter the city, sent a detachment to cut off the smaller body; the service was well performed, and this part of the French force, attacked by superior numbers, and confounded by a sense of their own rashness which they discovered when it was too late, dispersed and fled each whither he could, .. thus in their fear exposing themselves to inevitable destruction.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1710.

About fifty students, men of that age, rank, and temper which make the best soldiers in situations where zeal, activity, and ready intellect supply the place of discipline, had taken upon themselves to defend the Palace, some firing from the windows, others from the adjoining streets. The French imagined, because of the resistance which was here opposed to them, that the Governor was present; and hoping to make their own terms if they could become masters of his person, a party forced their way in. They were met on the staircase by the students; their Captain was killed, and his men being taken prisoners, were secured by tying them with matchropes to the furniture. The Custom House, which was also the magazine, adjoined this building: here the store-keeper was busily but carelessly delivering out powder; .. a fellow approached too near with a lighted match in his hand, and the powder blew up. Several of the students, besides other persons, perished, and the Palace was set on fire. The French took advantage of the accident; but the explosion guided the Camp-Master, Gregorio de Castro de Moraes, brother to the Governor, and he hastened with his regiment to the spot. A sharp conflict ensued, and he fell; the Portuguese, however, were now heated with action; their spirit and their numbers increased every moment, and Du Clerc, who

The Portuguese over-power them.

CHAP. by this time had lost a great number of his men, was glad to retire
 XXXIII. with the remainder into a large stone warehouse upon the
 1710. quay;..he relied upon the other detachment, and it is said
 that when he heard the bells of all the churches ring for victory,
 he was infatuated enough to suppose that this party had won
 the city, and were thus proclaiming their success. He was
 presently surrounded, and finding himself threatened from the
 neighbouring houses, and from the Ilha das Cobras, with no
 hope or possibility of bettering his condition even if he could
 succeed in cutting his way through the Portugueze, he pro-
 posed that hostilities should cease, and that he should be per-
 mitted to reembark without molestation. Such a proposal from
 men who were at the mercy of their antagonists, was heard with
 indignation, and they were assured that if they did not surren-
 der prisoners of war, the place wherein they had taken shelter
 would be blown to pieces. Accordingly they laid down their
 arms.

*Cruel usage
 of the pri-
 soners.*

The Portugueze had little¹ reason to pride themselves upon
 this victory, preceded as it was by so much negligence and
 misconduct, and followed by disgraceful inhumanity. More of
 the enemies than fell in action were killed when flying through
 the streets, and seeking to hide themselves, or find protection in
 the houses. The detachment which had occupied the Morro
 do Desterro before Du Clerc entered the city, had now them-

¹ The wiser Portugueze felt this, though there were illuminations at Lis-
 bon, and a boasting account of the victory was published. "*Bom foi o successo
 do Rio de Janeiro; mas estas açoens nam se costumam festejar com luminarias, e
 menos com as fanfarronadas da relaçam que se imprimio. Os Portuguezes sempre
 foram os mesmos, mas necessitam de quem os leve ao conflicto com audacia e com dis-
 ciplina.*" *Cartas de Joze da Cunha Brochado.* (17 March, 1711) MSS.

selves entered, hearing that the Magazine was on fire, and expecting that they had nothing to do but to share in the plunder. They soon discovered how differently the enterprize had ended; some seventy retired into a house, taking with them the prisoners whom they had made in the Church of the Desterro, and the Captain sent out a Carmelite to surrender his sword to the Governor, and ask for quarter. But the rabble, who were now raging with the intoxication of success, had neither ears nor hearts for mercy, and nearly the whole of this party were butchered; about one hundred and fifty more were massacred in the streets: . . . in the whole somewhat above four hundred French were killed, two hundred and fifty-two wounded, and the remainder of the prisoners were about six hundred. Some hundred and twenty Portugueze fell, several by the fire of their own countrymen in the confusion of the day. On the fifth morning after the action, the French squadron appeared off the harbour, and threw up rockets. It is asserted by the French, that when the issue was known on board, and by permission of the Governor surgeons were sent from the ships to attend their wounded countrymen, they were murdered by the populace; and that many of the prisoners died in prison under the accumulated miseries of filth, durance, and ill treatment. Du Clerc, having been at one time lodged in the Jesuits' College, and afterwards in Fort S. Sebastian, obtained permission to take a house, where, about six months after his surrender, he was found dead one morning, having been murdered during the night. This assassination assuredly was not an act of popular fury; it could only have been the work of private vengeance, . . . and jealousy, in all likelihood, was the cause. But inquiry was not instituted, as it ought to have been in any case, and more especially in one wherein the national faith would appear to be implicated.

This praise is due to the French, that they have never been

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1710.

RochaPitna.
9. § 69—
81.
Patriota. 2.
No. 4. p. 55.
Targe, Hist.
de l'avenement de la
maison de
Bourbon au
trone d'Es-
pagne, t. 6.
p. 80.

1711.
The French

CHAP. slow in resenting national wrongs. They might have reconciled
 XXXIII. themselves to the failure of Du Clerc's enterprize, . . its temerity
 1711. deserved no better success ; but the inhumanity with which the
prepare a second expedition under Du Guay-Trouin. men had been treated wounded the feelings and the honour of the nation, and in the case of the Commander they considered the Government as having sanctioned the assassination which it had neglected to punish. France also was able as well as willing to exact vengeance ; for it was at the time when an English ministry, plotting against the Protestant succession, and betraying their own country and the interests of all her allies, had given the French Court full assurance of concluding a peace in subservience to its views. M. du Guay-Trouin, one of the ablest naval officers whom France has produced, felt a strong desire to revenge his countrymen, and acquire by so doing a splendid fortune and a splendid reputation for himself. He calculated the expences of the outfit at 1,200,000 livres : six persons were found to undertake the speculation ; . . five were wealthy merchants of St. Malo, the other was Comptroller General of the King's household. Through his interest the project was approved by Government, and ships and troops were placed at Du Guay-Trouin's disposal. The force appointed consisted of two seventy-fours, three sixty-sixes, one sixty gun-ship, one fifty-six, one frigate of forty-six guns, one of forty, two of thirty-six, and four smaller vessels. They were fitted out at different ports, Brest, Rochefort, and Dunkirk, to avoid suspicion : and the Commander and his brother engaged, in addition to the King's ships, two vessels of St. Malo, the one of forty and the other of thirty guns. Secretly, however, as these preparations were carried on, the court of Portugal apprehended some such danger : the sailing of the outward-bound fleet was accelerated, its convoy was doubled, and the merchant ships well armed ; stores and reinforcements for the Rio were put on board, and a distin-

Reinforcements sent from Portugal.

Memoires de Du Guay-Trouin. p. 163—2.

RochaPitta. 9. § 83—4.

Patriota. p. 57.

guished officer, Gaspar da Costa de Ataide, was appointed to the command, with the rank of *Mestre de Campo do Mar*.

CHAP.

XXXIII.

1711.

The English arrive off Brest too late to blockade the enemy.

The English also, having discovered that an armament was fitting out, suspected its object, and prepared to blockade the port of Brest. Du Guay-Trouin received intelligence of their design, and before the ships in that haven were quite ready, removed them to Rochelle; two days after his departure the English squadron arrived off Brest, so that if it had not been for this promptitude on the part of the Commander, the expedition would have been frustrated. He sailed from Rochelle with his collected force on the 9th of June: the passage was delayed by contrary gales which continued a full month, but on the 27th of August he arrived in the latitude of Bahia: he then called a council of war, and proposed to visit that port on the way, and capture or destroy the vessels which might be found there; but upon examination it was found that their water was running short, and would be in danger of failing if they made any avoidable delay. They proceeded therefore on their destination, and on the 11th of September came into soundings, without knowing the land. Toward evening a fresh breeze sprang up, and Du Guay-Trouin, taking advantage of it, carried all sail, notwithstanding a fog, for the purpose of arriving at the entrance of the harbour just at day-break.

Memoires de Du Guay-Trouin.

The fleet from Lisbon had now arrived some days, and the Governor had received more certain information of his danger, from a yacht which the English had dispatched with the intelligence to Lisbon, and which the Portugueze Court had sent on to the Rio, having no vessel of its own ready, which was likely to perform so speedy a passage. This yacht came in the latter end of August, and on the 30th of that month advices came, that a large squadron had been seen from Bahia Ferosa, steering toward the Rio. There had thus been sufficient time for

Negligence of the Portugueze Commanders.

CHAP. preparation. Gaspar da Costa stationed the ships of war, and
 XXXIII. the armed merchantmen, in the best points for protecting the
 1711. city, manned them, went on board himself, and exercised his
 men in the manœuvres which it was intended they should execute, when the invasion should be attempted. After five days had elapsed, he concluded that it had been a false alarm, re-landed the troops, and abandoned himself to a false security. On the 10th it was known that an enemy's fleet had past Cabo Frio; and, on the morning of the 12th, when nothing could be seen from the city because of the thick fog, they heard the thundering of artillery at the bar.

RochaPitta.
9.

Patriota.

*The French
enter the
harbour.*

The Chevalier de Courserac, DuGuay-Trouin's intimate friend and second in command, was acquainted with the port, and had therefore been appointed to lead the way. They past the forts by favour of the fog, though not without the loss of three hundred men, according to their own statement; and when the mist drew up, about noon, the French squadron were seen, from the city, within the bar. Gaspar da Costa, seeing his scheme of defence frustrated, instead of making what resistance was still in his power, ordered his ships to cut their cables, and set fire to them when they ran on shore. He had lost all presence of mind from the moment it was certainly known that the enemy were at hand; perhaps, at the time, he was in a state of bodily disease, for he had proved himself a brave man on former occasions; and shame and vexation now induced a disorder of the brain, from which he never recovered. Thus far the French Admiral had succeeded to the extent of his hopes; during the night he advanced his bomb-ships; and, on the following morning, at break of day, took possession of the Ilha das Cobras, where the Portugueze were then busy in spiking their guns, before they should abandon it. Batteries were immediately erected there by the French, and on the 14th, having

taken possession of some merchantmen which were anchored near the place where he had resolved to disembark, he landed all his troops, three thousand three hundred in number, including trained seamen; there were also about five hundred sick of the scurvy, who being put on shore at the same time, were in a few days able to join the rest. Four mortars were landed, and twenty large perriers, or pattereros, as they were called in this country, which were to serve as field artillery: in order to render them serviceable the Chevalier de Beaure contrived something which is described as a chandelier of wood, fixed in the ground by six pointed claws; upon this they ² rested with sufficient firmness. This artillery was carried in the centre of the strongest battalion, and was ready to play when the battalion should open.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1711.

*Du Guay
Trouin,
p.171—180.*

Meantime Francisco de Castro pursued the same senseless course as he had done the year preceding; with a regular force, exceeding that of the enemy twice told, he remained in the same position which he had taken up against Du Clerc; and looked on, without making the slightest effort to oppose them, while the French pillaged the houses, and carried off the cattle, within musquet-shot of the town. Du Guay-Trouin believed he was waiting for the French to attack him in his entrenchments; this he supposed, under an erroneous notion that Du Clerc had been defeated, in consequence of attempting such an attack. If the Governor had any plan, it was, more probably, that of permitting them to enter the streets, in the expectation of again engaging them there, where numbers would avail, and discipline be

*Wretched
conduct of
the Governour.*

² *Pedrero*, a murdering piece, used in wars to shoot chain-shot or stones from; (*Minsheu*).. stones originally, and thence its name. A print, in Grose's History of the English Army, explains the invention of the Frenchman; it represents three of these pieces, mounted like telescopes, upon one frame.

CHAP. rendered useless; but he seems rather to have acted without
xxxiii. plan of any kind, without ability, and without courage, waiting
1711. for what might happen, and thereby putting every thing in the
invader's power. The Commander to whom he was opposed, well knew his own strength and his own weakness; he saw that it was impossible, with his small force, to prevent the inhabitants from removing their effects to the mountains, and that to engage in a street-war would be to draw on his own destruction; but, while he remained without the town, the place was at his mercy. Accordingly, having erected one battery on shore, and another upon the Ilha das Cobras, when all was ready, he summoned the Governor to surrender at discretion. The King of France, his master, he said, had sent him to take vengeance for the cruelties committed against his officers and troops in the preceding year, the murder of the surgeons, the ill treatment of the prisoners, and the assassination of M. Du Clerc; he had ordered him to deliver the surviving prisoners, and to levy such a contribution, as should at once punish the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro for their inhumanity, and amply defray the expence of the great armament which had been sent upon that service. It was not supposed that the Governor had been concerned in the assassination of M. Du Clerc, but he was required to name the author of that crime, that exemplary justice might be done. Du Guay-Trouin added, it was not his intention to commit reprisals, because his Majesty would not make war in a manner so unworthy a Most Christian King; but the town and country were at his mercy, . . . nothing could prevent him from carrying fire and sword whithersoever he would, and therefore all resistance would be useless. . . . In this manner should national injuries be resented; and if the expedition to Rio de Janeiro had originated in a national movement and in the French Government itself, instead of individual speculation, it would have been altogether

one of the most honourable events recorded in the annals of France.

CHAP
XXXIII.

1710.

*The Portu-
gueze aban-
don the city.*

Francisco de Castro replied as well as the matter would permit, in all points. The prisoners, he said, had neither wanted rations of bread nor any other necessaries. They had been treated according to the usages of war, although they had deserved no such treatment, because they had invaded Brazil as private adventurers, and not under the commission of the Most Christian King. He had granted life to six hundred men, as they themselves would testify; he had saved them from the fury of the people, who would otherwise have put them all to the sword; and finally, he had not been wanting to them in any respect, following the intentions of the King his master. M. Du Clerc had, by his desire, been lodged in the best house in the country; he had been murdered there, but it had not, in all the inquiries which had been made, been possible to ascertain who was the assassin: yet if he were ever discovered, the Governor promised that he should be punished as he deserved. To the summons for surrendering at discretion, he had no other reply to make, than that the King, his master, had entrusted that city to his charge, and he was ready to defend it to the last drop of his blood; . . . a brave reply, if it had been followed by answerable deeds. This correspondence took place on the 19th: on the 20th Du Guay-Trouin, having reconnoitred the points of attack, cannonaded the Portugueze entrenchments, and prepared every thing for a general assault on the following morning. There were five Portugueze ships anchored near the Benedictine Convent, in a situation convenient for receiving the troops who were to make the attack in this quarter: as soon as night closed, they were embarked in boats, that they might get on board these vessels as silently as possible. A storm came on; they were perceived by the light of the lightning, and the Portugueze poured upon

CHAP
 XXXIII.
 1711.

them a heavy fire of musquetry. This occasioned the Commander to alter his plan: he had brought up two ships to support his batteries, and had given orders, that at whatever time they heard a piece fired from his station, they should all open upon the town. Seeing his boats in this danger, he now fired the signal with his own hand, and the cannonade was continued almost without interruption during the whole night; the storm and the thunder and lightning continuing also. Several houses were set on fire by the shells. The inhabitants were in this respect more fortunate than others who have been exposed to the horrors of such an attack, that the country was open to them, and was also a secure place of refuge; into the country they fled during one of the most tremendous nights which had ever been remembered, in a country peculiarly liable to storms; . . . men, women, and children, the whole population of the city, fled, expecting every moment that the assault would be given; the troops caught the panic; and in the morning, when Du Guay-Trouin was preparing to storm the place, the Aide-du-Camp of Du Clerc made his appearance, and told him he might enter without resistance, for the city was his own. Fire had been set to some of the richest magazines, by the Governor's orders, and mines laid under the forts of the Benedictines and Jesuits, . . . probably so named as being near the convents of those orders: in both places the explosion was prevented, and the French took possession of their easy conquest.

*Du Guay-Trouin, 169
 —195.*

*The city is
 taken and
 pillaged.*

*RochaPitto,
 9. § 92.*

They found their countrymen already gathering the first fruits: about five hundred of Du Clerc's men were still living. They had broken out in the confusion, and had fallen to the spoil: some of the inhabitants had shewn kindness to them while they were in prison, and it ought not to be forgotten, in the history of this expedition, that in the general sack which ensued, the houses of these persons were marked by the Frenchmen, and

faithfully preserved from pillage. In vain did the Commander endeavour to prevent excesses which were so peculiarly dangerous in an open city, and with an enemy superior in numbers close at hand. The patrols whom he established were themselves foremost in the work of plunder. By the next morning three fourths of the houses and warehouses had been broken open; wine, provisions, furniture, stores and goods of every kind, were heaped together pell-mell in the mud of the streets, and the Portuguese, had they known how to profit by the opportunity which was afforded them, might a second time have taken ample vengeance upon their invaders. Du Guay-Trouin shot some of his men; but no examples were sufficient for deterring fellows to whom such temptations were presented, and he found that the only means of preserving order was to keep them constantly at work in depositing in the magazines such goods as it was intended to carry away.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1711.

*Du Guay-Trouin, 195
—196.*

*Critical situation of
the French.*

The forts were now surrendered with a facility dishonourable to those by whom they were commanded. The Governor meantime collected his troops, and entrenched himself about a league from the city, expecting a reinforcement from the Mines, whither he had sent to inform Albuquerque of the danger, and perhaps thinking it probable, that the same course of circumstances might ensue as had followed upon the capture of Bahia by Willekens and Heyne; . . . but conquest had been the object of the Dutch, and the French came only for vengeance and booty. Du Guay-Trouin perceived in how critical a situation he should soon find himself, if he continued longer than was absolutely necessary in a place where he had found small store of provisions, and could procure none without much difficulty and no inconsiderable danger. He therefore informed the Governor, that unless the city were immediately ransomed, he would burn it to the ground; and to convince him that the threat was serious, he sent

CHAP. out a detachment who set fire to every house in the environs
 XXXIJI. for half a league round. This party was fiercely attacked, and
 1711. would have been cut to pieces as it deserved, had not two bat-
 talions arrived opportunely to its support. The leader of the
 Portugueze fell in the action. He is commended by the French
 for the intrepidity which he displayed; but he did not deserve
 so honourable a death, if, as there seems reason to suppose, he
 was that Bento de Amaral whose name has occurred in the his-
 tory of the Mines.

*The city is
ransomed.*

The French Commander had proved his will to execute the
 threat, and master as he was of the forts and of the sea, there was
 nothing to prevent him from retiring in safety when he should
 have done it. The Governor therefore offered him six hundred
 thousand *cruzados*, protesting that he could collect no larger
 ransom, for much had already fallen into his hands, and much
 had been carried into the woods and mountains. Du Guay-
 Trouin rejected the proposal, and gave orders to show the mes-
 senger who brought it, in what manner he was taking measures
 effectually to spoil every thing which could not be destroyed by
 fire. But he learnt from some Negro deserters, that the troops
 from the Mines were immediately expected, and that a reinforce-
 ment had already arrived from Ilha Grande, and therefore he
 drew out his whole force during the night as silently as possible,
 and presented himself at day-break in front of the Portugueze
 position, in hopes of accelerating the agreement, and intimidating
 them into a larger offer. A Jesuit was sent to conclude the terms,
 as he expected; but the ransom was fixed at the sum which had
 already been proposed, with the addition of as many head of
 cattle as the French might require. The contribution was to be
 paid in fifteen days, and it was agreed that the inhabitants might
 ransom their own goods. The agreement was signed on the 10th
 of October, and on the following day Albuquerque arrived with

one thousand five hundred horsemen, every man bringing a foot soldier behind him for the sake of speed: six thousand armed Negroes were only a day or two behind. Had Albuquerque been Governor, a more honourable resistance would certainly have been made, perhaps a successful one; but after so many errors had been committed, it was fortunate for himself that he did not come up before the whole ignominy was completed. He, however, sanctioned the agreement, which he might, perhaps, have been too high minded to have concluded. Du Guay-Trouin felt his danger, when so large a reinforcement had arrived, under a man of spirit and high reputation; but the terms were punctually observed. The last payment was made on the 4th of November, and on the same day the French reembarked, having previously sent on board all the removeable plunder. Their Commander had punished with death every man upon whom any of the Church-plate was found, and having collected together all he could find, he entrusted it to the Jesuits, to be delivered to the Bishop; . . . the Jesuits, he says, being the only ecclesiastics in that city, who had appeared worthy of his confidence.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1711.

Du Guay-Trouin.
197—205.

Elated with such complete success, this gallant seaman attempted to pursue his prosperous fortune, and sailed from the Rio with the full intention of laying Bahia in like manner under contribution. But after struggling for nearly six weeks against contrary winds, he found it necessary to bear away for France, while he had yet provisions for the voyage. The delay proved fatal to two of his squadron, which in the dreadful weather they encountered on the way home, went down, with twelve hundred men on board. One of them was commanded by the Chevalier de Courserac, who had led the way into the harbour of the Rio; it was the finest ship in the squadron, and for that reason the most valuable part of the booty had been embarked in it, with gold and silver to the amount of six hun-

Fate of the French squadron.

CHAP.

XXXIII.

1711.

Du Guay-
Trouin. 206
—210

dred thousand livres. A third vessel was driven to Cayenne, and sunk there at anchor. Notwithstanding these losses, there remained to the adventurers a profit of ninety-two per cent. upon the capital which they had risked. The people of the Rio were so dissatisfied with their Governor's behaviour in this disgraceful and ruinous business, that they would not suffer him to continue in his office. They insisted that Albuquerque should take upon him the administration, till the King's pleasure could be known; and Francisco de Castro made no attempt at retaining his authority; . . . he was too sensible of his misfortune, if not of his misconduct. As soon as the calamity was known at Lisbon, Francisco de Tavora was sent out to supersede him, and bring him and the other persons who had failed in their duty, to trial. They were put into strict confinement, and after a full inquiry, the late Governor was sentenced to degradation and perpetual imprisonment in one of the forts in India, for want of courage, and error in judgment. This was hard measure; he had pursued precisely the same course as in the preceding year; the faults which he had then committed had been overlooked, though they were glaring and notorious, because the issue had been fortunate. If there was any difference in the two cases, besides that of the event, it was in the Governor's favour, who ought to have been held less responsible on the second occasion than on the first, Gaspar da Costa having had the command of that force, which was expressly sent out for the protection of the ³ port. His nephew,

³ Jozé da Cunha Brochado, at first hearing the intelligence, concluded that the fault lay here. He says, "*As cartas que vieram dos Estrangeiros dessa Cidade, dizem, que nam houvera resistencia alguma na entrada do Porto; mas tambem he inutil esta reflexam; porque as nossas injurias tem feito hum callo tam forte que somos invulneraveis a qualquer golpe de mormuraçam. Cartas, MSS. (9 Jan. 1712.)*" From the same letter it appears, that in the preceding reign he had pointed out

who had succeeded to the rank of Camp Master, when his father was killed the preceding year, was banished for life; and a Captain, who had given up one of the forts, and absconded in consequence, was hanged in effigy.

The news of this disaster greatly alarmed the Portugueze, whose commerce had never received so severe a blow; the capture of the city was known before there was any account of the after proceedings, and they apprehended that it might be the intention of the French to retain their conquest, remembering their old claims upon a country to which they had once given the name of Antarctic France, and which the discovery of the mines had rendered now more than ever an important territory. The Portugueze Ambassadors at Utrecht argued, that in this point England and the United Provinces were as much concerned as Portugal, and therefore they would not require the assistance of these powers, lest such assistance should be deemed an equivalent for the barrier which Portugal was then claiming from Spain: this it could not be if the maritime powers were left to feel their own interest in interfering. On the other hand, they were aware that the preservation of Brazil was of more importance to Portugal than any extension of her own frontier, and they knew the perilous insecurity of Bahia, which gave but too much probability to a report, that Du Guay-Trouin had entered and sacked that city also. Yet there was another objection to soliciting, or even accepting aid from Great Britain and Holland; for, although an allied squadron might undoubtedly facilitate the recovery of Rio de Janeiro, their en-

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1711.

Rocha Pitta.
9. § 93—94
Alarm of the
Portugueze
Cabinet.

Cartas de
Joze da Cun-
ha Brocha-
do. MSS. 9
Jan. 1712.

Cartas dos
Embaira-
dores. MSS.
12 Jan. 16
Feb. 23 Feb.
1712.

to the Court the inadequacy of the fortifications at Rio de Janeiro to protect the place, and presented a plan for their improvement. The King was pleased to thank him for this proof of his zeal; . . . the plan was laid aside, and the warning neglected.

CHAP. ^{XXXIII.} 1711. trance into that port would produce consequences easily to be foreseen, and greatly injurious to that commerce, which Portugal was now determined upon reserving wholly to itself. From these perplexities they were relieved by the next advices.

Pedro de Vasconcellos Governor.

The disturbances in Pernambuco, and the two invasions of the Rio, occurred while D. Lourenço de Almada was Governor General: he was superseded by Pedro de Vasconcellos e Sousa, before the northern Captaincy was quiet, and while Rio de Janeiro was in possession of the French. The seas were, at this time, greatly infested by pirates, the last desperate remains of the Buccaneers; and they haunted the coasts of Brazil more than ever, since the discovery of the mines. To prevent such loss as was caused by their depredations, it was necessary to keep up an establishment of cruisers, and to strengthen the forts also.

Impost of ten per cent.

Under the plea of defraying these urgent expences, the opportunity was taken of imposing ten per cent. upon all imports in Brazil. The people, however, justly apprehended, that the impost would be continued after the necessity had ceased; and when the new Governor attempted to put the edict in force, they assembled tumultuously, and at the sound of the City Bell, which was rung incessantly by order of the *Juiz do Povo*, the Square before the Palace and all the streets which opened into it, were presently filled by a multitude of the lower orders. The

Insurrection at Bahia.

first impulse of the Governor was to take sword and buckler, and go out to disperse the rabble, at the head of his guards and domestics; he was dissuaded from thus exposing his person to danger, and his authority to contempt; so he sent a message to the mob, requiring them to separate, and pursue their purpose by means of petitioning, not of violence. They deputed the *Juiz do Povo* to receive the message, and reply to it; and the reply was, that they were assembled with a determination of not separating, till the tax should have been abrogated, and till the

increase in the price of salt were taken off; . . the ordinary measure of that prime necessary of life having been raised, in the preceding year, from 480 to 720 *reis*. The Governor represented, that it was to the throne they must make their appeal, not to him, who had no power to pursue any other course than that of carrying the royal orders into effect. This reply incensed them; they declared that they would accomplish their object by force; and, after insulting the Governor, they proceeded to the house of Manoel Dias Filgueira, who held the salt contract, and to whom they imputed the new impost of the tenths. This person, who was greatly envied for his riches, and had also rendered himself unpopular by a splendour, which was thought more than beseemed his station, was luckily in Lisbon; his wife and family were apprized of their danger in time to escape, or they might have fallen victims to the blind fury of the rabble; every thing in the house was destroyed; and the barrels of wine, and other costly liquors in his stores, were broached into the streets. From thence they proceeded to the house of Manoel Gomes Lisboa, who was connected in trade with Filgueira; and therefore, though not personally obnoxious to the multitude, was marked for vengeance. He also escaped; but his house was sacked, and two chests of gold-dust being thrown out of window, the chests brake with the fall, and the gold was trampled under foot, and lost. While they were at their work of destruction here, the Archbishop came, with as many members of the various brotherhoods as he could collect, and all the dignitaries of the Cathedral, bearing the Host upon an *Ambula*, as it stands upon the altar; trusting that they might be mollified by this spectacle, he exhorted them to return to their houses: they prostrated themselves before what Rocha Pitta calls their Creator, worshipped the wafer, sheathed their weapons, and attended it devoutly back to the Church from whence it had been brought; but having seen

CHAP. the Pix replaced, they returned to the Square, arms in hand
 XXXIII. again, and renewed their demand that the tax should be repealed,
 1711. and the price of salt reduced. Meantime the late Governor, D.
 Lourenço de Almada, had repaired to the Palace, and, with his
 advice, Vasconcellos, seeing no other present remedy, yielded to
 their will. They required also a full pardon for the insurrection,
 and all acts committed in its course, without exception of per-
 sons; rightly thinking that they stood in need of this, but not
 considering that it was invalidated by the very means whereby
 it was obtained. About six in the evening the business was con-
 cluded, and the mob dispersed. A party of them had been
 stationed to keep the City Bell in action during the whole day.

*The Govern-
 nor yields to
 the demand
 of the mob.*

*RochaPitta.
 9. § 95—
 104.*

*The mob
 again
 assemble for
 the relief of
 the Rio.*

No person of respectability appeared in this tumult; the mob consisted of the lowest orders; and, it is remarked, that the ring-leaders were men of the mother country, or foreigners of various nations, not natives of Brazil. After some weeks had elapsed, the movers of the first tumult rung the alarm again; the mob readily obeyed the summons; and, as the Governor happened to be without the gates, at the residence of his predecessor, thither they went to seek him in full force. Surprized, as well as alarmed, at this unexpected appearance, he fastened the great doors, and the deputy of the mob was admitted through a wicket. They had chosen a respectable man to make known their pleasure to the Governor: . . . it was, that he should immediately fit out the ships which were in the harbour, and enlist men, for an expedition to recover Rio de Janeiro from the French. Such a proposal might well astonish the Governor; he replied, that he had neither ships, artillery, nor men sufficient, to attack such a squadron as that of the enemy; that he had not money for such an expedition; and that, if it were attempted, a certain evil must of necessity ensue, . . . for the ships being thus employed, would lose their homeward voyage for the year, to the great injury of

the Treasury, and the great loss of the inhabitants of Bahia and the Reconcave. To this they made answer, that there was money enough in St. Teresa's, and in the Jesuits' College, deposited there for various purposes, by persons from different parts; as much as was required might be drawn from these funds, and replaced by an assessment upon the people of the City, and the Reconcave, according to their means. The merchants and traders, they said, would take upon themselves the larger part; he might recall from Pernambuco the two ships of war which had convoyed the fleet thither; there was artillery enough; and the force would be sufficient to attack the French. To reason with them was in vain: Vasconcellos might as well have attempted to turn the wind, or the waves, as to convince them of the folly of their purpose. Once more he found it necessary to obey their sovereign pleasure; and, on the morrow, the *Senado* was assembled by the *Juiz do Povo*, to receive orders from that mouthpiece of the mob, for making the assessment. The *Senado* urged the same objections to this insane scheme as the Governor had done, and with no better effect; the assessment was made, and the immediate expence was to be drawn from the funds deposited in the two Convents in bank. Both the Governor and the Chamber must have expected that the ardour of the people would cool, while the preparations were going on; that the difficulties would be found manifestly insuperable; and, perhaps, that some lucky turn of fortune (the last hope of the feeble), would deliver them from the danger of undertaking so frantic an expedition; and so it proved, for before any great progress had been made in the outfit, tidings arrived that the French had put the city to ransom, and sailed homeward. Little did the Bahians imagine, while they were arming against the French, that Du Guay-Trouin was prevented by nothing but the winds from attacking them upon their own ground, and at

CHAP.

XXXIII.

1711.

Rocha Pitta.
9. § 105—
113.

CHAP. their own doors ; where they would not have been more able, or
 XXXIII. more likely to have resisted him, than their countrymen at the Rio.

1712.

*Office of the
 Juiz do Povo
 abolished at
 Bahia.*

The *Juiz do Povo* became so arrogant in consequence of these proceedings, that he attempted to interfere in all public business, in order that the interests of his people, as he called them, might not suffer ; and upon every occasion, where his pretensions were opposed, he threatened to ring the City Bell, . . a signal which was now dreaded by all the peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants. The *Camara* therefore quietly applied to the Court, requesting that this office might be abolished, for the sake of public tranquillity, as it had been, for a like reason, at Porto. The powers attached to it, indeed, were ill defined, and more easily abused to ill purposes, than applicable to any good ones : it was abolished accordingly ; and the Governor, when he felt himself sufficiently strong, began to inquire who were the ringleaders in the late disturbances. They, who were conscious of having been most forward in the first insurrection, took flight, and the motive for the latter was allowed its full weight in exculpating others. Vasconcellos now endeavoured to prepare against any such calamity as had fallen upon the Rio : for this purpose he began to reform the discipline of the troops, and to exercise the *Ordinanza*, according to the new manner, which had not yet been introduced into Brazil. Zealous as the people had lately been for military service, they murmured greatly at being thus drilled, when they perceived no immediate danger ; and Vasconcellos, feeling himself more and more unpopular, solicited that a successor might be sent out to relieve him from his ungrateful charge, before the expiration of his term. Accordingly the Marquez de Angeja, D. Pedro Antonio de Noronha, came out with the rank of Viceroy, which he had previously borne in India. He strengtened the fortifications, . . a precaution whereof the necessity was no longer doubtful ; and he established, without

*Marquez de
 Angeja
 Viceroy.*

1714.

*RochaPitta.
 9. § 114—
 119.
 10. § 5—6.*

difficulty, the impost of the tenths: for no person was ready to stir up the people to a second insurrection, after the consequences of the first.

It was not from Du Guay-Trouin only that the Bahians escaped: a second armament was sent out, at the cost of private adventurers, but with the assistance of government; and Bahia was the chief object in view. The command was given to M. Cassar, who was thought more proper for such expeditions than Du Guay-Trouin; but the Abbé de Polignac pronounced the best eulogy upon that gallant seaman, when he rated him below the present commander, because he preferred the glorious to the profitable, and if he fell in with an enemy's fleet, would engage the ships of war, instead of making it his chief business to capture the merchant vessels. Because the new Commander was not a man of this mould, Bahia was spared from the probable loss and disgrace which would have befallen it; and he contented himself with a marauding descent upon some of the smaller sugar islands. The Portuguese were alarmed, at this time, by their friends as well as their enemies. Information was given them by their minister at London, that a certain Captain Thomas Braum, with the aid of private adventurers, but under the sanction of his government, was about to establish a colony in South America; in what part was not known, but that it should be any where near Brazil, appeared a danger of the greatest magnitude, more especially if the island of St. Catalina, or the Rio dos Patos, should be the place. In that case, the Portuguese statesmen conceived that the profit of the mines might be considered lost; for the English, by means of their trade, would attract the greater part of the gold to their settlements. As this territory was disputed between Spain and Portugal, and was unoccupied by either, there was some reason to apprehend that a third power might take possession, and more especially at this time when France and England were adjusting the terms of peace,

CHAP.

XXXIII.

1714.

Fear of a second expedition from France.

Cartas dos Embaixadores. MSS. 31 May, 14 June, 1712.

Bolingbroke's Correspondence, vol. 3, p. 136.

Designs of England upon South America apprehended.

Cartas dos Embaixadores. MSS. 21 June, 1714.

CHAP. with little regard to any interests except their own. The Por-
 tugueze ministers at Utrecht, therefore, urged their Court in-
 stantly to send out orders for occupying every port along the
 coast, and these two important stations more especially, even if
 they only dispatched settlers enough to erect a few cabins.

*Negoia-
 tions with
 France.*

Of all the allies of England, Portugal complained the most of its treatment in the negotiations at Utrecht, and yet there was no other power whose interests were so sincerely consulted by England in that miserable transaction. By the treaty between Portugal and France, the latter renounced, in the most explicit terms, both for the reigning king and his successors, all right and pretension whatever to the country between the Orellana and the Wiapoc, acknowledged that both banks of the Orellana belonged in full sovereignty to the Crown of Portugal, and renounced all claim to the navigation of that river. This latter point the French were very unwilling to concede, even when they had consented to yield the whole territory: they argued, that their colony from Cayenne might one day form settlements on the north bank far up the stream, and upon this probability they endeavoured to stipulate for a right of navigating the river in that part in vessels constructed there. This, however, was too remote a contingency to have any weight in the scale, and the English ministry insisted upon the total cession, with more spirit than they displayed during any other part of the discussions. They were alarmed at the ambitious views of France in America, though they had wilfully shut their eyes to the danger in Europe. And thus Portugal obtained more than her ambassadors had hoped; for they did not look for any farther cession than that of the country where the forts of Araguari and Camau were erected: their ambition was excited by this unhopèd for fortune, and they pointed out to their court, that a treaty, which secured to them the entire command of the river, opened a way for their troops to Quito and Peru. Louis the Fourteenth submitted very reluctantly to this cession, which

*Boling-
 broke's Cor-
 respondence,
 vol. 3, p.
 433, 469.*

disappointed, or at least postponed, projects perhaps of not less extravagant ambition; even after it was made, he said to the Duke of Shrewsbury, he still hoped that between the signing of the treaty and its ratification, the Queen of England would be convinced how unjust it was to deprive him of the navigation of the river. France also engaged, that the inhabitants of Cayenne should not be allowed to go beyond the Wiapoc for the purposes of trade; nor should they purchase slaves in the district of the Cabo do Norte: the King of Portugal engaging on his part, that his subjects should not trade with Cayenne. And the Most Christian King promised, that neither the French Missionaries, nor any others under his protection, should, in the exercise of their functions, intrude upon the lands which were by this treaty adjudged incontestably to appertain to Portugal.

The Portugueze negociators had a delicate point to manage respecting the commerce of Brazil. The Dutch had, by the peace of 1661, a clear and positive right of trading with that country. The English had the same right, which was more especially given them by the marriage treaty of Charles the Second. Both nations had suffered it to fall into disuse, . . . probably both were now importing sugar and tobacco from their own colonies. With regard to the Dutch, for whom the Portugueze seem at all times to have entertained a rooted contempt, even when they themselves were weakest, and Holland in its greatest strength, the privilege was plainly denied, in direct breach of treaty, and the Portugueze even set up a right of confiscating⁴ their ships if they went there. The English were content

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1713.

*Cartas dos
Embaixa-
dores. MSS.
15th April,
1713.*

*April 11,
1713.
Du Mont,
t. 8, p. 1,
p. 353.*

*Difficulty
respecting
the Com-
merce of
Brazil.*

⁴ This had nearly involved Portugal in a serious dispute with the United Provinces some years after the peace of Utrecht. A Dutch ship entered the Rio under a pretence of watering and refitting, but in reality for the purpose of

CHAP. to forego it, because, by means of the factory at Lisbon, great
 XXXIII. part of the Brazilian trade was really in their hands, being car-
 1713. ried on with their capital by Portuguese agents in the country.
 The *Junta de Commercio*, however, was apprehensive that France
 would now demand the same privileges which England possessed
 by treaty, and therefore they thought it desirable that England
 should be prevailed upon to give up a right which was never
 exercised; but it was suggested, that if the question were moved,
 the English might be led to consider how important this trade
 might be found hereafter, and would, perhaps, begin to exercise
 it at once, for the sake of keeping it up: Portugal could not
 prevent this, and therefore it was better to let the matter rest.
 The difficulty occurred, as had been foreseen at Utrecht; and
 though the English ministers at first took part with the Portu-
 guese, as thinking it desirable to have the French excluded from
 this trade, they changed their opinion during the conferences,
 because they perceived that this exclusion might afterwards be
 pleaded as a precedent for extending the same system to ⁵

*D. Luiz da
 Cunha. Car-
 ta ao Marco
 Antonio,
 MS.*

smuggling. She was seized and condemned by a sentence of the Supreme Court at Bahia. The Middleburg Company, who were the owners, demanded restitution: and this the King promised, whenever the West India Company would indemnify his subjects for certain ships which they had seized, on a pretext that they were trading within the limits of the Dutch possessions in Africa. Four millions of florins were claimed by Portugal upon this ground. The States threatened to grant the Middleburg Company letters of reprisal, and D. Luiz da Cunha, who was sent to the Hague upon this business, believed that this would certainly have been done, if other troubles in Europe had not intervened.

D. Luiz da Cunha, Carta ao Marco Antonio, MS.

⁵ There is a curious passage in one of the letters of Joze da Cunha Brochado, at that time minister in London, which shows that the privilege was sometimes exercised by the English, and disputed, I know not upon what grounds, by the

England, against which the Queen could not remonstrate, if she now sanctioned the exclusion of France. When it was stipulated that the French should not trade with Maranhão, the Portuguese plenipotentiaries wished to include Brazil in the prohibition; and in the article which provided that the ports of the two countries should be reciprocally open to each other, they would have excepted those of Brazil. But the French would not consent to either of these insertions; they compromised the point by omitting all mention of Brazil in the one article, and saying in the other, that the French merchant-vessels and ships of war should enter those ports of the King of Portugal which they were accustomed to enter. The Portuguese thought that this was gaining a point; the concession which they would have resisted to the utmost had not been required, and the silence of the present treaty, they argued, might be pleaded hereafter as a bar to any such demand in future.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1713.

*Cartas dos
Embaixadores. MSS.
15th April,
1703.*

It was at this time that a memorable arrangement with Spain, known by the name of the *Assiento*, or Contract, gave the British an exclusive right of carrying on the most nefarious of all trades to the Plata, . . . a trade which was then as universally thought lawful and just, as it is now acknowledged to be impious and inhuman. The British engaged to transport annually to the Spanish Indies during the term of thirty years, four thousand eight hundred of what were called in trade language, Indian pieces, . . . that is to

The Assiento.

*26th March,
1713.*

Portuguese Government: . . . “ *Dizem que no Brazil entraram outra vez alguns navios Ingrezes, e a nossa Corte nam faz mais que mandar passar officios, a que esta Corte faz propriamente ouvidos de mercador. Em hum negocio tam preciozo como este, nam ha comprimentos, nem satisfaçoens, e mais val que Inglaterra se queixe da nossa prohibiçam, do que nos do seu attentado.* ”

Cartas ao Conde de Vianna, MS. 15 July, 1710.

CHAP. say, negro slaves, paying a duty per head of thirty-three *escudos*
 XXXIII. and one third. For all whom they might import above this
 1713. number, only half this duty was to be paid during twenty-five
 years, after which time the number was not to be exceeded: this provision was inserted in expectation that Spain would then be able to carry on the trade for herself, and therefore she chose thus to prepare a demand for the article before she began. At S. Martha, Cumana, and Maracaybo, they were not to demand more than three hundred *escudos* for each, and as much below that sum as possible, that the inhabitants might be encouraged to purchase; but no maximum was fixed for any other place. One fourth of the whole number was to be imported into the Plata, and here no additional supply was to be allowed: eight hundred of these were for Buenos Ayres, the other four for the interior, and the kingdom of Chili. The King of Spain reserved for himself a fourth share of the contract, and the Queen of England another; she however gave up hers to the South Sea Company, by whom the contract was undertaken. The *Assientistas* were to be allowed a track of ground upon the Plata sufficient to raise food and cattle for their establishment and their negroes: this was a point upon which the British Plenipotentiaries, were instructed particularly to insist; . . . but it was granted with all the proud and suspicious restrictions of Spanish jealousy; . . . their dwellings and storehouses were not to be built of any other materials than wood, nor was the slightest fortification of any kind to be suffered. A Spanish officer was to reside there; the English subjects were to be amenable to the Spanish laws, and rigorous punishments were denounced against smuggling, . . . the only commodity which they were chartered to deal in, being black human flesh. But by the last article of the Treaty, the Company were authorized to send one vessel of five hundred tons every year to the Spanish Indies, on condition

*Boling-
broke's Cor-
respondence,
vol. 2. p. 104.*

*Du Mont.
8. P. 1. p.
331.*

that they should not attempt to introduce any thing contraband, the King of Spain having a fourth part of the cargo, and a duty of five per cent. upon the net profit of the other three quarters. In this miserable contract ended the high promises of trade with the Spanish Indies which Harley had held out to lure the nation by views of vulgar interest from the course of honour and of duty; and upon no better foundation was the South Sea Company established, . . . a worthy project of the vilest ministry to which the fortunes of Great Britain ever were intrusted.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1713.

*Cartas dos
Embaixado-
res. MSS.
17 May,
1712.*

The *Assiento* was vehemently opposed by the Dutch, especially by the city of Rotterdam: and it was regarded with no slight jealousy by the Portugueze, who had possessed a similar contract before the war, and had demands in consequence were now in dispute with the Spanish Government. They suspected at first that the English were stipulating with Spain for an establishment in the Plata, . . . a measure, their Ambassadors said, which might well alarm all powers, and especially the Portugueze, to whom it would introduce so formidable a neighbour. The Portugueze were now endeavouring to have the Plata acknowledged as the boundary between Brazil and the Spanish territories, taking the River of the Missions, as the Uruguay was then called, for the inland line. But the people with whom they treated were as pertinacious as themselves, and in Europe were better able to enforce their pretensions. Even the restitution of Nova Colonia was stiffly contested. The Spaniards perfectly understood the value of that place to the Portugueze as a smuggling station; and this made the Duque de Ossuna say with bitterness to their negociators, that it would be easy to propose an equivalent for the place if its real value alone were to be considered; but it might be very difficult to offer one which they might think a compensation for the advantages to which they looked from an illicit trade. In a calmer temper he

*The Portu-
gueze jealous
of this Trea-
ty.*

*Do.
22 July,
1712.*

*Negociati-
ons with
Spain.*

*Do.
2 Sep. 1712.*

*Do.
22 Sep. 1713.*

CHAP. assured the Ambassadors that the chief or only reason which
 XXXIII. made the King of Spain insist upon reserving the power of
 1713. offering some other place in exchange, was his fear lest the na-
 tions who traded with Portugal should find means of introducing
 goods into Peru through that channel. The English were un-
 justly accused by the ⁶ Portugueze ministers of betraying their

⁶ The Marques de Monteleon, one of the Spanish Ambassadors, told the Conde da Tarouca, that England had purchased its own favourable terms from Spain by expressly agreeing, that no part of the Spanish territory in Spain should be yielded for a barrier. M. Manages also affirmed the same; and the Portugueze was so prejudiced that he did not perceive the evident purpose of this falsehood. (*Cartas dos Embaixadores. MSS. 9 June, 1713.*) The Marques also said, that the proposal of giving an equivalent for Colonia came from the English, and would not have been thought of otherwise: and the Conde da Tarouca believed this also, though if vexation and prejudice had not blinded him, he must have seen how greatly it was for the interest of England that Portugal should preserve this port. It was quite certain, he said, that England would not take a single step in their favour, which could offend the Spaniards. (*Do. 13 Oct. 1713.*) D. Luiz da Cunha (a man of far greater ability than his colleague) makes no scruple of saying, that the reason why Portugal could obtain no better terms from Spain, was because her negociators had no money wherewith to bribe the English Ambassadors, and the Spaniards had. The Duque de Ossuna, he says, carried Lord Strafford in his pocket. (*Carta ao Marco Antonio. MS.*) The minister at London recommended bribing the English ministry, saying he was sure that Portugal had failed in her most important transactions with the British cabinet for want of this expedient. (*Joze da Cunha Brochado. Cartas ao Conde de Vianna. MSS. 15 Dec. 1711.*) These assertions prove nothing more than the opinion in which that vile ministry were held by the Portugueze statesmen, . . for Brochado and D. Luiz are well entitled to this appellation. And it is well worthy of notice (as connected with the matter of this note) that Brochado's own judgement concerning the Barrier would have acquitted England of any injurious abandonment of that demand. He saw that no barrier could make them equal to Castille, and that if any were obtained, it would infallibly sooner or later draw on a war for its recovery; *he da nossa honra o pedilla, e sera de nosso interesse o nam alcançella*, . . these are his pointed words. (*Do. 19 Jan. 1712.*)

interest, and siding wholly with the Spaniards in this discussion: but however the wretched negociators at Utrecht may have conducted themselves, it is certain that the British Cabinet held the strongest language toward the Court of Spain; their Ambassador was instructed to assure that Court, that the Queen would put every thing to hazard rather than abandon the King of Portugal, or let him suffer through the confidence which he had placed upon her word: she would see him safe out of the war, and risk even her nearest interests in his cause. The discussions, however, continued till the death of Queen Anne, when the Portugueze ministers had an interview with George I. as he passed through Holland on his way to take possession of the throne, and they were delighted to find him thoroughly informed upon all the points which were in dispute, and heartily disposed to support the interests of Portugal. The matter had now been prolonged till the more important interests of all the other contracting powers had been adjusted; and Louis took upon himself to conclude it for his grandson, for the double purpose of appearing in a business where the interference of England had given no satisfaction to her ally, and accelerating the determination of the Spanish Court, which seemed to have infected Philip V. with its tardiness as well as its superstition. Some money demands respecting ships detained at the Rio before the declaration of war, and some debts due to the Portugueze *Assiento* Company, were compromised by sacrificing the interests⁷ of the

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1714.

*Boling-
broke's Cor-
respondence.*
vol. 4. 217.

*Cartas dos
Embaixa-
dores. MSS.*
27 Sep. 1714.

⁷ This was made the subject of a secret article, for a roguish reason, which is broadly stated by the Portugueze negociators in their dispatches. . . *Por ser melhor por ambas as magestades se licrarem de pretençoens de Estrangeiros, que nam se saiba que houve compensaçam nos navios.* A dirtier transaction of its kind has seldom been brought to light, than this of the two Courts combining to cheat the foreign merchants who had relied upon their justice.

CHAP. individuals concerned. Far more difficulty was found in ad-
 XXXIII. justing the endless question of Colonia. The Spanish Cabinet,
 1714. ever suspicious of the remotest danger to their wide American
 possessions, apprehended an intention on the part of the Portu-
 gueze, to penetrate by the interior to the source of the Plata,
 and getting possession of the Parana and the Uruguay along their
 whole course, finally secure the great river into which they
 poured their waters. To prevent this imagined purpose a pro-
 ject was suggested of offering to Portugal the whole coast from
 S. Vicente to the Plata, on condition that their right should
 only extend ten leagues inland, that they should erect no
 fortress within ten leagues of the Plata, nor navigate it on any
 pretext whatever: but the Portugueze replied, that this was only
 offering them a useless slip of land which was already by many
 titles their own. A more palatable exchange was proposed by
 the French Ambassadors, .. that Spain should retain Colonia, and
 suffer Portugal to retain in its stead Albuquerque and Pueblo de
 Sanabria, the only Spanish places which she had secured
 during the war, with their respective districts, .. or that the Gal-
 lician coast as far as Vigo should be ceded, including that town,
 and with a tract extending inland to the Fuerte de Guarda and
 including it. Either of these equivalents Portugal would gladly
 have accepted, though with little prudence; but the proposal was
 not ratified at Madrid. Here all such offers ended, and the long
 pending discussions were at length concluded. Nova ⁸ Colonia

*Cartas dos
 Embaixadores. MSS.
 30 Nov.
 1714.*

*Do.
 18 Jan.
 1715.*

⁸ There was something whimsical in the manner of signing this treaty. The Duque de Ossuna had sent away his equipage, so that it was impossible to perform the business with all the accustomed pomp; on this account it was judged proper to do it secretly; and as there were points of etiquette not easily to be adjusted among men who stood upon punctilios with a feeling worthy to have been appreciated and recorded by Sir John Finett, the difficulty was compro-

and its territory, were ceded to Portugal in full and entire sovereignty, all future right or claim to this contested ground being renounced on the part of the Spaniards, in the strongest and what might have been supposed the most explicit terms: the King of Portugal engaging that he would not permit any other nation to establish themselves there, or trade thither, directly or indirectly, under any pretext; and that the Portugueze should not lend any assistance to other nations, for carrying on a contraband trade with the Spanish settlements; neither engage in such trade themselves. It was provided also, that within the space of a year and half from the ratification of the Treaty, Spain might propose an equivalent for this cession; but the cession was not, on that account, to be delayed, and it was entirely at the option of the Portugueze to accept or to reject the proposal. This clause, nugatory as it was, the Spaniards insisted, with their characteristic pertinacity, upon inserting. It was because Nova Colonia, if it were in the hands of the Portugueze, afforded such facilities for smuggling, that Spain was so solicitous to obtain it; well aware of how little avail the stipulations of a treaty must needs be, concerning a contraband trade, even though there should exist in both the contracting powers a mutual and sincere desire of preventing it.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1715.

6 Feb. 1715.

Du Mont.
t. 8. P. 1.
p. 444.

It was not by negotiations alone that Portugal supported its

mised by signing it, . . . out of doors, in the public walk. To accomplish this, the several parties, with their two secretaries, met there at an hour when no persons were accustomed to take their promenade; and there, on one of the seats, the treaties, one in Spanish, the other in Portugueze, were signed, and sealed with wafer; . . . wax could not have been used in that place without a certain kind of indecorum, . . . *pois ja que aquella acto era irregular, nam fosse indecente.* So odd a finale had those Negotiations at Utrecht, "wherewith all Europe rang from side to side!"

Cartas dos Embaixadores, MSS.

CHAP. jealous claims upon the interior of South America, . . . claims to
 XXXIII. which what were deemed the most important religious consi-
 1711. derations, were sacrificed, without hesitation or remorse. F.
The Portu- Samuel Fritz, a German Jesuit, attached to the Spanish Missions
gueze eject in Quito, went down the Orellana, for the purpose of marking
the Spanish its course. The Captain of one of the Portugueze settlements
missionaries arrested him as a spy, and threw him into close confinement.
upon the After two years he obtained his release, and to him we are in-
Orellana. debted ⁹ *for the first authentic map of this great river, and the*
 first good information concerning its source. Painful as his
 long imprisonment must have been, and embittered by a fear
 that the fruit of his scientific labours would too probably be
 lost, the good man would have felt a deeper sorrow, could he
 have foreseen the fate of the Missions which he afterwards estab-
 lished. For he succeeded in converting the Omaguas, a people
 so famous in the age of adventure, and still, in his days, the
 most numerous of all the river tribes: thirty of their villages
 are marked upon his map. After his death, these establishments
 continued to flourish under Missionaries from Quito: but the
 Governor of Para regarded them as intrusions upon the Portu-
 gueze limits; and, as Ignacio Correa de Oliveira happened to
 be, at this time, with a ransoming expedition, in that part of the
 river which the Portugueze call ¹⁰ Rio dos Solimoens, he was

1708.

⁹ The original journal of this meritorious Jesuit was in the College at Quito, from whence Condamine obtained a transcript. Like many other precious documents respecting South America, it has never been published, and is, therefore, in danger of being lost, . . . if, indeed, it have not already perished.

¹⁰ They gave this name to the Orellana, above the Rio Negro, from that of a fish, which is found there in great abundance. Condamine has curiously mistaken its meaning, and its cause. "*Rio de Solimoens, (he says,) riviere des poisons, nom que lui a probablement été donné à cause des fleches qui sont l'arme le plus ordinaire des habitants de ses bords.*" (p. 131.) Perhaps this is not a mistake.

ordered to proceed to these settlements, and expel the Spaniards. Repeated advices reached him, that two hundred Spanish troops, with a great body of Indians, would be sent to maintain possession; he found, however, only a few Jesuits, who were fain to withdraw, and suffer all their past labours to be frustrated. Correa dispatched tidings of his easy success to Belem; but he relied upon it too much, for the Spaniards came down, surprized him when carelessly trading, took him prisoner, and burnt the *Aldeas* which the Portugueze Carmelites had established upon the river. When this intelligence reached the Lord of Pancas, he dispatched one hundred and thirty troops, with a competent number of Indians; they found some of the Spaniards among the Omaguas, defeated them, and brought away several prisoners, among whom was F. Juan Bautista, the head of the Mission. This expedition secured for Portugal an extensive ¹¹ territory, of which it has ever since held undisturbed possession.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1708.

Berredo.
§ 1454—
1457.

P. Guil-
laume
d'Etré.
*Lettres Edi-
fiantes. t. 2.*
p. 277. 296.

Condamine.
p. 69. 80.

*Measures of
Albuquerque
in the
Mines.*
Carneiro.
MS.

Brazil was now delivered from all fear of foreign enemies. The people of the Mines were thanked for the promptitude with which they had repaired to the Rio, during the invasion, by a letter written, in the King's name, to the Chamber of Sabara,

of *poison* for *poisson*, as would be readily supposed. I rather suspect that Condamine trusted a little too much to his knowledge of Portugueze, and mistook the name of a Brazilian fish for *Soliman*, . . . corrosive sublimate, . . . which is used sometimes vaguely for any poisonous composition.

¹¹ According to Condamine, nearly two hundred leagues in length, which even, in French measure, would constitute no inconsiderable kingdom. (p. 80.) F. Guillaume d'Etré says, that in consèquence of the representations made to the Court of Lisbon upon this business, orders came out to the Portugueze, that they should not extend their conquests above the Rio Negro. The Jesuit is certainly as inaccurate in this as he is in supposing, that negociations were then going on at Cambray.

CHAP. that place having now been chartered as a town, the first in this
 XXXIII. country upon which the distinction was conferred. Antonio
 1708. de Albuquerque, whose summons the people had so cheerfully
 obeyed in that emergency, was the first Governor who made the
 royal authority respected in the Mines, and appeared there with
 the power and dignity which his office required. He was enjoined
 to regulate the fifths, either letting them by districts, or collecting
 them, as he might judge best; and he was to build a *Casa de
 Fundiçam*, or Smelting-house; and, for the better execution of
 these orders, as also to secure respect for himself, and enable his
 ministers to execute justice, he was instructed to raise a regiment
 of five hundred men, and nominate the officers himself, . . for
 this time only, and subject to the King's approbation. The pay
 of these troops was five *testoens* a day, something more than
 half a crown. The excessive cost of every thing in the Mines
 rendered this enormous pay necessary; but the Treasury soon
 became impatient of so heavy an expence, and, as the land grew
 more tranquil, the establishment was reduced to two companies,
 of fifty men each. It was expressly provided, that the officers
 should not be Paulistas; because, to give commissions unto per-
 sons of that country, would be putting arms in the hands of
 men, not entirely to be trusted; nevertheless, if a Paulista had
 given proofs of his fidelity, the place of his birth was not to
 disqualify him. Albuquerque was directed also to give every
 assistance to the Archbishop of Bahia, and the Bishop of Rio
 de Janeiro, during the visitations which they were about to
 make, and to lend his authority for expelling from the Mines all
 Religioners and Clergy, who were residing there without just
 cause, or who were engaged in affairs not appertaining to their
 profession. The clergy of this district were, in general, of the
 same stamp as the people. Due respect was paid to the eccle-
 siastical power, by requiring the Bishop of the Rio to recall

*Manoel da
 Costa. MS.*

*Carta
 Regia.
 9 Nov. 1709.
 MS.*

*Carta
 Regia.
 24 July,
 1711. MS.*

*Carta
 Regia.
 8 Oct. 1712.
 MS.*

*Misconduct
 of the Friars
 and Clergy.*

such turbulent subjects as belonged to his diocese; but he drew upon himself a severe reprimand, and brought on a diminution of his authority, by culpable inattention to the orders of the Court. Instead of preventing any ecclesiastics from going to the Mines, unless they had proper employment there, he granted licenses, indiscriminately, to fellows of profligate conduct and unruly disposition, . . . even to some who had been implicated in the late outrages. There were among them many apostate Friars, and others who had taken orders only to escape the punishment of their crimes. The Governor, therefore, was enjoined not to suffer any Friar to remain in the Mines, but to turn out the whole race, with force and violence, if they would not depart quietly; and, in the same manner, he was to expel every Priest, who was not exercising some parochial function, under the appointment of the Ordinary. By another decree, all foreigners were to be sent out of the new Captaincy, except English and Dutch, even although they might have been naturalized. A subsequent order provided, that those persons who were married to Portuguese women, and had children by them, should be permitted to remain, unless they were engaged in trade; in that case time was to be allowed them for disposing of their effects, and they were then to be sent, with their families, to Lisbon. The discovery of the Mines seems to have introduced this jealous policy: it was probably strengthened by the loss and shame which had been sustained at the Rio; and being soon extended to all the other Captaincies, this short-sighted and selfish system of exclusion retarded the improvement of Brazil.

During the government of Antonio de Albuquerque, St. Paulo, as being now the capital of a Captaincy, was made a city; and a few years afterwards it was enacted, that all who had served there as *Juizes Ordinarios*, *Vereadores*, and *Procuradores do Conselho*, should, by virtue of their office, retain the

CHAP.
XXXIII.

Carta Regia. 9 June, 1711. MS.

Foreigners expelled from the Mines.

Carta Regia. 25 Feb. 1711. MS.

Carta Regia. 7 Apr. 1713. MS.

S. Paulo made a city.

Carta Regia. 24 July, 1711. MS.

Ordem. 17 Jan. 1715. MS.

CHAP. nobility which attached to knighthood, and enjoy the privileges
 XXXIII. of that rank, provided they were not criminated in the general
 examination which the Judges were to make annually, nor in the
 visitation of the superior Magistrate. Grants of land were to
 be made sparingly in this growing Captaincy, with regard to the
 fertility of the country, and the great influx of inhabitants; and
 no person who obtained one grant might obtain another, either
 by purchase or inheritance. Care also was to be taken in as-
 signing the jurisdiction of new towns, that ground enough was
 reserved for the Crown, to have some at its disposal, besides the
 royal patrimony, and the property of the *Camaras*. And it was
 to be specified in all grants of land which the Government
 might make, that no Religious Order might succeed to it, under
 any title. Where these Orders already possessed estates, they
 were to pay tenths, like the estates of the laity; and if any lands
 or houses were bequeathed to them, the bequest was not to take
 effect without the King's permission. The Jesuits had not reco-
 vered their ascendancy in S. Paulo, where they were regarded
 with a rooted hereditary hatred; in consequence, the adminis-
 tration of the Indians was in the hands of the Franciscans, Be-
 neditines, and Carmelites; and their mal-administration drew
 upon them the censure of the Court, because they employed
 the Indians wholly in their own concerns, to the detriment of
 the public, so that when they were required for the royal service
 they were not to be found. The Captaincy indeed was in a
 strange state: the very persons who ought to have been foremost
 in enforcing the laws of God and man, were the first to violate
 both. The *Capitam Mor* of S. Paulo, whose office it was to
 execute the orders of the judicial authorities, by searching for
 and apprehending criminals, made his house a place of shelter
 for them; and the Clergy set examples of the vices which it was
 their duty to have endeavoured, at least, to correct in the people.

*Regulations
concerning
grants of
land.*

*Carta Re-
gia. 15
June, 1711.
MS.*

*Carta Re-
gia. 1 April,
1713. MS.*

*Carta Re-
gia, 27
June, 1711.
MS.*

*Carta Re-
gia. 8
April, 1713,
MS.*

*Ordem.
29 August,
1718. MS.*

*All Religi-
ous ba-
nished from
the Mines.*

Runaways from their Convents, and interlopers who entered the district without the Bishop's license, and remained there in defiance of his edicts, were engaged in every kind of illicit practice; license and gold were what they sought, and the Court sent out order after order, that these men, who were the chief smugglers of gold, should be diligently pursued and expelled. All Religioners, of what family soever, were to be banished from the Mines; because, it was said, experience had shown the great injury they did, and the great disturbances which they excited. Their property was to be sequestered, unless they removed in eight days; and, if they had none, they were, in that case, to be punished, by being sent prisoners to the Rio, and from thence to Portugal. This not being found effectual, a second decree enacted, that all their property, gold, and slaves, should be peremptorily seized, and the produce sent to the Prelates of their respective Orders, or to their Syndic, if they were Mendicants, that the Superior might employ it in their Churches, or other pious works. This, it was said, would be the surest way to keep the Mines clear of this nuisance, for it was the love of lucre which attracted them. After a lapse of eighteen months the order was repeated, because it was found that the Religioners were still haunting the Mines; none whatever were to be suffered, except the parochial clergy who were regularly established there; and thus it was hoped a stop might be put to the cry of relaxation, which their scandalous lives had occasioned.

But even those clergy who were regularly beneficed in the Mines, and in the choice of whom more than ordinary care was supposed to be taken, seem to have caught the ferocious manners of the country. One Vicar is sent out of the country for being foremost in tumults and insurrections; another releases from the public jail the prisoners whom the Camp Master, in the strict exercise of his duty, had committed there. The Vicar of

CHAP.
XXXIII.

Ordem. 12
July, 1721.
MS.

Ordem. 23
October,
1721. MS.

Ordem. 19
May, 1723.

Manners of
the clergy.

Carta Re-
gia. 26
March,
1711, MS.

Ordem. 19
July, 1725.
MS.

CHAP. Villa do Carmo, Antonio Cardozo de Sousa Coutinho, names
 XXXIII. which indicate that he was of high family, forcibly carried off a
 mulatta girl, with the assistance of his secretary, his *Meirinho*, and
 four negroes. The act was as notorious as it was scandalous, . . .
 an open and insolent violation of religion, law, and decency.
 When he was called upon to restore her, and exhorted to re-
 member his duties as a Priest, and one also who held authority
 in the Church, he replied, that he would shed the last drop of
 his blood, rather than not keep possession of the girl; accord-
 ingly he convoked all the clergy of the district, and they came
 to his assistance; other ruffians were easily engaged to assist
 them; they collected arms, barricadoed the house, and deter-
 mined to resist force by force. So perilous was it to trespass
 against clerical privileges, that the affair rested till instructions
 could be received from Portugal; and when those instructions
 came, they were addressed to the Bishop of Bahia, notwith-
 standing his distance from the scene. He was charged imme-
 diately to recall this man, and proceed against him as his
 offences deserved: in case these orders should be neglected,
 then, and not till then, the Governor of the Mines was autho-
 rized and enjoined to seize the criminal.

Ordem. 6
Nov. 1717.
MS.

Regulation
respecting
arms.

Carta Re-
gia, 24
July, 1711.
MS.

Ordem. 28
March,
MS.

When S. Paulo and the Mines were separated from the Cap-
 taincy of Rio de Janeiro, it was left to the Governor's discretion
 whether or not slaves should be permitted to carry fire-arms:
 he was commended afterwards for not having allowed it, and for
 restricting the use of such weapons to noble men going from the
 city to their estates, or upon any other business. It would seem
 difficult to enforce this regulation; and both injudicious and
 unjust to deprive men of the most efficient means of self-defence,
 in a country, which the very enactment shews to be in a lawless
 state. A later edict forbade any person of any class, quality, or
 condition, to carry knife, dagger, poniard, *sovalam*, (which is a

long instrument shaped like an awl,) *estoque*, though this kind of sword should have upon it the lawful stamp, great shears, or any other arms or instrument wherewith a cutting wound could be inflicted; . . . it is scarcely possible to imagine manners more ferocious than are indicated by such a list. Pistols also were prohibited, and any fire-arms shorter than the legal standard. The ill effects produced upon such a people by the use of ardent spirits were soon perceived. From the increase of *Engenhos*, it was said, in which distillation was carried on, the King's service and the Treasury suffered irremediable injury, and the inhabitants were perpetually disturbed by riots among the drunken Indians: for these reasons, and because a great number of hands were employed in these *Engenhos*, orders were issued that no more might be erected till his Majesty should have deliberated further. Twenty years afterward, the Governor was instructed to make enquiry into the mischief occasioned by the *Engenhos*; and after eight years farther consideration, an edict came forth forbidding any person to erect a new one, on pain of forfeiting it, and all the slaves employed in the building; nor might one already in existence be removed by the owner to a new situation, because under this pretext the prohibition might be evaded. In the same spirit of attention to the morals and tranquillity of the people, raffling was prohibited, that species of lottery having been introduced from foreign countries into S. Paulo and the Mines: it was afterwards enacted that persons who won at this forbidden adventure should forfeit the value of their prize, half to the Informer, half to the Treasury; and that if the offence were discovered without the intervention of an Informer, the Treasury should have the whole. Government may do something towards checking the propensities against which Portugal here tried the force of laws; it can do far more towards eradicating them, by the all powerful means of education.

CHAP.
XXXIII.

Ordem.
5 Feb. 1722.
MS.

Distillation
of spirits.

Ordem. 18.
Nov. 1715.
MS.
Ordem. 26
Mar. 1735.
MS.

Do.
12 June,
1743. MS.
Do.
22 Aug.
1718. MS.

Do.
16 March,
1729. MS.

CHAP.

XXXIII.

Mines of Jacoabina discovered, 1714.

New coinage.

RochaPitta. 10. § 7—13.

Commutation for the fifths.

Carta Regia. 16 Nov. 1714. MS.
Do.
20 Oct. 1715. MS.

Meantime discoveries of gold continued to be made. In the first year of the century, D. Joam de Lancastro had obtained information of some mines in the interior of Bahia, in a district called Jacoabina, and had sent a party to explore them, under a Colonel and a Carmelite, . . for the Carmelite being a *Paulista*, was probably better skilled in mining than in theology. The samples which they brought back were not such as encouraged a farther search; it was now pursued by more fortunate adventurers, and the Marquez de Angeja's administration was distinguished by their success. One piece of native gold was brought to the Mint which was worth seven hundred *milreis* (nearly 200*l.*), three others of nearly the same size, and one of the value of three thousand *crúzados* (about 300*l.*); these were the largest masses that had been found in Brazil; the gold also was of the finest touch; but it had the disadvantage of lying deep. Gold being thus abundant, a new coinage was struck, of moidores, half, and quarter moidores, . . the moidore passing for three hundred *reis*, or one sixteenth more than its intrinsic value, and the smaller pieces in proportion; and from that time the mint was kept open, because of the profit which Government derived from this difference between the real and current value. Some calculation may be formed of the quantity of gold found about this time in the Minas Geraes, by the sum paid to the Treasury; the Governor in 1714 having accepted an offer from the miners of thirty *arrobas*, in lieu of the fifths for that year, an *arroba* being about twenty-eight pounds avoir-du-pois weight. The Government was not satisfied with this commutation, and ordered him to collect by *bateas* instead, . . a mode which the *Camara* of S. Paulo had originally proposed, and by which, instead of taking a fifth at the Smelting-house, a poll tax of not less than twelve *oitavas* was to be paid for every negro employed in mining. The experience of a single year proved this to be as little advantageous to the Treasury, as it was agree-

able to the people, and the Governor therefore was instructed again to accept the thirty *arrobas* (about 50,400*l.*).

Under the viceroyalty of the Marquez de Angeja an institution was opened at Bahia, of a kind which has often been advised, and is greatly needed in Protestant Countries, and nowhere more needed than in England at this time;... a *Recolhimento*, or retreat for women, who were bound by no vows nor distinguished by any habit, but enjoyed as long as they thought fit, the comforts and advantages of living in a community to which just enough of a religious character was attached to make it respected by public opinion. This was originally a charitable foundation, upon the will of a certain Joam de Mattos de Aguiar, usually called Joam de Mattinhos, because of his diminutive stature. By good fortune, industry, usury, and a frugality which amounted to avarice, he had amassed enormous wealth, so that after bequeathing a property of eighty thousand *cruzados* for this *Recolhimento*, four hundred *milreis* for as many convalescent patients every year, one for each upon leaving the hospital, and marriage portions of one hundred *milreis*, for thirty-eight young women every year; there remained a surplus sufficient to settle an annuity of eleven thousand masses upon his own soul for ever, at two *testoens* each. When Pedro II granted permission for this establishment, he ordered that the edifice should be made large enough to admit persons, who without being upon the foundation might chuse to retire there, paying a fixed annual pension of eighty *milreis*. The expences of the building were defrayed by setting aside a moiety of the rents bequeathed, till the whole cost was discharged, after which the number of members was doubled.

The Marquez de Angeja had an easy administration, neither disturbed with wars and tumults, nor straightened for means. He repaired and beautified the churches, he went through the

CHAP.

XXXIII.

1716.

A Recolhimento founded at Bahia.

RochaPitta.
10. § 14—
18.

*Conde do
Vimieiro
Governor
General.*

- CHAP. Reconcave to examine the forts, and gave orders for erecting
 XXXIII. new works and strengthening the old wherever it was needed ;
 1716. and he built three ships, the names of which may exemplify the
 curious state of feeling with which the Portugueze regard sacred
 things ; one he called, Our Lady of the Palm and St. Peter ;
 another, the Mother of God and S. Francisco ; and the third, the
 1718. Eternal Father ! After holding the government something more
 than four years, he was succeeded in his office, but not in his
 rank, by the Conde do Vimieiro, D. Sancho de Faro. Ill
 omens are said to have preceded the Count's arrival in Brazil. It
 was confidently reported in Bahia that he had died on the voyage,
 and the month and day of his decease were specified : how the
 rumour had arisen was not known, nor is it easy to guess why
 the Viceroy should have endeavoured to discover the author for
 the sake of punishing him. On the voyage he was pursued by
 a Pirate who hoisted the black flag with the death's head, but
 sheered off when the Portugueze brought to for action ; . . as if,
 says Rocha Pitta, the vessel had followed him for no other pur-
 pose than to display that deadly token. A more extraordinary
 meeting was that of a vessel on board of which no sound was
 heard and no living creature seen, and which, with only its
 mizen sail set, passed close athwart the prow of the Governor's
 ship, as if it were not under human guidance. These stories
 1719. were much discoursed of at Bahia, because the Count died after
 he had held the government about fourteen months. His admi-
 nistration was only remarkable for a great fire in the capital,
 and for the arrest of a crew of pirates, who, after having long
 infested the coast of the Rio, were wrecked upon the beach at
 Macape, where forty-eight were apprehended by the country
 people and brought prisoners to Bahia. Of these, thirteen made
 their escape from fort S. Antonio ; they let themselves down by a
 rope, got possession of a launch in the harbour, and were never

heard of more. The others were brought to trial for piracy; eight were condemned to the galleys at Lisbon for life, because five were lads, and against the three the evidence was not thought sufficient to justify sentence of death; . . . there was little justice, and no great mercy, in such a commutation. The remainder, twenty-seven in number, were hanged, as they well deserved, and Rocha Pitta devoted two sections in his history to relate how perfectly they were all converted to the Roman Catholic faith, and how contentedly they went to the gallows, as men whom Providence had happily by that means predestined to salvation. No provision had been made of late years in case of the Governor's death; but an old succession-paper of the last reign was found in the Jesuits' College, wherein the Archbishop, the Chancellor da Relaçam, and the senior Camp-Master, were appointed joint Governors upon such a vacancy. This arrangement which designated the members, not as individuals, but by the offices which they held, was as applicable at all times as when it was made. When this instrument was read, and they took possession of the Government, the Archbishop asked with a loud voice of all the spectators, whether there was any person who called in question the propriety of these proceedings. Such an appeal was not an old custom making part of the ceremony, like the challenge at a Coronation in England; and his conduct therefore has justly been noted for imprudence, in asking from the people an opinion where only obedience was required.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1719.

Rocha Pitta,
10. § 21—
36.

*Expedition
against the
Indians in
Piauhj.*

The Lord of Pancas was still Governor of Maranham and Para, when the peace of Utrecht delivered that state from its perpetual apprehension of invasion, and from all farther claims on the part of France. The Portugueze were now extending their settlements up the great rivers which flow into the Orellana toward its midland course, and the *Capitam Mor* of Para, at this time was killed in the Madeira by the fall of a cedar. They

CHAP. were also pursuing the conquest of Piauhÿ; where Antonio da
 XXXIII. Cunha Sotto-Mayor, who was engaged in this service with the
 1719. rank of *Camp Master*, was murdered by the Indians whom he

commanded. The ringleader of the mutiny was one Manoel, born and educated in one of the Jesuit *Aldeas*: he now directed the knowledge which he had acquired against the Portugueze, destroyed all whom he could circumvent, and cut off a large convoy on its way to S. Luiz, which city appears now to have derived supplies from the pastures of this fertile district. An expedition in considerable force was sent against him from Maranham, and failing in its principal object, .. for Manoel understood the superiority of his former masters too well to face them in battle, .. it performed the not less important service of destroying the

*Piauhÿ
 made a Cap-
 taincy.
 1718.*

Aranhies, one of the fiercest tribes of the country. There was at this time another body of troops in Piauhÿ, under Bernardo de Carvalho de Aguiar; and the conquest seems now to have been thought compleat, for it was made a Captaincy, and the town of N. Senhora da Victoria de Moxa founded, to be the seat of Government. In ecclesiastical concerns the new Captaincy was made subordinate to Pernambuco, in civil affairs to Maranham, while for judicial matters it was under the jurisdiction of Bahia. The Lord of Pancas held the government of Maranham during the long term of eleven years, and was then succeeded by Bernardo Pereira de Berredo, who had served with distinction in the war of the Succession, and has left for himself a more durable remembrance in his historical Annals of the State over which he presided.

*Berredo.
 § 1469—
 1480.
 RochaPitta,
 6. § 78.*

*Progress of
 the Mines.
 1711.*

The Mines, meantime, had prospered under Albuquerque. He erected a Court of Justice at Sabara, and nominated *Juizes Ordinarios* with the power of electing *Vereadores* and *Procuradores*, .. measures which were approved by the Court. The first division of the Mine Country into *Comarcas*, or departments, was

*6 April,
 1714.*

now made. Mining flourished; the spirit of enterprize was continually fostered by success; trade increased; all lesser disturbances, which if not speedily checked might have endangered the general weal, were suppressed by the activity of the *Ouvidor*, D. Luiz Botelho Fogaça; and it appears to have been considered as no slight proof of merit in Albuquerque, that his administration passed without any insurrection. He was succeeded by D. Braz Balthazar da Silveira. Both Silveira and his predecessor incurred the censure of the Court, for having lavished military commissions to gratify the vanity of the applicants, and perhaps to acquire favour. One order came out, saying, it was thought impossible that the Governor of S. Paulo and the Mines could have created posts in the *Ordenanza* which had never been known either in Brazil or in the Mother Country, such as Brigadiers, Quarter Masters, Governors of Districts, and Camp Masters General; but if it should be as general report affirmed, he was commanded immediately to annul all such appointments. And when Silveira was succeeded by the Conde de Assumar, D. Pedro Almeida, the new Governor was instructed to reduce all the Militia of his Government to the form of the *Ordenanza* in other parts of Brazil, forming one regiment in each *Comarca*, no more being necessary, with the exception only of the new regiment which had been raised during the late war. This regulation, it was said, was required, because of the excess to which his predecessors had gone in appointing superfluous officers, and thus multiplying privileges which served only to impede the proper administration of justice. It had also this farther evil, that for the sake of making an appearance in the posts, thus needlessly created, men ran into expences beyond their lawful means, and frequently withdrew from occupations in which they had been engaged to the general advantage.

CHAP.

XXXIII.

Carneiro.
MS.*Errors of the*
*Governors.**Ordem.* 31
Jan. 1715.
MS.*Do.* 25
April, 1719;
Do. 16 *Nov.*
1720. MSS.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1719.

*The commu-
tation tax
raised.*

When Silveira succeeded to the government, the commutation of thirty *arrobas* was subsisting; the *Camaras* collected it, and the richest settlers raised it by an assessment among themselves, according to the number of their negroes. This sum, however, the Governor considered as by no means equivalent to the value of the fifths, according to the increased and increasing produce of the mines. He therefore convoked a meeting of the *Camaras* from the different towns at Villa Rica, and it was agreed that ten *arrobas* should be added; but as the people seem, at this time, to have exercised the power of taxing themselves by their *Camaras*, it was determined that the additional sum should be levied, not according to the former method, which would impose the whole burthen upon the owners of negroes, but by a duty upon all negroes as they entered the country, and upon all imports. It does not appear to have been felt as an objection by those who made this arrangement, that the commutation was for the royal claim upon the Mines, and that to raise any part of it by general taxation, was taxing the whole people for the relief of the miners. In this state the Conde de Assumar found the finances; and he, perceiving the impolicy of allowing a general tax to be raised, for which the Government was to receive only a specific sum, took this part of the collection upon himself, and levied an impost of half an *oitava* upon every load of moist goods, three-fourths upon every *arroba* of dry goods, and one *oitava* upon every horse and head of horned cattle. This, however, did not continue long, and these duties, and the tenths also, were let by auction. The Count seems to have made a merit at the Court of having raised the sum at which they were leased by false bidding; but for this he received a reprimand, and in the same communication, which thanked him for having raised the revenue, he was informed that it was not proper to have recourse to such means for doing it. He had also taken upon him-

*Carneiro.
MS.*

*Ordem. 19
Jan. 1719.
MS.*

self to decide in legal cases, and for this also he was reproved: an order came from the Court, saying, that though affairs of the utmost consequence might safely be entrusted to the abilities of D. Pedro de Almeida, Conde de Assumar, it was not his business to judge causes: that province appertained to the *Ouvidores*, of whom the Governor must complain to the Court, if he thought there was cause for complaint. The Count had also trespassed upon the rights of the *Guarda Mor*, by arrogating the power of appointing *Guardas Substitutos*, and of making allotments; for this too he was reprimanded, and the privileges which had been given to Garcia Rodriguez, as the reward of his father's services and sufferings, were explicitly confirmed. It was his ill fortune continually to deserve censure, or to incur it; an insurrection was raised at Pitangui, by one Domingos Rodriguez de Prado; this he suppressed, and granted a pardon to the persons concerned in it; but he was admonished to remember, that pardon was one of the prerogatives of the Crown, with which he ought not to interfere.

The Mines were, at this time, very populous, on account of the richness of the streams, which offered irresistible temptation to all who loved an idle and vagrant life; but the greater the number of such persons, and the greater the produce, the greater was the contraband trade: so the home Government once more resolved upon collecting its fifths, and issued orders accordingly for erecting smelting and receiving houses in every district. Eugenio Freire de Andrade, who held the office of *Provedor* of the Mint at Bahia, was sent to superintend the new establishment. The Count convoked the principal Miners, and other powerful men of the land, and they signified their assent to the proposed alteration, and subscribed their names to certain terms, which were, perhaps, some indulgences on his part, to render the measure more palatable. But the very persons who

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1719.

Ordem. 14
Jan. 1719.
MS.

Provizum.
8 Oct. 1718.
MS.

Carta Regia. 11 Jan.
1719. *MS.*

Memorias.
MISS.

Smelting-houses ordered in the Mines.
1720.

Insurrection.

CHAP. had thus professed their obedience to the Law, immediately
 XXXIII. began to excite the people to insurrection, and presently more
 1720. than two thousand men assembled in arms at Villa Rica. Their
 first operations were against the *Ouvidor* of the district, Martinho
 Vieira, who had cited some of the *Poderosos* to appear before
 him in the course of justice. This, in such a state of society, was
 regarded as an insult, and was now resented accordingly; they
 attacked his house at midnight: luckily he was absent, and thus
 escaped death; but all his goods and papers were destroyed.
 They then sent their demands to the Governor, which were, that
 the building of the smelting-houses should be discontinued, and
 that he should send them a full pardon for the means by which
 they had sought redress. The Count delayed answering for four
 days, in hope of finding himself strong enough to put down this
 opposition with the arm of power; but he found that the other
 towns throughout the land were determined to follow the exam-
 ple of Villa Rica. Perceiving also that there must necessarily
 be some delay in the building, because Eugenio Freire was not
 satisfied with the plan of those which had been commenced, he
 published an edict, saying, that the new arrangement should be
 postponed for twelve months, because it was necessary that the
 King should be consulted concerning certain difficulties which
 had occurred. This concession, he hoped, would satisfy them;
 but it increased their irritation, and the armed insurgents set off
 for Villa do Carmo, where he was then residing. The inha-
 bitants of this place had remained quiet, chiefly, perhaps, be-
 cause the Count had some companies of dragoons with him, and
 partly, it may be, from the personal interest which he might have
 obtained by his intercourse with them. Nevertheless, he now
 feared that they would be induced to join the insurgents, seeing
 their force; and therefore, according to the common policy of
 the Portuguese Governors in all cases of popular commotion,

*The Conde
 de Assumar
 temporizes
 with the in-
 surgents.*

he yielded to every thing which was demanded, and granted a pardon in terms as full and formal, as they were worthless, . . . such amnesties being necessarily invalid. The ringleaders had some farther object in view, for which the co-operation of the Carmo people was required : they remained sixteen days endeavouring to obtain it, without effect ; and when they found their endeavours unsuccessful, they committed disorders which had well nigh ruined the town. This conduct, undoubtedly, was considered by the Count as fairly discharging him from the observance of the agreement, even if he had ever felt himself bound by it. As soon, therefore, as the insurgents had returned to Villa Rica, he sent a company of troops after them, who seized the ringleaders in their beds, and brought them prisoners to Villa do Carmo : their names were, Paschoal da Sylva Guimaraens, Joam Ferreira Diniz, Manoel Mosqueira da Rosa, his son, Vicente Boto, who was a friar, and Frey Antonio de Monte Alverno.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1720.

*He seizes
the ring-
leaders.*

*Carneiro.
MS.*

*Rocha Pitta.
10. § 40—
45.*

*A second in-
surrection.*

In such commotions the great majority of the people are always disposed for peace and submission, and that very disposition enables turbulent spirits to controul them, and carry forward their own mischievous purposes. Except a few *Poderosos*, who were made insolent by their power, and felt it a point of honour to be above the laws, even in the Mines all who were contented with their lot, all who had hope before them, and feared to lose the comforts which they possessed, were averse to the insurrection. On the night after the arrests, the friends of the ringleaders entered Villa Rica a second time in arms, meaning to make the inhabitants join them : they found the place deserted, upon which they proclaimed, in that spirit of tyranny by which all mobs are possessed, that if the townsmen did not appear there the following day, they would set fire to the town, and put them to death, without mercy, wherever they were found. But the Count was prepared to follow up his blow ;

CHAP. and, before they could execute the threat, his troops, who were
 XXXIII. now strengthened by a great number of armed inhabitants, en-
 1720. tered Villa Rica, and burnt the houses of Paschoal da Silva, and
 the other chief rebels, as an example. The prisoners were
 sent off to the Rio; the insurgents, with one Felippe dos Santos
 at their head, attempted to rescue them on the way; they were
 defeated, their leader was taken, and having distinguished him-
 self by his outrages during these tumults, he was brought to
 summary trial, executed, and his body quartered as a traitor.
 Attempts were made to renew the rebellion at Mariana; but
 there also the agitators were seized, and put to death. This
 vigour on the part of the Government effectually intimidated the
 party. The matter in dispute, however, remained undecided; for,
 in this point, the Count adhered to his agreement; and when he
 referred it to the further consideration of the Court, he com-
 municated from the *Camaras* the offer of an addition to the
 former commutation.

RochaPitta.
 10. § 45—
 46.

Mem. MSS.

*Severity of
 the Govern-
 nor.*

Carneiro.
MS.

Mem. MSS.

*Order is
 restored.*

The last attempts at rebellion were punished with a severity, for which the Count was held in detestation by the people of the Mines. How far he deserved the opprobrium which is still attached to his name in that country, it would be impossible to judge without fuller details of the circumstances. One writer talks vaguely of his barbarities and horrible proceedings; another asserts, that to his decision and courage Portugal is beholden for the compleat subjection of a province, in which the authority of the laws had never been fully established before his time. It is insinuated, that his recall was owing to the displeasure of the Court at his cruelty; but his successor was sent away before that cruelty was known, and he himself was afterwards promoted to the highest offices and highest honours of the state. D. Lourenço de Almeida, who was appointed to succeed him, brought out an *Alvara*, confirming the amnesty which he had granted;

but he also took out private instructions, that this was not to be published if he were received at Villa Rica without opposition, and no disturbances ensued; . . . in that case enquiry was to be instituted, and the offenders punished. He was received with obedience; but the *Alvara* was published, because he found that sufficient examples of justice had been given.

CHAP.
XXXIII.
1720.

*Collecçam
Sunaria.
MS.*

D. Lourenço came out as Governor of the Minas Geraes, that country being now separated from S. Paulo, and made a Captaincy. The Count had previously been ordered to collect all needful information for arranging the demarcation from the Rio, Bahia, and Pernambuco; to which latter province its vague territory was supposed to extend.

*Minas Ge-
raes made
a separate
Captaincy.*

*Carta Re-
gia. 21
Feb. 1720.
MS.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Progress of the Spanish Jesuits. Chiquito and Moxo Missions established. Labours and Martyrdom of Baraza. Progress of the Portugueze toward the centre of the Continent.

CHAP. XXXIV. The Portugueze miners were now pushing their discoveries and their camps toward the centre of the continent. Their progress was not followed by the Missionaries. On the side of Para, indeed, new *Aldeas* were formed, and the old continued to flourish upon the system which Vieyra and his fellow-labourers had established; but, in the other Captaincies, all zeal of this kind seems to have subsided; the Jesuits, and the other Religioners, found sufficient employment in the large towns, and among the settled inhabitants, or the few Indian villages remaining, of those which their more active predecessors had formed. The Spanish Jesuits, meantime, were pursuing their plans with unabated enthusiasm, and answerable success; and, as formerly in Guayra and the Tape, so now, in the heart of South America, they met the Portugueze, and were again prevented from extending the dominion of Spain.

Foundation of the town of Turija.

When D. Francisco de Toledo was Viceroy of Peru, he gave orders to found a town in the province of Chichas, for the double

purpose of checking the incursions of the native tribes, and securing a communication with Tucuman. The first attempt failed, and the settlement was removed some little distance to the southward, where S. Bernardo de Tarija now stands: the name of the patron Saint, as usual in America, has fallen into disuse, and the town is called Tarija ¹, after the valley in which it is situated. A fort was built here to protect it from the Chiriguanas, its nearest neighbours, who happened to be one of the most numerous and most formidable of all the South American nations. But it was thought that a College of Jesuits would contribute more to the security of the country, than any military efforts which could be made: D. Joseph Campero de Herrera, afterwards Marquez del Valle Toxo, in concert with his wife, D. Juana Clementia Bermudez, built and endowed one for them; and F. Joseph de Arce, a Canarian by birth, was sent from Cordoba to take possession, and begin the task of reducing the savages.

CHAP.
XXXIV.
1591.

*Almanach
de Lima.
P. Juan
Patricio
Fernandez.
P. 6.
Charlevoix.
2.*

The Chiriguanas.

The Chiriguanas are a Guarani tribe, supposed to be the descendants of those whom Alexis Garcia led towards Peru, and who murdered him on their return, and settled where they hoped the distance might save them from the vengeance of his countrymen. According to received tradition, they were, at that time, four thousand in number: when the Jesuits were expelled they were estimated at forty thousand. They possess

¹ So careless frequently is Charlevoix, that he places this town in Charcas instead of Chichas, and in latitude forty-one instead of twenty-three. The bones of some of those huge quadrupeds, whose species have ceased to exist, have been found in the adjoining valley, and, of course, attributed to a race of giants. The establishment of the town was, perhaps, facilitated by the well-timed invention of a most miraculous cross, which, the Spanish writer says, "is supposed, upon good grounds, to have been made by some one of the Apostles, . . . because no Christian had ever been in those parts." *Almanach de Lima.*

CHAP.
XXXIV.

the vallies on the eastern side of that great chain of mountains in which the Rio Bermejo, that is to say, the Red River, the Pilcomayo, and the Guapaix, which is the largest of those streams that compose the Mamore, have their sources. The various tribes into which they are divided acknowledge their common origin as a bond of friendship, and those who live near each other are ready, at all times, to unite against an enemy. Their towns are built in a circle; and, as they are not a migratory people, they rear the *vicuna*. Many hordes, however, make use of the fleece alone, believing that if they were to eat the flesh it would have the effect of making them woolly. Within doors they usually throw off all cloathing;² but, abroad, the men exhibit a sort of breeches, which, being designed more for ornament than for use, they frequently carry under the arm, instead of wearing them: these are said to be made of leather. For travelling they put on a sort of buff tippet, or shoulder-piece, as a protection against thorns: this shows that the leather must have been of the best kind; . . . if they learnt the method of preparing it from the Spaniards, it would be a remarkable proof of their aptness for civilization: but it was more likely of home growth, because there is no example of the free Indians having derived from their neighbours the knowledge of any useful art. The women wear only a single short garment, from the waist to the knees. The hair was formed, with some taste, into a sort of coronal on the top of the head. The men used a lip-trinket of silver, or of tin, or of transparent gum. They painted the face a fiery red,

² Chomé says of some of these tribes, that they only cover themselves with some old rags; . . . but of what were the rags? Perhaps they manufactured some kind of woollen cloth; and, indeed, it does not appear to what other use they could apply the wool, for the sake of which they reared the *vicuna*: for it is not likely that they made it an article of traffic with the Spaniards.

and sometimes varied it with black. Both sexes were thus disfigured, but after a different fashion. At drinking bouts the whole body was smeared in the same manner. They were excessively addicted to drinking, and the women had the art of brewing a potent beverage, to satisfy this passion. For these drunken feasts they assembled in a house built in the centre of that open place, which their own habitations surrounded. This town-house they frequented during the heat of noon, and here strangers were received, and entertained, and lodged. They were remarkably clean, and fond of bathing. One of the most intelligent and most meritorious of the Jesuits, F. Ignace Chomé, who lived among them, declares, that amid all the license of their mode of life, he never observed the slightest act of indecency, nor ever heard an expression which bordered upon obscenity. The tie between man and wife, if the latter appellation may be allowed, was dissolved at pleasure; and this liberty was so generally used, that it was a common thing for a father to have children in several villages. Their courtship had its laws; a wooer presented, from time to time, to the object of his desires, the fruits which he had raised, and the game which he had killed; after these indications he laid a billet of wood at the door of her cabin; if it was taken in he was accepted: but, if she left it untouched, the refusal was decisive, and he had to seek another mistress. A woman, immediately after parturition, bathes in the nearest stream, and then lies down on a heap of sand, prepared for the purpose in the hut; while the father, according to a custom more widely diffused, perhaps, than any other observance which is entirely unaccountable, takes to his hammac, and is dieted for the good of the child. The bodies of the dead are placed in jars, a very general mode of interment among the Guaranies, and buried in the cabin, or near it, a low mound being raised over the grave. During many months the women

CHAP. bewail them thrice a day, at morning, noon, and evening, and
 XXXIV. they begin their ominous lamentation as soon as the sick person
 appears to be in danger. They suppose that the soul upon its
 departure wanders among the adjacent woods, and they perform
 a ceremony of seeking it. It seems that they have some rude
 notion of a metempsychosis: .. A woman with whom one of the
 Jesuits was conversing, started at seeing a fox, and exclaimed,
 that perhaps her daughter was dead, and this might be her
 spirit. No jugglers are tolerated among them, because they
 believe diseases to be the effect of sorcery: and upon a suspi-
 cion of this kind, they once burnt four of their countrymen
 alive. Their intrepidity was such that they would rush upon
 fire-arms; the Spaniards therefore, when acting against them,
 found it necessary to place pikemen alternately with mus-
 queteers in their ranks; and so agile were they in fight, that
 unless the soldier could level his piece at one of them un-
 perceived, he is said to have had little chance of hitting his mark.

*Chomé Let-
 tres Edi-
 stantes, 72,
 330, 336.
 Peramas,
 Chomé Vita.
 Dobrizhof-
 fer, 1. 141.
 Jolis. 146.
 Almanach
 de Lima.*

*The Chiri-
 guanas re-
 claimed
 from cannibalism.*

These people made a tremendous destruction among the
 other tribes: in the course of two centuries they are supposed to
 have destroyed more than an hundred and fifty thousand In-
 dians; but through their intercourse with the Spaniards they had
 been induced to abandon their old practice of cannibalism, ..
 a fact the more remarkable, because this intercourse did not
 in any other respect mitigate the ferocity of their manners.
 Rather indeed it rendered the task of converting them more
 difficult; for they saw the dissolute lives of the Spaniards, and
 were thereby led to think injuriously of a religion which had so
 little apparent influence upon the morals of those who professed
 it. It was of little use to preach to them against polygamy, as
 a forbidden practice, when they knew that the Spaniards were
 living in habitual and unbridled licentiousness; they saw their
 own vices practised by these nominal Christians, and they dis-

covered in them avarice, rapacity, and oppression, . . . to which they themselves were strangers. Therefore they held the terrors of the Catholic creed as cheap as the Spaniards appeared to do; and when they were threatened with hell-fire, coolly made answer, that they should find means of putting it out. Such was the unpromising field which F. Joseph de Arce was sent to cultivate. Some little prospect of success was beginning to appear, when the sister of one of the Royalets came to him in great affliction, and intreated that he would intercede with the Governor of Santa Cruz in behalf of her brother, whom upon some false accusation he was seeking to apprehend and put to death. The chief, Tambucari by name, was so confident in his own innocence, and in this protection, that he accompanied the Jesuit, and was accordingly absolved. D. Agustin de Arce de la Concha, the Governor before whom they appeared, was one who both from principle and policy, understood the importance of converting the natives; and he had lived long enough in the country to become acquainted with the character of the different tribes. The Chiquitos had lately made peace with him, and solicited that Missionaries might be sent among them. From Peru he could obtain no labourers for this service: for all who could be spared from that province were employed among the Moxos to the southward; and knowing how bootless all former efforts had proved among the Chiriguanas, he advised Arce and his companion, F. Juan Bautista de Zea, rather to bestow their pains upon this more docile race. But the Jesuits were not at liberty for this; . . . where they had been ordered, there they must continue to serve, till the Provincial should think good to alter their destination. F. Gregorio de Orozco, who held that office, happened shortly after to come to Tarija, in the course of his visitation: and he, having received the Governor's letter, and heard Arce's disposition to enter upon this new field, instructed him to go toward the sources of the Paraguay, and employ

F. Arce advised to go among the Chiquitos.

P. Juan Patricio

CHAP. himself there among the Chiquito tribes, where he should be
 XXXIV. joined by seven³ fellow labourers from the Guarani Reduc-
 1691. tions. A reinforcement of forty-four Jesuits had that year
 arrived at Buenos Ayres, and thus it was that they were enabled
 to spare so many from that quarter.

Fernandez.
5—19.

Charlevoix.
t. 1. 16—
t. 2. 224—
231.

*Opposition
made by the
slave-trad-
ers.*

Arce set out cheerfully for Santa Cruz, on the way to this more hopeful enterprize. But when he arrived there, an unpropitious change had taken place: the Governor had been superseded by a man of different temper, who gave ear to a company of slave-traders, and discouraged the attempt. This trade had been carried on with great success from that city. The Governors, indeed, were required by the terms of their first charter to make what were called entries into the country, twice a year; and though by the interference of the Jesuits this clause had been repealed, the agents of the Slave-Company regularly sent off large droves of captives to Peru. This probably was the chief trade which the Chiriguanas carried on with their more civilized, but not more humane neighbours; . . . this the means by which they were induced to abstain from cannibalism, and this the cause of the prodigious destruction which they had made among the other tribes. Arce, however, had the laws on his side, and by his perseverance he overcame the opposition of the dealers in human flesh, and the cold unwillingness of the Governor; not that the one or the other were moved by his representations on the score of policy, humanity, or religion;

³ One of these was a Sardinian, one a native of Benevento in the kingdom of Naples, one from Namur; the others were an Austrian, a Bohemian, a Biscayan, and a Spaniard of La Mancha, . . . so curiously was this extraordinary Society composed of men of all nations. And what a preeminent knowledge of mankind must the Jesuits have possessed from this circumstance alone; . . . this knowledge, of all others the most difficult of acquisition, was thus acquired by them as a mother tongue, and they were fitted for Missionaries and Statesmen, almost without study.

but because they thought the shortest and surest way to rid themselves of his importunities was to let him go and perish, as they supposed he would do, by the hands of the savages, the nature of a most unhealthy climate, or the hardships which he must inevitably undergo. The last difficulty was to obtain ⁴ a guide: and Arce then set out the more eagerly, because a contagious disease was raging among the people whom he was bound to convert.

About thirty tribes were comprehended under the general and absurd appellation of Chiquitos; they were however of the same stock, all speaking one of four ⁵ dialects, the Tao, the Pi-

CHAP.
XXXIV.
1691.

*Almanach
de Lima.
Fernandes,
58. 63.
Charlevoix,
2. 239—
242.*

*Province of
the Chiqui-
tos.
See vol. 1,
p. 333.*

⁴ And I am persuaded, says Fernandez (p. 64), that the reason why no guide for that country could then be found, was through the cunning of the Devil, who foresaw the ruin which the zealous Missionary would bring upon his party. . . . "Y me persuado que el no hallar par entonces algun practico en los caminos, fue astucia y traza del Demonio, que previa la ruina que avia de causar a su partido el zeloso Missionario." So difficult was it for a Jesuit to write without the use of the machinery to which he was accustomed.

⁵ The *Tao* was spoken in the Missions of S. Raphael, S. Miguel, S. Ignacio, S. Anna, S. Juan, Santiago, Santo Corazon, and Concepcion. It was used by fourteen tribes, the Taos, Boros, Tabiicas, Tañopicas, Xuberesas, Zumanucas, Bazorocas, Puntagicas, Quibiquicas, Pequicas, Boocas, Tubacicas, Aruparecas, and Piococas.

The *Piñoco* was spoken by the Piñocos, by a branch of the Piococas, the Quimecas, Guapacas, Quitagicas, Pogisocas, Motaquicas, Zemuquicas, and Taumocas. This dialect was used in S. Xavier, and S. Joseph, among the Chiquito Missions, and in S. Joseph de Buenavista, or, de los Desposorios, among the Moxos.

The *Manaci* was spoken by seven tribes, the Manacicas, Sibacas, Cúcicas, Quimomecas, Tapacuracas, Yuracarecas, and Yiritucas. Before the expulsion of the Jesuits the remainder of these hordes were aggregated to the Mission of Concepcion, where the children acquired the Tao; the native dialect was used only by the old, and consequently would be extinguished in another generation.

The *Penoqui* differed very materially from the other three, and therefore F. Fe-

CHAP. ñoco, the Manaci and the Peñoqui; the latter differed materially
 XXXIV. from the three former, but was manifestly a cognate tongue.
 Peramas de Tredecem. p. 424. They lived in clans each apart from the other, and at great distance, the intermediate country being common to all for cultivation, hunting, fowling, and seeking honey. The hilly ground alone was cultivated, and there they raised maize, mandioc, potatoes, pulse, and fruits, using in their agriculture a kind of wooden spade. The lowlands were inundated in the wet season, and heat and moisture rendered this one of the most unhealthy parts of South America; yet it is remarkable, that diseases prevailed most with a southerly wind, which in that part of the world is the coldest. The tribes who had applied for missionaries were the Pacaras, Rumiquis, Cozos, and Pinocos. After a painful journey over mountains and marshes, Arce arrived

F. Francisco Burges, Lettres Edif. 8. 337.

Peramas de Tredecem. p. 314.

lipe Suarez, who made the first Chiquito Grammar, composed a distinct vocabulary of this dialect, and wrote some treatises in it. The tribe to which it was confined, and from which it took its name, was very numerous and very warlike, and, as Hervas says, gave the first Conquerors, and the Paulistas afterwards, *no little to do*. They were reduced to the Mission of St. Joseph, and there acquired the *Piñoco*.

It is doubtful whether the *Lengua* be] of this stock. Fernandez affirms that it is; but the Ex-Jesuit whom Hervas consulted, would not venture to class it as such.

The Zamuco was spoken in some of these Missions. Of this there were three dialects. The *Zamuco*, used by the Zamucos, Zahenos, and Ugaraños; the *Caipotorade*, by the tribe from which it took name, the Tunachos, Imonos, and Timinabas; and the *Morotoco*, which was the language of the Morotocos, Tomoenos, Cucurares or Cucutades, and Pananas, and supposed to have been that of the Careras and Oreobates, who were incorporated with other tribes, and had no longer a separate existence.

Besides these, sixteen other languages were spoken in the Chiquito Missions, all radically different from the Chiquito, Tamuco, and Guarani. They were the Batajé, Corabé, Cuberé, Curucané, Curomina, Ecoboré, Otuque, Paiconé, Paraba, Pauná, Puizoca, Quitema, Tapi, Tapuri, Jarabe, and Baure. What a Babel was here! *Hervas. t. 1, cap. 2, § 20—21.*

*Arce arrives
in time of
pestilence.**Fernandez.
7.**Do. 63—
68. Charle-
voix. 2. 242
—244.**The Paulis-
tas approach
these settle-
ments.*

among the latter people, who were in a miserable state, and received him with as much joy as if they expected miraculous relief from his hands. The contagion was raging among them, and they lay dying on all sides, some in their huts and hammacks, others on the ground and in the open air. Misery and the near sight of death made them docile disciples at this time; they intreated the Jesuit not to leave them, and he, as well moved by compassion as because the rainy season was about to begin, during which it would be impossible for him to reach the place where he had been instructed to meet the brethren from Paraguay, resolved to remain, and lay the foundations of the first Chiquito Reduction. Those Indians who were able to work, exerted themselves with great zeal; and in the course of a fortnight they compleated a wooden church, which he dedicated to S. Francisco Xavier. Arce chose this celestial Patron for his flock, because, during a dangerous illness in the College at Cordoba, where his superiors intended to retain him as a preacher, he had made a vow to Xavier, that if his life should be spared through his intercession he would devote it to the conversion of the savages. The Peñoquis joined him here; he recovered from a severe attack of the fever, and all was going on prosperously, when he was summoned to meet a new Provincial at Tarija. By him Arce was remanded to the Chiriguanas, and F. Diego Centeno, whose name appears to denote a relationship to that Spaniard who has left the fairest reputation of all the conquerors of Peru, was sent with F. Francisco Hervas to supply his place among the Chiquitos.

This was just before the great discoveries in Minas Geraes diverted the whole enterprize of the Paulistas to mining. A party of these adventurous people advancing far to the northwest, embarked upon one of those streams which combine to form the Paraguay, . . . probably the Taquari, . . . and proceed-

CHAP. ing toward that labyrinth of waters which has been called the
 XXXIV. Lake of the X-rayes, landed in a bay known by the name
 1696. of the Port of the Itatines. Going from thence east and south,
 they came first upon the Taos, and having made a good capture
 there, proceeded to the Penoquis. A horde of these sallied to
 defend their village, with their characteristic bravery; the Paulistas
 drew them off by a manoeuvre, while a detachment got in
 their rear and occupied the place. The women and children
 were there, and the Paulistas by means of these captives induced
 the men to join company, and guide them in their farther
 progress; for they proposed to attack the Reduction, and to fall
 upon Santa Cruz itself. The Reduction was abandoned in
 time, and the Jesuits having sent intelligence to the city, a force
 of an hundred and thirty men was dispatched against these
 free-booters, and strengthened on the way by three hundred
 Chiquito archers. The Paulistas crossed their track, and seeing
 the marks of their horses' feet, apprehended the danger; but
 some Indians had the cunning to persuade them, that the cattle
 of the Reduction had gone that way, and they were thus enticed
 to their destruction. The first and second in command, Antonio
 Ferraez de Araujo, and Manoel de Frias, fell early in the
 action; and it is said that only six escaped with life, of whom
 three were taken prisoners: it may indeed be believed, that
 little mercy would be shown to these enemies, although there
 were six Jesuits with the victorious party. Such a defeat would
 not have been sustained if the Paulistas had not separated their
 force, leaving a part in the country of the Penoquis to guard
 their captives, who were about one thousand five hundred head:
 the Spaniards did not think proper to proceed against them,
 and they, as soon as they learnt the fate of their comrades, got
 with all speed to their canoes, bearing off their living booty.
 On their way home they fell in with a troop of their country-

*They are
 defeated by
 the Spaniards of S.
 Cruz.*

men, by whose reproaches they were provoked to join company, and again try their fortune; but falling upon some resolute tribes, they were so bravely resisted, that they thought it better to turn back, than persevere in an unlucky expedition. Some Guarayos, who were in their service, deserted while they were among the lakes and currents of the Paraguay; they settled among the Curacanas, and shortly afterwards were aggregated to one of the Chiquito Missions. The Spaniards believed that the Paulistas were deterred by this adventure from any farther incursions in the same direction; but the reason why they did not appear again for many years was, that they were engaged in a more tempting pursuit among the Mines.

About this time the Missionaries were compelled to abandon the Chiriguanas, as the Governor of Santa Cruz had foreseen: . . . this intractable race set fire to the church, and would have martyred their teachers had they not withdrawn in fear. This was a fortunate event for the more docile tribes of the lower country, among whom three populous Reductions had now been founded. Here the Jesuits had more difficulties to overcome, from the nature of the country, than in any other part of the continent; but they had nowhere else a people so docile and so desirous of instruction. It now became a great object to establish a communication with the Guarani Missions, by way of the Paraguay, instead of the circuitous route through Tucuman; . . . of two thousand five hundred leagues, it was thought that one thousand might be cut off by this direct course. With a view to this communication, the Reduction of S. Raphael had been fixed upon the banks of a river, which was supposed to communicate with the Paraguay; and the fathers, Francisco Hervas, and Miguel de Yegros, set out with forty Indians to discover the junction. They travelled in a good season, and found no want of game or fish upon the way, . . . and, after a long and laborious

CHAP.
XXXIV.
1696.

Fernandez.
69—79.

Charlevoix.
2. 244—
247.

*The Chiriguana
Missions
abandoned.*

*Attempt to
open a com-
munication
from the
Guarani to
the Chiquito
Reductions
by the
Paraguay.*

CHAP. journey, they planted a cross upon what they believed to be the
 XXXIV. shores of the river which they sought. With these tidings
 1703. Hervás, on his return, was sent to the Parana Missions, and
 from thence, in the ensuing year, he was ordered, with five com-
 panions, to ascend the river, and search for his own land-mark.
 His comrades in this arduous undertaking were the fathers Arce
 and Zea, Bartholome Ximenes, and Juan Bautista Neuman, with
 the lay brother Silvestre Gonzalez. They embarked at the Re-
 duction of Candelaria, and in six weeks reached Asumpcion ;
 from whence they took their departure, with a flotilla, consisting
 of a large bark, four ⁶ *balsas*, two piraguas, and a canoe.

Fernandes.
81—87.
149—153.

Charlevoix.
2. 247—
250.

*Navigation
of the
Paraguay.*

Falkner.
p. 55.

The first conquerors sailed up to Asumpcion in the ships wherein they came from Europe ; since that time the river had brought down so much sand, that, in the middle of the eighteenth century, small merchantmen did not venture higher than Buenos Ayres, and larger vessels were unladen at Montevideo. The navigation of the Paraguay is exceedingly difficult, the stream running in many places with great force, and being full of islands, rocks, shoals, and quicksands. A Pilot, or *Practico*, as he is called, must be hired at a high price, who goes before, sounding ; every night the bark must be anchored ; and at every appearance of a storm they seek shelter : nevertheless, wrecks are frequent. In many places the river is so wide, that from mid-channel the shores are not visible. There are two noted

⁶ The *Balsa* used upon the Paraguay is a double canoe, with a cabin raised upon the platform, by which the two trunks are connected. Lozano, by whom it is described (*Historia de la Compania de Jesus en Paraguay*, 3, 24, § 6,) says, that this cabin is very liable to be upset upon rough water, or in rough weather : If so, it must either be ill fastened to the platform, or very disproportionately elevated, which is by no means likely ; . . . for otherwise, of all known vessels, the double-canoe is certainly the least liable to danger of this kind.

whirlpools, the larger and the less; these are well known, and therefore easily avoided: there is greater danger from the current, which sometimes whirls the bark round, and drives it upon the rocks or shallows. Above Asumpcion the chief danger is from the savages; boats⁷ may ascend as high as latitude sixteen, with sufficient depth of water, and no impediment of reefs, rapids, or falls.

About forty leagues above the city the Jesuits fell in with some canoes of the Payaguas: these people said they were afraid to approach, because some of their countrymen had been killed lower down the river; a few beads, and other trifles, were suspended for them from a tree, and they then drew near, and presented in return some mats, beautifully woven and ornamented. This kind of intercourse continued till the treacherous savages found an opportunity of surprizing some of the Guaranis, whom they immediately butchered. They then defied the Jesuits, and annoyed the flotilla with slings and arrows; but they were soon

CHAP.
XXXIV.
1703.

*Dobrizhof-
fer.* 1. 204.

Azara. 1.
67.

*The party
attached by
the Paya-
guas.*

⁷ The cordage used upon this river is made of the bark of the *guenbé*, a parasite, which grows upon the forks of the largest trees when they begin to decay, and sends from thence its roots to the ground, either perpendicularly, like the filaments of the Banian, or clinging to the tree, and growing spirally downward. These filaments have no contortions, and are about finger-thick; the leaves are palmated, and the trunks, (for every plant has many,) about the thickness of a man's arm. It bears a head like that of maize, and the grains are eaten: they have a sweetish taste. If the bark be dry when it is stripped it must be wetted, otherwise no preparation is required. This cordage never rots in the water, and bears extension well; but it is injured if it be left dry: it will not bear much friction, and must be made larger than hempen ropes, because it is not equally strong. The Spanish frigates, however, were glad to use it at the close of the Revolutionary war. The colour of the bark is a deep violet, and therefore this plant is used in ornamental matting and basket-work.

CHAP. put to flight. In requital, a Payagua settlement was laid waste;
 XXXIV. but with an ill-judged and unjust vengeance, inflicted more than
 1703. a month after the offence, consequently at a distance from the
 place; and falling on those who were ignorant, as well as innocent, of the provocation which had been given, and being thus the injured party, would, in their turn, seek to revenge themselves upon the Spaniards. One of these hordes had erected three great crosses within the palisade of their village; the Jesuits suspected this to be what they called one of the Missions of the Mamalucos, . . . a Paulista decoy for the savages; but it appeared that the Payaguas had learned superstition from their neighbours, and expected that the cross would serve as a talisman to drive away the jaguars. They came now to a reef, where, according to a tradition of their own inventing, footsteps were, at low water, to be seen in the rock, and they had the less welcome sight of fires and smoke raised by the Mbayas, as signals that an enemy was approaching. They proceeded however, without molestation, through an extensive country, where all the surrounding tribes made an ample provision of wild rice; and having reached that part of the river, where it forms a large island (famous in the fables of South America), there they expected to find the land-mark which was to direct them. In this hope they explored every bay and lake, sending out parties by land and by water; but all their search proved ineffectual: it was afterwards ascertained that Hervas and Yegros had not seen the Paraguay, nor any stream which communicates with it. When they had persisted in their purpose as long as the season would permit, Hervas, and Arce, and Zea, intreated the Superior to leave them upon the island, that they might pass the winter there, and having won the good-will of the natives, attempt to reach the Chiquitos under their guidance. The Superior would not expose them to this imminent danger, and they began their

*Failure of
the attempt.*

October 12.

homeward voyage with much precaution, and some danger, because the river had fallen. On the way they entered into a friendly intercourse with those Payaguas, by whom they had been so treacherously treated when ascending the stream; these people delivered up to them a Spaniard whom they had captured, and requested that Missionaries would come and establish a Reduction among them. Both Arce and Zea would willingly have remained, but the Superior thought there was little dependance upon the word of these savages, and still less upon their stability, even if their present purpose was what they pretended. Before they reached Asumpcion they were reduced to great distress for provisions; and had they not been supplied, during a course of one hundred and fifty leagues, by some friendly Guaranies, their own stock would have failed. F. Neuman sunk under the hardships of the expedition: they sent him forward to Asumpcion with all speed of sail and oar, in hope of preserving his life; but he arrived in so exhausted a state, that he expired about an hour after he entered the College. Sixteen of the Indians also died of dysentery, and want of sufficient food. They brought with them some Payagua Chiefs, who desired to be at peace with the Spaniards. The people of Asumpcion suspected that their intent was to spy the weakness of the land; nevertheless the Governor, for the sake of the Jesuits, under whose patronage they came, and for good policy, treated them with kindness, and dismissed them with gifts, well pleased at their reception. A good understanding was thus once more established; but it happened not long afterwards, in evil hour, that a party of Spaniards fell in upon the river with some of this very horde, and in that spirit of brutality with which the profligate members of civilized states are still prone to treat those whom they regard as savages, they fired upon them without provocation. From that hour the Payaguas vowed vengeance, and

CHAP.

XXXIV.

1703.

1704.

Fernandez.
152—172.*Peace made
with the
Payaguas,
and broken.**Fernandez.*
179.

CHAP. pursued it with unrelenting hatred, and unweariable perse-
 xxxiv. verance.

1704.

*Second at-
 tempt from
 the side of
 the Chiqui-
 tos,*

1705.

The Provincial, not discouraged by the failure of this expedi-
 tion, resolved that a trial should be made from the Chiquito
 settlements; and accordingly instructed F. Juan Patricio Fer-
 nandez, the first historian of these Missions, to build canoes
 upon that river which Hervas supposed to be the Paraguay, and
 send Yegros, with the lay-brother Henrique Adam, and a party
 of Xarayes, good boatmen and well acquainted with the river,
 down the stream to Asumpcion. Fernandez set out with the
 two adventurers, and an hundred Indians, from S. Raphael; and
 having found the Cross which Hervas had erected, ascertained
 that it had been planted, not upon the banks of the Paraguay, but
 of one of those great lakes which are formed during the rainy
 season. After much perseverance they came to a sandy shore,
 where a Penoqui, who had escaped from the Paulistas in their
 last expedition, said these freebooters left their canoes, when
 they began their land-march against the Taos. Here they might
 have embarked with fair likelihood of success; but there was
 no wood at hand suitable for canoes, and no time to seek it
 from a distance, . . . for the season was now so far advanced, that
 any farther delay would have rendered their return impractica-
 ble. Already the low lands were flooded, and glad were they
 at night to find any little elevation above the general level, on
 which they could lie down, though even there the ground was
 wet and swampy, and myriads of mosquitos, and other blood-
 suckers, made it impossible to sleep. After twenty-five days of
 such labour they reached S. Raphael, their limbs swollen by
 walking in water, and nearly worn out with fatigue and priva-
 tions, under which indeed the lay-brother sunk. Some Gua-
 rayos were picked up in this expedition, who understood Spanish,
 and gave an account of the track of the Paulistas. Under their

guidance Fernandez explored the country a second time; they brought him to what he calls the Lake Mamore, which is divided into two bays by a long neck of land; this had been their usual landing-place, according to the Guarayos, whose information was confirmed by the discovery of five long chains, which had been buried there, intended, it should seem, for linking together large droves of slaves. Fernandez would have persuaded the Provincial, on his next visit to Tarija, to dispatch these Guarayos round by Tucuman to the Guarani Missions, as guides who might be trusted for another expedition from that quarter; but the Provincial would not again expose valuable lives in a hazardous service, upon what he conceived to be such uncertain grounds.

Fernandez.
172—182.

*Success of
the Missions.*

From their first establishment, the Chiquito Missions were uniformly prosperous in all things, save only that they were in an unhealthy country, to which even the natives themselves never became acclimated; indeed it appears to have been more injurious to them than to the Spaniards. The settlements were more than once removed to new situations, which it was thought would prove less insalubrious; but with no very sensible advantage from the change. In other respects the Jesuits were more fortunate here than their brethren among the Guaranis; . . they were not infested by the Paulistas; there was no faction continually striving against them in the neighbouring provinces; and their converts are said to have been more docile, less inconstant, and of greater capability. Here, as in other parts of America, the Jesuits were usefully, meritoriously, and piously employed: ready, at all times, to encounter sufferings, perils, and death itself, with heroic and Christian fortitude; yet they could not forego that habit of audacious falsehood in which the monastic orders, for so many generations, had vied with each other. The practice was begun in darker ages, and they persisted in it when

CHAP. it was no longer safe to insult the credulity of mankind. F.
 XXXIV. Lucas Cavallero, one of the first labourers among the Chiquito
 Missions, was selected to be the hero of religious romance in
 these countries, as Anchieta had been in Brazil, and Xavier in
 the East. He undertook the conversion of the Manacicas, though he was warned that they were a numerous and a dreadful people, whom it was dangerous to approach, because pointed stakes were concealed in their pathways, and more dangerous to reach, because of their fierce hatred of the Spaniards; but the more hazardous the enterprize, the greater would be the merit of exposing himself to it; and there were some peculiar circumstances relating to this tribe, which might peculiarly incite his saintly ambition.

*F. Cavallero
 goes among
 the Manacicas.*

The Manacicas.

The various hordes comprehended under the general name of Manacicas, were of the same stock as those who composed the Chiquito Missions. Part of their country was covered with thick forests: part consisted of wide plains, which were flooded during most of the year, consequently there was no want of fish or game, nor of such fruits as the land produces. The soil is fertile, and the produce of their harvest generally abundant. They were a strong and courageous race; their complexion olive, their stature good, their limbs well proportioned;... but a cutaneous disease was common and hereditary among them: it is called a sort of leprosy, and described as covering the body with scales, but producing no inconvenience. Their villages are said to have been built with some regard to beauty, in streets and well-proportioned squares. The Chiefs and the Cacique inhabited large dwellings, divided into several apartments, which served also for public assemblies, and banquets, and for temples. The houses of individuals also were well constructed, although they had no better instrument than a stone hatchet. The women were skilful weavers, and their pottery was remarkably good, ringing like

metal to the touch ; the clay was kept long before it was used, that it might ripen : . . upon the same principle the Chinese are said to bury, for many years, that of which their finer ware is made. The villages of the Manacicas were generally near each other, because they liked to interchange visits. These visits were so many drinking bouts : the invitation went from the Cacique, as relating to a public concern, and in his house the entertainment was held ; he had the first place ; the Priests, or *Maponos*, as they were denominated, the second ; the physicians, here said to be a different order from the priests, the third ; then the war-leaders ; and afterwards the rest of what are called the nobles. Great deference was shown to the Cacique : his house was built for him, his fields were cultivated, and he received a tenth of the fish and game, the best being selected for his portion ; his authority was absolute, and he united in his own person the office of judge and executioner, breaking the bones of criminals with a club. This is so much in savage character, that it may almost authenticate itself. In other parts of their political economy, the same license of embellishment may possibly have been taken by the relators, as in the account of their religion ; for it is affirmed, that the principal wife of the Cacique was obeyed by the female part of the community ; and that the eldest son, in like manner, ruled over the youths. When this heir apparent attained to mature years, the government was transferred to him ; the father was still regarded with respect and reverence ; and, on his demise, was buried with many ceremonies in an arched vault, where care was taken that no moisture might reach his bones to corrupt them, and that the earth might not lie heavy on his remains.

Some glimmerings of the preaching of St. Thomas are left among them, say the Jesuits ; after this preamble, there is little cause for wondering at the fables which follow. According to

*Mythology
of this peo-
ple, as de-
scribed by
the Jesuits.*

CHAP.
XXXIV.

CHAP. the Jesuits, the Manacicas held by tradition from their an-
xxxiv. cestors, that a Virgin of incomparable beauty brought forth
a fair son, who had no father ; that this child restored health to
the sick, sight to the blind, life to the dead, and having per-
formed his course on earth, exclaimed one day in the presence
of a numerous assembly, Behold how my nature differs from
yours, . . . and soaring therewith into the air, became the Sun. The
Maponos, who travelled through the sky at pleasure, confirmed
this tradition, by declaring that the Sun is a luminous human
figure, though here upon earth it is not possible, because of the
distance, to distinguish his form. This personage, however, was
no object of their worship ; they worshipped three Devils, not
in effigy, but in person ; and therefore with some reason they
insulted the converts for adoring pictures and images which
could neither see, nor speak, nor hear. Bold as the Jesuits
were in falsehood, they never lied with greater intrepidity than
in their account of this devil-worship. The Devil, they say,
in mockery of the true religion, was determined to travesty it in
this hidden part of the world, and therefore taught these Indians
to believe in a diabolical Trinity, of which the three persons
were called Omequeturiqui or Uragozoriso, Urasana, and Ura-
po. Being a Catholic Devil, he also invented a Goddess, Qui-
poci, as the wife of the first, and mother of the second of these
Deities. She used to appear with a resplendent countenance,
beautiful, and like an Angel of light ; but the three major Gods
were always horrible and hideous in appearance ; the head as
well as the face of each was of the colour of blood, the ears
like asses' ears, the nose broad and flat, the eyes enormously
large and flashing flames, the bodies burnished and girdled with
snakes. Uragozoriso spoke with a loud voice, Urasana with
a nasal tone, and Urapo like thunder. The first chastised the
wicked with a staff, or some other instrument of pain ; the

other two were intercessors for mercy; but the Goddess Quipoci was more peculiarly the mediator. At all general meetings and solemn funerals these Gods or Tinimaacas were expected; a part of the great hall in the Cacique's habitation was curtained off with mats for their reception, and into this sanctuary only the Maponos might enter. The Tinimaacas came with a sound which filled the air, agitated the mats, and made the building shake. The people who were feasting or dancing at the time then bade them welcome, saying, Fathers are ye come? to which a loud voice made answer, Sons, what are ye doing? are ye eating and drinking? eat and drink, for that pleases me, and I will take care of you, and provide for you; it is for your use that I have created game and fish and all good things. A troop of inferior Demons descended with the three major Gods, and remained on foot in their presence; these the Mañacicas believed to be the souls of their enemies and of other nations. When the beverage began to produce its usual effect of drunkenness and clamour, if at any time the revelry and uproar flagged, the fiends would reproach their votaries, and order them to quaff largely, and dance, and fill the temple with their shouts; and to encourage them the more, they called for drink themselves. A cup curiously wrought was reserved for their use; it was filled, and carried to the curtain by the oldest men and women in the assembly; they bore it in the right hand, and as they raised the curtain reverently with the left, a hideous hand with long talons was put forth to receive it. This was done thrice, that each of the Tinimaacas might quench his thirst. None but a Mapono might look behind the curtain; there were one or two of these in every village, sometimes more: it was the highest rank in the Devil's hierarchy. If any priest of inferior rank attempted to pry into the sanctuary, the Mapono prevented him, threatening him with instant death if he persisted in so impious a purpose.

CHAP. In the midst of the festival the Mapono came from the presence
 XXXIV. to repeat the oracles which had been entrusted to him: they related to good weather, seasonable rains, prosperous harvests, successful hunting and fishing; and not unfrequently exhorted the people to make war upon their neighbours. Offerings were then made of game and fish through his hands, and when this ceremony was concluded, the Tinimaacas fled into the air carrying the Mapono with them, and shaking the whole building with their ascent. After awhile the Goddess Quipoci brought him back to the sanctuary in her arms, and held him there sleeping, while she sang in a sweet voice, and the women on the other side the veil danced and rejoiced. In return to their welcomes, she called them her children, and assured them that she was their true mother, and would defend them from the Gods who were cruel and sought to afflict them with infirmities and misfortunes. The cup was presented to her and offerings given, and then she reascended.

*Extra-
 gant false-
 hoods of the
 Jesuits.*

Thus far, though there may be something to suspect, there is nothing impossible in the relation. The mythology might have been framed by some hardy impostor, in imitation of what he supposed to be the Jesuits' faith (there are instances enough of such attempts); credulity may always be supposed, to any required amount; . . the ascension was made behind the curtain, and a little management and some exaggeration would solve the rest of the riddle. But to that which follows, no such solution can be applied. For the Jesuits affirm that the Mapono frequently ascended into the sky, not in company with the Tinimaacas, behind the veil of the temple, and unseen; but by the power of his own mighty volition, in the open air, and in the presence of the people: they affirm, that he would spread his arms as if they were wings, and then soar into the sky in an erect posture. This posture was reversed in his downward

flight: but sometimes a troop of inferior Gods brought him down, visibly with a terrible uproar, into the midst of the temple, and sometimes the malignant spirits let him fall from the roof, in which manner some of the Maponos perished. One of these gifted Priests was as much respected as the Royalet, and, like him, received a tenth of the game and the produce. They who aspired to this office were initiated before the down appeared upon their chin; the eldest Mapono took the aspirant in his arms, instructed him to look at the full moon, stretched his fingers, ordered him to let his nails grow, (a fashion by which the privileged ranks in many countries designate themselves, as proving that they are above the necessity of manual labour,) and at length fled up with him into the air, and laid him in the lap of Quipoci, from whence he returned in a state of such despondency and exhaustion that it was many days before he recovered. The Priests observed frequent fasts, and abstained at all times from certain animals and fruits, especially from the *Granadilla*, the fruit of the Passion-flower, because, say the lying Jesuits, of the mysteries which are signified in that marvellous blossom: the people also were frequently required to fast. One of the most solemn observances was at the dedication of a temple, when all the inhabitants abstained five days from animal food, the village was put in mourning (after what fashion is not specified), strict silence was prescribed during the whole time, music and dancing were forbidden, and no business was carried on except that of weaving mats for the sanctuary. On the last day a feast was given to all comers; the most devout old woman of the horde bowed her head before the Cacique that he might twice or thrice strike it gently with a stone instrument of elaborate workmanship; she then went on her knees round the temple, sighing loudly, and with marks of great devotion, and the Mapono completed the ceremony by blessing the building in all its parts.

CHAP.

XXXIV.

The Tinimaacas often visited the Maponos, whose wives fled from the presence of these hideous guests. Sometimes a Ma-pono retired into the wilderness to enjoy this communion without interruption. He was believed to have the faculty of inflicting injury or death by the mere force of his displeasure; and he made an alarming display of power which he really possessed, by domesticating venomous serpents, and appearing abroad with some of these reptiles wreathing round his arms and neck, and nestling in his bosom. In return for the honours which they received, and the tenths which they enjoyed, the Maponos performed a most extraordinary service: as the members of their flock died, they carried them bodily to Paradise, . . . a curious office, which is thus described. After the funeral, the relations of the dead made their offering in the temple, and when the Gods came to receive it, the Oquipau, or Spirit of the deceased, accompanied them, . . . a Devil, according to the Jesuits, appearing in this character. The Oquipau consoled his friends with the hope that they should all finally meet in a place of delight: he was then sprinkled with water by the Ma-pono: this posthumous baptism took away his sins; and being then ready for the journey, he bade farewell to the mourners, while the Ma-pono, taking the substantial soul upon his back, mounted into the air and began his way for the Land of the Departed. It was a wild, weary journey, over hills and vales, through thick forests and across rivers and swamps and lakes, till after many days they came to a place where many roads met near a deep and wide river: this was the Pass Perilous, where the God Tatusiso stood night and day upon a wooden bridge to inspect all such travellers; and this vigilant warden never went to earth like the other Deities, but was always at his post. He was bald and ugly, his countenance pale, his body disfigured with filth and wounds, and his only clothing a cloth round the loins.

This personage did not always chuse to consider the sprinkling of the ghost after death as a sufficient purgation: he therefore frequently required the Mapono to stop, that his charge might be cleansed from its impurities; and if any resistance were made to this purification, which was a ceremony nothing agreeable, he would sometimes seize the unhappy Oquipau and throw him into the river, . . . a circumstance which was always followed by some calamity to the Manacicas. Once, when unseasonable rains were destroying the harvest, the people enquired the cause of their Mapono, and were informed it was because the Oquipau of a certain youth had behaved irreverently to Tatusiso, and been cast over the bridge in consequence. The father of the deceased was so greatly afflicted at hearing his son's deplorable fate, that the Mapono was moved to compassion, and promised, if a canoe were given him, that he would endeavour to fish up the poor soul. Accordingly he placed the boat upon his shoulders, took flight, and returned after awhile with fair weather, and tidings of good success; but the canoe was never seen again. There were various Paradises to which persons were consigned according to the manner, not of their lives, but of their death; they who died in their houses going to one, they who perished in the woods to another, they who were drowned to the country of the Isituucas, or Water-Gods, to whom tobacco was offered in incense, because that herb was used for intoxicating fish. The Paradise of Quipoci was the happiest of these abodes. The souls were fed with a gum which distilled from certain celestial trees; and there was a huge eagle who continually flew round and round the World of the ⁸ Departed.

Fernandez.
222—242.

⁸ It is curious to observe, how carefully Charlevoix has weeded out from this relation, those falsehoods, and those only, which were too impudent for the

CHAP.

XXXIV.

*Cavallero's
miraculous
adventures.*

Among the people where these extraordinary superstitions prevailed, Cavallero prepared to attack the Devil upon his own ground. He set out, according to his brethren, with the expectation and in the fear of death; and when he approached one of their villages, and had passed safely along a path wherein spikes were concealed, he made his companions tie the Crucifix to his hands, that if he should be received with a discharge of arrows, he might retain that holy signal when he fell. At one village they assaulted him fiercely; arrows were aimed in showers at his head: some fell harmlessly at his feet, some recoiled with full force against the infidels by whom they were discharged, some pierced his garment; but he himself remained invulnerable, and such of his attendants as were wounded, were healed as miraculously as he had been protected. In the same spirit of invention the Jesuits relate, that the Triad of false Gods appeared to their votaries weeping and lamenting, because, they said, an Enemy was approaching, who bore an image upon which they could not endure to look; that they exhorted the people to fly from the face of this pernicious stranger; but that Cavallero, by the power of his preaching, induced the heathen in many places to bring out the curtains, and all other ornaments of their temples, and

age and country in which he wrote. He says nothing of the flights of the Mapono; nothing of the commotion which the Tinimaacas produced, when they descended into the Temple, and when they rose again; . . . nothing but what may perfectly be explained, by mere deception on the part of the Priest; . . . yet it is plain that he had no other document before him than the *Relacion Historial* of P. Juan Patricio Fernandez, where all these things are stated. But as the belief that Heathen Gods are Evil Spirits, prevailed in the Catholic world, Charlevoix improved upon the hint of their imitating the mysteries of the faith; and says, that Quipoci was called, by these savages, the Virgin Mother, . . . for which there is no authority in his original. *T. 2, 273—278.*

set ⁹ fire to them. They say too, that he came to one horde, who having heard of the practice of the Christians, imitated them, in time of pestilence, by setting up a Cross, and scourging themselves till the blood streamed: the pestilence immediately was stayed, an Angel came down to adore the Cross, and, of course, the people who had seen the miracle were ready to worship the Missionary when he arrived, and greedily to receive his ¹⁰ instructions. But the scene of their boldest fiction was laid among some tribes, who are remarkable on another account. They inhabited the shores of a great lake, the water of which was unwholesome; but, instead of making fermented liquors, after

CHAP.
XXXIV.

⁹ The only thing which he preserved was an astronomical instrument of brass, having the Sun and Moon, and the signs of the Zodiac, represented upon it;... a gift, says the stupid writer who relates the fact, which the Devil had given them many ages ago!

¹⁰ In one of his expeditions, the flower of the village from which he set forth accompanied him; on the way a fever broke out among them, and prostrated several of his new disciples; as the unconverted part of his escort happened to escape the contagion, they ascribed their safety to the superior power of their own Gods, and insulted the Neophytes upon this supposition. This touched the Jesuit, and made him expostulate in prayer. On the eve of that festival which is dedicated to the Guardian Angels, he relates (for the narrative is in the first person), that one of those Angels appeared to one of the sufferers, told him the disease was sent instead of the death which they would otherwise have received from the hands of the infidels, bade him and his brethren trust in God, and assured him that they should all recover. F. Cavallero, who seems, on this occasion, to have had less faith than he demanded from his readers, and who was a desperately bad practitioner, gave them a medicine, the strength of which he did not know, and which aggravated the disease; till the patients, being no longer able to endure the burning heat of the fever, made their comrades carry them to the nearest river, and plunging in, were healed by that means. (*Fernandez*. 285.) The physical fact may be true, notwithstanding the suspicious character of the story.

CHAP.
XXXIV.

the manner of all the surrounding nations, the only beverage which they used was a decoction of maize, thoroughly roasted, and then pounded; they were exceedingly fond of this, and when they went abroad it was the only provision which they took with them. While Cavallero was employed among these people, he suspected that some idolatrous ceremonies were about to be observed upon the death of a woman; and having set spies upon the offenders, he was informed that a sanctuary had been erected, composed of wicker-work, curiously interknit; that in the middle two stakes were planted, as a throne for the Devil; that a net was drawn round the temple, within which no person was allowed to enter except the Maponó, and the near relations of the dead; and that at midnight, when the ceremony would be performed, the better to avoid discovery, the Devil was expected in person to receive his offerings, hear the prayers, and accept the sacrifices which should be made for the spirit of the deceased. Accordingly the Jesuit was upon the alert, and at midnight he surprized the whole party in the fact; for, upon looking in, there he saw the Devil, rendered visible by the light which issued from his own infernal eyes, sitting upon the two stakes in majesty and terrific might; it was a sight which made the priest's hair bristle round his tonsure, and his limbs tremble; nevertheless he rushed in, and the Devil, unable to stand before him, exclaimed, that his votaries should never again behold him in a place where he had been so shamefully put to flight; and immediately he disappeared, carrying away with him, body and soul, the Maponó, who was never seen ¹¹ more.

Fernandez.
299.

¹¹ With these circumstances the story was printed at Madrid in 1726. The manner in which Charlevoix adapts it to the meridian of Paris, thirty years afterwards, deserves to be made known. "*Il les surprit pendant une nuit faisant les*

Cavallero's career was closed by martyrdom; and the Jesuits, who had chosen him to be the hero of one of their grandest romances, affirm, that a distinct knowledge of his impending fate was communicated to him from Heaven. Having overcome the weakness of human nature after this revelation, he set out toward the Puyzocas, from whom he was to receive his crown; and he took with him thirty-six Manacica neophytes, whom he exposed, without scruple, to this certain death; for though they might not have the same desire for such a catastrophe, their reward would be the same. They were welcomed with treacherous courtesy, and led into different houses to be feasted, that the massacre might be more easily effected. While they were seated at their food, some naked women approached, and drew upon their faces certain black lines, the sign that they were marked for death: presently afterwards the Puyzocas fell upon them. The few who escaped this first assault ran to Cavallero, who was alone, and in the act of prayer: one of them took him on his back; for, according to the legend, the Jesuit was too much absorbed in piety to use any means for his own preservation. They were pursued, and he was pierced with an arrow between the shoulders. He then made the Indian put him down, and fixing in the ground the Cross which was his staff, he knelt before it, offering up, says Fernandez, the blood which he was then shedding for his murderers: in this posture he was killed, by repeated blows of the *macana*. Twenty-six of his companions were butchered: and of the ten who reached the nearest Reduction, four died of their wounds. Not satisfied with this, the

CHAP.

XXXIV.

1711.

Cavallero's
martyrdom.

obseques d'une femme avec leurs ceremonies ordinaires. Il leur en fit une severe reprimande; et le Ciel, par un exemple de terreur sur le Mapono, qui y presidoit, et qui disparut dans l'instant, sans qu'on ait jamais pu decouvrir ce qu'il estoit devenu, acheva de leur inspirer une veritable horreur pour leurs superstitions. T. 2, p. 318.

CHAP. Puyzocas dispatched a party to watch the motions of the
 XXXIV. Christians, and carried off some stragglers. This rendered it
 1711. necessary to apply to S. Cruz for protection; and a detachment
 was sent from that city to take vengeance for the murder of
 Cavallero, and bring away his relics. When they arrived at the
 scene of slaughter it was sunset, and they waited for morning to
 begin their search; but, in the darkness of the night, they saw
 at no great distance from their encampment a flame, like that of
 a torch, which frequently disappeared, and as often became
 again visible. They marked the spot well, and hastening thither
 at earliest dawn, on that spot they found the body of the martyr
 miraculously preserved, and in a miraculous posture: it was
 kneeling on the left knee, with the right leg extended, and the
 head reclining on the left hand, in front of the Cross, which
 stood where he had planted it at the moment of his martyrdom.
 Many weeks had elapsed while it had been thus exposed to the
 hot sun upon that wet ground, and the bodies of all his compa-
 nions were putrid; his alone was entire and uncorrupt.

Fernandes.
304—310.

Charlevoix.
2. 321—
322.

*This ro-
mance
brings dis-
grace upon
the Jesuits.*

In this manner the Jesuits had been accustomed to embellish their annals; and if such fables could have passed current, as they did in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, St. Lucas Cavallero would soon have been provided with legends not less miraculous and monstrous than St. Domingo himself, and the rival Patriarch of the Friars Minorite. Here was a broad foundation laid; but the fathers who remitted these brave inventions from Paraguay, and they who approved, licensed, and published them at Madrid, seem to have forgotten, that at that time all nations were not in the same state of intellectual darkness as the Spaniards, and the Spanish Americans. When the error was discovered it was too late; and the tardy acknowledgement that certain fictions had crept into the book, did not clear the Company from the imputation of having once more

attempted to palm a tissue of fables upon the world for truth. The monstrous stories of the Maonos were related upon Cavalero's own authority, . . . one of the most monstrous, as having happened in his own sight. Whether he invented these tales, or his historian, F. Juan Patricio Fernandez ascribed them to him falsely, or the third and nameless brother, from whose Italian papers Fernandez is said to have translated the history, they are equally of Jesuit manufacture. They were invented by Jesuits, written by Jesuits, and published by Jesuits, with the licence and approbation of the Jesuit censors, and under the sanction of the General of the Order. The falsehood was so palpable, that it has been confessed by the Jesuits themselves; and the motive is not less palpable, . . . that of exaggerating the merits of the Company, and raising their reputation, by imposing upon the credulity of mankind. But however profitable for a time they may have found the system of imposture (for a system it was), it made those persons their enemies whom it failed to make their dupes; and who, had they not been properly disgusted by such artifices, might otherwise have done justice to their merits, and cooperated in their views.

CHAP.
XXXIV.
1711.

The project of opening a communication with the Chiquito Missions, by the Paraguay, was renewed after an interval of ten years; and Arce, who had led the way into that country, was again appointed to this perilous service. His companion was F. Bartolome Blende, a native of Bruges. A bark and two shalloops, with a competent number of Indians, were prepared for them at Asumpcion. When they embarked from that city the Sacrament was exposed, as a propitiatory solemnity, and the Governor, and all the inhabitants, accompanied them to the water's edge. They escaped from a stratagem of the Payaguas, who, under an appearance of friendship, meant to kill them, and seize the boats for the sake of the iron; but some of these peo-

*A second
expedition
up the Pa-
raguay.*
1715.

CHAP. ple gave intimation of the design: a breeze springing up at the
 XXXIV. moment it was needed, saved them from an ambush of the Guay-
 1715. curus, several hundred of whom, in a difficult pass of the river,
 lay concealed up to the chin in water; and they purchased a
 passage from others of this formidable tribe, by a rich offering
 of knives, wedges, and cloth, which the Guaranies of the Re-
 ductions had sent as a mark of fraternity and friendship to the
 Chiquitos. Having reached, as they supposed, the part of the
 river where Fernandez had left his marks, they spent several
 months in vainly seeking for them; till Arce, at length despairing
 in the search, and yet unable to bear the thought of abandoning
 his object, left the boats, and with twelve of the most enterprising
 Indians undertook the journey, without any clue. Game, whe-
 ther owing to the season, or the nature of the country, was
 scarce; they subsisted upon tortoises and fish, when they could
 catch them, and sometimes were in want both of food and water.
 Arce more than once advised the Indians to make their way
 back to the boats; for himself, he said, he was resolved to go
 on, and fulfil the will of God and of his Superiors; and once,
 believing himself to be near his end, from exhaustion and fever,
 he desired them to lay him on the banks of the next water, and
 seek their own safety by returning. But they were attached to
 him by affection, as well as by habits of dutiful obedience; and
 he, who was encouraged by their fidelity, made another effort,
 and renewed his journey at a time when his tongue was so
 parched and inflamed that he could not speak. The timely
 discovery of some honey probably saved his life. After having
 endured these sufferings for two months, they came into a track
 which evidently led to the Missions, and soon fell in with a party
 of Neophytes, under F. Zea. When Arce had rested long enough
 at S. Raphael to have recovered from the effects of the jour-
 ney, he returned to rejoin Blende, whom he had left with the

*Arce reaches
 the Chiqui-
 tos.*

boats; but Blende had commenced his return, forced by the mutinous conduct of two Spaniards, the one the pilot, and the other the master of the bark. These fellows had an old grudge against Arce, for having prevented them from buying slaves: and they threatened Blende to turn him upon shore, and leave him there, if he would not consent to return.

CHAP.
XXXIV.
1716.

Fernandez.
322—333.
Charlevoix.
2. 329—
330.

Thus disappointed in the hope of rejoining his comrade, Arce resolved to try his fortune among those Payaguas, with whom they had had some intercourse on the way: so he built a canoe, and embarked with his faithful Guaranies. When they had proceeded some days down the stream, they saw some bodies exposed upon the shore of an island: the heads had been carried away, but, upon landing, it was immediately perceived that they were the bodies of Blende and his companions, . . . treacherously murdered by the very savages to whom Arce was about to devote himself. They fled from the fatal spot: the Payaguas were on the watch, and they were surprized and butchered, except four of the party, who made their escape up the river, after two years, and finding their way back to S. Raphael, gave the first intelligence of the fate of the two Jesuits. There was now no safety upon the Paraguay. The Payaguas, who would have justified their conduct to these Missionaries, by pleading the treatment which they had experienced after making peace, were indefatigable in annoying the Spaniards. A bark, going from Asumpcion to Santa Fe, fell into their hands, and two Jesuits, with thirty Guaranies, were massacred before they could even attempt to defend themselves.

*Martyrdom
of Blende
and Arce.*

Fernandez.
333—342.
Charlevoix.
2. 330—
333.

The communication by the Paraguay being thus rendered impracticable, a hope was conceived of effecting it by the Pilcomayo. A party of Spaniards from S. Miguel de Tucuman, in an enterprize against the savages, had come to a stream which they supposed to be this river, . . . especially because they heard

*Attempt to
communi-
cate by the
Pilcomayo.*

CHAP. that some white people were settled upon its shores. Upon this
 XXXIV. D. Esteban de Urizar, the Governor of the province, prepared
 1716. an expedition for exploring its course; and the Provincial or-
 dered some Jesuits from the Guarani Missions, at the same time,
 to ascend the Pilcomayo, and proceed, if possible, till they
 should meet the party from Tucuman. If they failed in this
 object, it was hoped they might reach the country of the Chiri-
 guanas, or of the Zamucos, among whom Zea had lately laboured
 with success, and from whom some of the Chiquito Missionaries
 were to set forth upon the chance of meeting one or other of
 these expeditions.

*The Pilco-
 mayo.*

The Pilcomayo is the largest river which falls into the Para-
 guay from the West. About eighty leagues before its junction
 with that great stream, it divides into two branches. The one
 which disembogues within sight of Asumpcion is called by the
 Guaranies, Araguaya, . . the wise river; a name which is supposed
 to imply, that great caution is required in navigating it: indeed
 it can scarce be deemed navigable. In some parts the channel
 is hardly to be traced amid broads, and aquatic plants; in
 others it is entirely concealed beneath a plant, called *Aguape* by
 the Portugueze, which covers wide tracts with its broad leaves
 and intertwined roots. In wet seasons the banks are frequently
 falling in; and masses of trees, held together by their rootage,
 come down in floating islands. The other branch retains its
 name, and flows into the Paraguay about nine leagues lower
 down. Between the two there is a third, which separates from
 the southern arm. During the inundations their waters meet,
 and not only flood the Delta, but unite with the overflow of the
 Rio Bermejo. Could the navigation of this river be opened, the
 way from Paraguay to Peru would be shortened by nearly two
 thousand miles. A boat attempted it in the second year of the
 century, but only one of its crew escaped from the Indians.

*Dobrizhof-
 fer. 1. 135.
 Jolis. 62.
 Almanach
 de Lina.*

The party from Tucuman perceived that the stream upon which they embarked did not increase in size as they expected: they persuaded themselves that it did not communicate with the Pilcomayo, being perhaps weary of the adventure; and they returned from their bootless expedition. The Chiquito Missionaries were not able to discover the river. The party from Paraguay consisted of the Fathers Gabriel Patiño and Lucas Rodriguez, the Lay-Brother Bartolome de Niebla, and a Portugueze Donado, by name Faustino Correa, with a Guarani escort from the Reductions, and a few Spanish adventurers, in one bark and two boats. After ascending about eighty leagues, they found that there was not sufficient depth of water for the larger vessel; Patiño and Niebla therefore proceeded with part of the company in the boats; and according to their computation, ascended more than a thousand miles further, till they came to a tribe considerably advanced beyond the savage state. They were agriculturists; they reared sheep and made a good cloth of the wool, and they had horses in great numbers; the men appeared docile, and the women from their complexion might have been supposed to be Spanish. At first the intercourse with this people was so amicable, that Patiño thought it would be easy to reduce them. But all missionary attempts on the side of Tucuman had been frustrated by the interference of the Governors, who had destroyed many a promising establishment by the greediness with which they attempted to impose the burden of personal service upon high-spirited tribes. There were some Tobas and Mocobis here who knew these things, and consequently regarded the Spaniards as mortal enemies. At their instigation the Indians treacherously attacked the party, and killed some of the Guaranies who were cutting wood; . . . Patiño was prepared with a covering of hides which resisted their arrows, but he found it necessary to fall down the stream, and escape with all speed.

CHAP.

XXXIV.

1720.

The expedition is frustrated.

CHAP.
XXXIV.*Missions
among the
Moxos.*

While Arce and his successors were employed among the Chiquitos, other Missions were founded toward the North, approximating nearer that debateable ground of which the Portugueze were now beginning to take possession. Castillo, a lay-brother among the Jesuits, had accompanied some Spanish traders from Santa Cruz into that part of the country, since called the Province of Moxos, after the first converted tribe. He made himself agreeable to the natives, and was on his part so pleased with their apparent docility, that immediately on his return he set out for Lima, to acquaint his Superiors how fair a field was open for the exertions of the Company. F. Cypriano Baraza, who was in the College of that city, and who had long been ambitious of devoting himself to the service of the heathen, obtained leave to go with Castillo upon this adventure. Baraza was perhaps the most enlightened Jesuit that ever laboured in Spanish America.

*Lettres
Edifiantes.
t. 8, p. 92.**Province of
the Moxos.*

The scene of his labours is a tract of country roughly computed at one hundred and twenty square leagues. On the North it is divided by the Guapore from the Portugueze territory of Mato Grosso, . . . a country wholly unknown to the Spaniards, which had sometimes been crost by the Paulistas, but which was not yet appropriated by either of the two nations who had divided this great continent between them. Thick woods divided it on the South from the Province of the Chiquitos. To the South-east a Cordillera separated it from Cochabamba, and on the West the river Beni from the Missions of Pomabamba, or Apolobamba, as by an accidental error they are sometimes called. Three great rivers flow through the province; the Mamore, which rises in the Mountains on the S. E. and receives in its way the S. Miguel or Apere, and the Guapay or Rio Grande; the Guapore or Itenes, which has its source in Mato Grosso, receives the Rio de los Baures, and joins the Mamore at the end of the province; and the Beni, which falling into their joint

*Rivers
which form
the Madei-
ra.*

stream, forms with it the Madeira, one of the largest and most important secondary rivers of South America. All three are navigable in canoes and *balsas* almost from their sources. The way to the province is by water, . . . rivers in such countries supplying the want of roads. For the districts of Moxos and Baures, the traveller embarks upon the Guapay, either at Puerto de Paylas, or lower down at the Puerto de la Pesca: this is the way from Santa Cruz, and is performed in canoes. The other entrance is from La Paz, by the Beni, to the district of Pampas; the place of embarkation is Puerto de Co-ro-yco in the province of Sicasica, and this voyage is performed in *balsas*.

CHAP.

XXXIV.

*Almanach
de Lima.**Almanach
de Lima.*

It was upon the Guapay that Baraza and his companion embarked in a small canoe made by some Indians of the country who served them as guides. Baraza was provided with store of fishing hooks, needles, beads, and other such things, which procured him a good reception, when after a voyage of twelve days, he arrived among the Moxos: and he spent four years among them, learning their language and winning their good-will by that spirit of love which alone could have supported him through the privations of such a life, aggravated as they were by the long sufferings of a quartan ague. At length the disease had so far exhausted him, that he despaired of recovering by any other means than that of breathing a healthier atmosphere, and therefore he went to Santa Cruz. The remedy proved effectual: his heart was still among the Moxos, and in the first days of his convalescence he began to learn weaving, that he might instruct them on his return in one of the first arts of civilized life, and induce them to clothe themselves, as the first step towards civilization. But the Spaniards of Santa Cruz were more interested in the conversion of their formidable neighbours, the Chiriguanas, than in any thing which concerned more distant tribes; and the

*Baraza
forms the
first Reduc-
tion among
the Moxos.*

CHAP. Governor, without consulting Baraza, applied to his Superiors, and prevailed upon them to station him among these intractable barbarians. A Jesuit's first duty was obedience. To the Chiriguanas he went, however unwillingly, and laboured patiently among them five years, before he was relieved, and left at liberty to return to a people whom he loved better, and among whom he knew that his exertions were more likely to be rewarded with adequate success. They had not forgotten him; about six hundred readily submitted to his instructions; and as he baptized his first converts on Lady-day, he dedicated the Missions to Our Lady of Loretto.

Lettr. Edif.
8. 93—96.

*Manners of
the Moxo
Tribes.*

Because the Moxos¹² were the first tribes among whom Baraza laboured, that name was applied to all the people who inhabited, or wandered over the country, between the tenth and fifteenth degrees of South latitude; they consisted, however, of not less than¹³ twenty-nine tribes, among whom thirteen distinct lan-

¹² The Spaniards called them thus, either from mistaking the true name, which, according to Garcilaso (*l. 7, c. 19*), was Musu; or, according to a believed tradition, because the first person of whom they asked the name of his nation, thought they were asking what ailed him, and replied *Muha*, which signifies the itch. *Muha* and *Moxa* much resemble each other in a Spaniard's pronunciation, the Spanish *x* being a strong aspirate. The Moxos therefore are offended when they are called by this name. *Hervas. 1. 4. § 66.*

¹³ The Moxos, Báures, Mobimas, Erirúmas, Tapacúras, Itonámas, Huaráyos, Caniciámas, Bolèpas, Heréceboconos, Rotoròños, Pechuyos, Coriciáras, Mèques, Mures, Sapis, Cayubábas, Canacúres, Ocorònos, Chumanos, Mayacámas, Tibois, Nayras, Norris, Pacabáras, Pacanàbos, Sinàbus, Cuyzáras, and Cabinas. The Almanach de Lima, from whence this barbarous catalogue is transcribed, says, that the Missionaries were obliged to learn eight languages at least; *Hervas*, whose authority must be preferred, makes them thirteen. They are thus classed by him. The *Moxa* and the *Baure*, kindred dialects: the *Tico-ueri* is from the same root, but so different, that the name implies in *Moxa*

guages were spoken, besides sundry dialects. During four months in the year the hordes have no intercourse with each other, because of the inundation, each being islanded upon the spot of rising ground whereon its cabins are built. The dry season follows, and the sun acting upon stagnant waters, generates pestilence. The weather is then oppressively hot; at other times, when the wind comes from the snowy mountains, it is piercingly cold. Neither corn nor vines will grow there; but the land is admirably suited to such plants as require heat and moisture. The tribes were in many grades of progression, from the lowest state of savage life:.. the Moxos were among the rudest. Their huts were very low, and each family had its separate habitation; some slept upon mats, some in hammacks; and when these were hung in the open air a constant fire was kept near them, not only for warmth, but because the flame protected them against beasts, and the smoke from insects. Their meals were taken, not at stated times of the day, but whenever they could find food, which consisted chiefly of roots and fish. They feasted upon fish when the frost killed them in the stagnant waters: nor was this prey the less acceptable for being putrid, .. the fire, they said, rendered it good. During the floods they removed to the mountains, and trusted to the chase for support;

CHAP.
XXXIV.

another tongue. The *Paicone*, altogether different. The *Chuchucupucono*, *Comobocono*, *Moubocono*, and *Mosotie*, are Moxo dialects. The *Mopeciana* and *Icabicici*, distinct tongues. The *Majiena*, not understood by any other tribe. The *Mobima*, *Cayubaba*, *Itonama*, and *Sapibocona*; .. Hervas possessed vocabularies and prayers in each, and could detect no affinity. The *Cheriba* and *Chumana*, kindred tongues. The *Rocotona*, *Orocotona*, and *Herisobocona*, kindred tongues; .. a curious fact, because the tribe who spoke the last of these dialects were a white people, with red or auburn hair, and might therefore have been presumed to be of different race. The *Muré*. The *Canisiana*. *Hervas*. 1. 4. §§ 66—73.

CHAP.
XXXIV.

the monkey was their most esteemed dainty. Gluttonous they were not, but they were profuse drinkers; and the only, or the chief employment of the women, was brewing a liquor from fermented roots. At certain times they assembled in bowers erected for the occasion, danced riotously all day long, became inebriated, and usually concluded the feast by a bloody fray. The climate, and their way of life, made them liable to many diseases, for which they had no means of cure; for they had no knowledge of any healing virtue in plants, though skilled in extracting from them a deadly poison for their arrows. Their whole system of medicine was confined to the jugglers, who fasted for the patient, sucked the afflicted part as the great remedy, and prescribed smoking tobacco at certain times; . . . perhaps they had discovered, that in an aguish region this tended to prevent disease. Simple as their practice was, an arduous course of discipline was required before any man was admitted a practitioner. They were initiated by abstaining, during a whole year, from fish and flesh; and it was necessary that the aspirant should have been attacked and wounded by a jaguar. The jaguar was the visible object of their worship: they considered him, therefore, as setting his mark upon those whom he chose to be his priests; and the affair was easily managed, inasmuch as witnesses could not be demanded for such a mode of initiation. After a long practice as suckers, by which term they were called from the mode in which they attempted to administer relief, they were raised to a higher step in the priesthood. To obtain this degree, it was necessary to undergo another year of severer abstinence, at the end of which the juice of certain pungent herbs was infused into their eyes, to purge their mortal sight, and therefore they were called *Tiharangui*, . . . they who have clear eyes. About the time of new moon the Priests, at break of day, conducted the people in silence to some high place, where, when they were

assembled, they uttered loud cries, to soften the invisible and malignant Powers of whom they stood in fear. They thus passed the whole day, fasting; when night approached the Priests cut off their hair, and adorned themselves with red and yellow feathers, in token of joy that the propitiation had been effected. Jars of liquor were brought as offerings to the Gods; they drank immoderately themselves, and gave the rest to the people, who drank and sung and danced through the night; and generally concluded the meeting with quarrels, wounds, and, not unfrequently, with deaths.

CHAP.
XXXIV.

No clothing was manufactured among them, but they were studious of ornament. Some blackened one half the face and reddened the other. They wore lip and nose-pieces, strings of the teeth and pieces of skin from the beasts which they had killed; but the teeth of their enemies were regarded as a far more precious decoration. There were some who covered the arms, knees, and head, with feathers not inelegantly disposed. Marriages were settled between the parents, without consulting the inclinations of either party. It was a singular custom, that the wife chose the place of abode, and wherever she was pleased to settle the husband took up his dwelling. They had seldom more than one wife, for which their poverty, that is to say, the scantiness of food, is assigned as a cause. Adultery in the woman was deemed infamous, and oftentimes punished with death. If the mother died the infant was buried with her; and if she had twins she buried one of them, from a notion that both could not properly be nourished at the breast. When the aged became helpless they were put to death by their children; and if any young children were left, the elder put them to death also, which they said was better than letting them live, when there was none to provide for them. Such people were not likely to treat their enemies with humanity: they tortured their prisoners

CHAP. as well as ate them, . . . a practice which seems not to have prevailed
 XXXIV. among any of the Tupi or Guarani tribes. Their burials were performed with little ceremony: the relations dug a grave, and accompanied the body thither; then divided the property of the deceased, and appeared to forget him. But the Retoroños, Pechuyos, and Guarayos, manifested their feeling for the dead by a remarkable custom: when the body had mouldered they dug up the bones, reduced them to powder, and mingling it with maize, composed a sort of cake, which they considered it the strongest mark of friendship to offer and partake. Some of the first Missionaries were regaled with this family bread, before they knew what they were eating. The Guarayos were a wild and formidable race, who hunted other tribes for food, and were believed to have no settled habitations, because the ghosts of those whom they had eaten continually persecuted them with their cries. The Tibois moulded the skulls of their new-born infants into a pyramidal shape.

Lettr. Edif.
8. 105.

*Almanach
de Lima.*

Hervas. 1.
4. § 68.

*Report of
Amazons in
the country.*

The varieties of character and manners among savage tribes, are as great as among civilized nations. The Tapacures had separated from the Moxos, with whom they had once formed one people; they had neither the strength nor the courage of other hordes; and if, at any time, they were attacked, they instantly took to flight; but they were a docile race. Their country was near the mountains which trend from East to North; and they assured Baraza, that towards the East there was a nation of women, who admitted men to visit them at a stated season in the year, killed all their male infants, and bred up the girls in warlike habits. Baraza was a man whose veracity might implicitly be relied on; and it is worthy of notice, that in this same direction Hernando de Ribera heard of the Amazons. The Canisianas were always on the hunt for their neighbours, whom they cooped and fatted for their feasts. A prisoner made his

Lettr. Edif.
8. 101—
102.
Vol. 1. p.
157.

*The Canisi-
anas.*

escape to one of the new Reductions, and reported that he had left thirteen of his countrymen in the fattening net. F. Agustin Zapata set out immediately, and offered some hatchets as a ransom for them. The proposal was joyfully accepted; and the Canisiana Chiefs, marvelling why any man should give tools of such value for an object of so little worth, enquired of the guides, whether the person who had paid this absurd price for the captives, intended to eat them. They were told that Zapata wished to make all the Indians happy, and instruct them in a good law, given by a good God, whose will it was that men should love one another like brothers, do good to all, and evil to none. Savages as they were, this was language which they could understand and feel; and its effect was such, that they immediately offered to follow the Jesuit. No other tribe, however, seem to have persisted so madly in cannibalism; for, in the Reductions, they would steal children, and even cast lots among themselves who should give up a child, . . . so devilishly did this vice possess them. It was at last found necessary to make every woman give notice to the Missionary when she was delivered, and frequently present the child to him from time to time.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Hervas. l.
4. § 73.

Baraza in the course of five years collected about two thousand of these wild people; other Missionaries were then sent to his assistance, and leaving to them the charge of his converts, he advanced farther into the country. He had now acquired a sufficient command of their languages, had accustomed himself to their manners in all lawful things, and won at once their good-will and their respect by kind offices, unweariable benig- nity, and superior knowledge. He dressed their wounds; he administered medicine to the sick; he taught them weaving, car- pentry, and agriculture; and going to Santa Cruz to obtain cattle for their use, he set out on his return with a herd of two hun-

Baraza ex- plores a way across the mountains to Peru.

CHAP. dred, and after a journey no less perilous than fatiguing, of
 XXXIV. fifty-four days, succeeded in bringing a sufficient number to
 stock the country in the course of a few years. The second
 settlement which he formed, and which was dedicated to the
 Holy Trinity, contained more than two thousand neophytes,
 who made bricks and mortar under his instructions, and built
 a church which was the wonder of all the surrounding tribes.
 Having heard that there was a pass across the mountains, which
 would materially shorten the road to Peru, from whence these
 Missions were supplied, he employed three years in exploring
 it, and at length gained the summit of the Andes, and saw be-
 fore him the low country toward the sea. He fell upon the
 ground and returned thanks to God for the successful termina-
 tion of his search: but though he had been absent twenty-four
 years from the country upon which he then looked down, and
 where there were dear friends whom he yearned to behold once
 more, such was his sense of duty, and his willingness to forego
 all earthly gratifications, that he sent some of his companions
 to announce the discovery to the nearest College, while he him-
 self returned to his station. The discovery was of great import-
 ance; for a journey of fifteen days by this route would bring
 Missionaries from Peru to the Moxos.

*He goes
 among the
 Baures.*

Baraza was near the end of his meritorious career. He had
 proceeded to the Baures, a people to the Eastward of the Mox-
 os, and the most improved of all these numerous tribes. Their
 villages were built on high places, with some regularity; each
 was a fortification, so palisadoed as to be secure against any
 sudden attack, and having loop-holes for the use of their own
 archers: as a farther precaution, pitfalls were concealed in their
 paths. The largest and loftiest building was at once their
 temple and banquetting-house, as among the Manacicas. Their
 shields were made of platted cane, covered with cotton and fea-

thers, and thus rendered arrow-proof. The women were decently clad: adultery in the female was punished with death, and also the crime of procuring abortion, so commonly practised among other tribes; here it was supposed to bring a mortal plague upon the settlement wherein it was committed, . . . a belief which not improbably may have been designedly inculcated. When a guest arrived whom they desired to honour, the women spread before him a large cotton cloth; they had the virtue of hospitality, for they had reached that grade in society of which hospitality is one characteristic; but they were noted for treachery likewise, and are said to have possessed¹⁴ a deadly knowledge of poisons. Drinking was a public concern, and therefore the plants from which their liquor was made were cultivated in a piece of common ground. The Baures were under hereditary Roy-alets, whom they called Aramas, and of whom there appears to have been one in every settlement. But the Cayubabas, a tribe resembling the Baures in other customs, had one supreme Chief, who was also the High Priest, and whose title was the Paytiti. Here then is the great Paytiti and the great Moxo, whom the early conquerors supposed to have succeeded to the Inca's treasures, and to have founded a richer empire in the centre of the continent than that which Pizarro overthrew. The more improved customs of these people were in reality the wreck of¹⁵

¹⁴ They were the only tribes who used the coca or betel, to the use of which the Peruvians are as much addicted as any of the East Indian nations. They are said to have employed it in their superstitions and witchcrafts. And they had also some ill-formed idols. *Almanach de Lima.*

¹⁵ The Lima Almanach says they killed the Jesuit-Missionary of the Reduction of S. Simon, by throwing something into his apartment which emitted a mortal vapour.

CHAP. Peruvian civilization : it is true indeed, that where the Incas introduced their arts, they established with true policy their language also ; and that no traces of that language have been detected among these tribes, though it is widely diffused among the nations of Tucuman : but this country was the last conquest of the Incas, and there had not been time to effect so great a change before the Spaniards entered Peru, and the communication ceased between that country and this remote province.

XXXIV.
Lettr. Edif.
 8. 112.
Almanach
de Lima.
Garcilaso.
 l. 7. c. 13—
 15.

1702.

Martyrdom
of Baraza.

In many of the Baures' settlements Baraza was well received, and listened to with apparent complacency. But being lodged in one which he had not visited before, his companions were alarmed during the night by a great sound of tambours ; and as they knew the manners of the people, they were instantly aware that their destruction was intended. Without a moment's delay they urged Baraza to fly ; he had scarcely attempted to leave the place, before the barbarians rushed out : he was disabled by a flight of arrows, and then dispatched with a hatchet, in the sixty-first year of his age, after having laboured twenty-seven years among the Moxos. Thus ended the meritorious life of Cypriano Baraza ; and it is worthy of remark, that the Jesuits seem never to have larded his history with miracles, as if they felt that no fables were required to exalt his character, or exaggerate the success of his labours. At the time of his death the Moxo Missions vied with the Guarani in every thing, except in population, and perhaps excelled them in some things ; certainly they were more progressive. Fifteen settlements had been formed, containing about two thousand inhabitants each, and from twenty to thirty miles apart. Each family had its portion of ground which it was required to cultivate for its own use ; and it had an allotment of cattle. There were public lands and public herds for the use of the Church and the Hospital, into which all persons were received who were past their labour. From these funds the public

Flourishing
state of the
Moxo Mis-
sions, at his
death.

expences were defrayed, and when a new establishment was to be formed, all the others contributed in proportion to their means. The Churches were large, well built, and richly ornamented; for the Spaniards of Peru encouraged these Missions, and sent costly offerings of this kind; and the Indians had made such proficiency in carving and painting, that they were thought skilful artists in that country. Maize, mandioc, rice, plantains, and other esculent indigenous plants, were cultivated with success. Cotton was raised in all the settlements, cacao in many, . . the best it is said in all America, but so unctuous, that the chocolate which is made of it becomes rancid if it be kept very long. Vanilla, copayba, and American cinnamon, are found in the woods, and the tree from which Mary's oil is extracted, . . a name implying that the greatest virtues are ascribed to it. Bees-wax, yellow and white, is found plentifully, and a sort of grey wax in ant-hills; but this is of little value. The Indians evidently possessed an activity not existing in the Guaraní Missions, where men having no individual interest in the result of their labour, wanted the strongest motive for exertion which is applicable to the mass of mankind. Here the best workmen were well drest, and even gaily, in cloth and silks, which they obtained by trading with Peru. Nothing was wanting to the prosperity of these Missions, except a better climate. But though the driest and least insalubrious spots were chosen whenever a Reduction was founded, whole Reductions have been cut off by endemic diseases: and though the women were very prolific, the civilized population would have been thus lamentably extinguished, if the Jesuits had not continually brought in fresh converts from the wilderness. Still however the work of depopulation was going on: for in their scattered and wandering modes of life the natives were only liable to the unwholesome influence of the atmosphere; but when collected into large

CHAP.
XXXIV.

*Lettr. Édif.
t. 8.
Almanach
de Lima.*

CHAP. settlements, they were exposed to infection also. On the other
 XXXIV. hand, more children were born into the world, and the practices
 of child-murder, war, and cannibalism, were abolished.

*Uncertain
 boundary
 between the
 Spanish and
 Portuguese
 possessions
 in this part
 of the con-
 tinent.*

The limits between the Spanish and Portuguese territories were as yet no where defined, except upon the side of the Plata; and even there, with such studious ambiguity on the part of the Spaniards, that there remained matter enough for future negotiation and future bloodshed. Had the demarcation of the interior been made at the same time, any imaginary line that might have been drawn would have assigned some of the richest metallic ground to Spain. But while the Spanish Jesuits were extending their settlements from Santa Cruz and Peru toward the centre of the continent, the Portuguese from S. Paulo and Minas Geraes, were pushing forward toward the same point; and before the limits became matter of discussion, these resolute adventurers occupied the debateable ground.