

CHAPTER XXXV.

Troubles in Paraguay. Usurpation of Antequera. Montevideo founded. Rebellion of the Commons. Antequera put to death. Expulsion of the Jesuits from Asumpcion. Murder of the Governor. The rebellion suppressed, and the Jesuits re-established.

The Jesuits encountered no opposition from the Spaniards in forming their establishments among the Moxos and Chiquitos. The situation of these establishments was such as not to interfere with the vile interest of the *Encomenderos*, or traders of any description. Both in Peru and at Santa Cruz they seem to have been favourably regarded by the Governors, and by the people with whom they carried on a commerce, beneficial to both parties. But, in Paraguay, the old hatred against them, which had been smothered since the affair of Cardenas, for half a century, broke out with renewed violence.

D. Diego de los Reyes, an inhabitant of Asumpcion, had been appointed Governor, somewhat to the surprize of the people, and to the displeasure of those who, till then, had been his superiors in rank. Cabals were formed, and, at length, criminal charges preferred against him by a powerful party, before the Royal Audience of Charcas. That Tribunal nominated a Judge

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1721.
*Antequera
sent to
Asumpcion
as Judge.*

CHAP. from its own body to take cognizance of the cause upon the
 XXXV. spot, but overlooked the important circumstance, that D. Joseph
 1721. de Antequera y Castro, the person appointed, had received a
 commission from the Viceroy of Peru to succeed D. Diego, when the five years of his term should have expired, and was therefore, of all men, most peculiarly interested in the cause which he was to decide. He arrived while D. Diego was visiting the Parana Reductions; the malecontents easily persuaded him to take upon himself the administration; and D. Diego, as soon as he returned, had his Commander's staff forced from him, his person was put in arrest, and proclamation made, that whosoever refused to acknowledge Antequera as Governor, should be regarded as a traitor to the King and the Country. D. Diego had friends among the men who were appointed to guard him; by their help he got out at night, in the disguise of a slave, horses were ready for him, he fled to the nearest Reduction, and embarked for Buenos Ayres, meaning to proceed to Spain, and there appeal to the Sovereign. He learnt, however, in that city, that the Archbishop of Lima, who was then Viceroy, had highly disapproved the conduct of the Audience in appointing for Judge a person who was interested in the decision; that he had annulled the proceedings, ordered the cause to be brought before his own tribunal, and had commanded Antequera to leave Paraguay. Shortly afterwards D. Diego received dispatches from Lima, reinstating him in his appointment; and as he had no suspicion that any resistance would be made to the Viceroy's authority, he set out on his return.

He takes upon himself the Government.

1722.

Charlevoix. T. 3. 3—16.

The lawful Governor, D. Diego, is compelled to fly.

But Antequera was as little scrupulous in maintaining his power, as in assuming it. He sent Ramon de las Llanas, one of his most violent partizans, with two hundred men, to arrest D. Diego on the way. The Governor was within twenty-five leagues of Asumpcion, when he received intelligence that this party was

at hand, just in time to take flight, and again save himself in the Parana Reductions. His son, D. Agustin, who had preceded him, was seized, and, though in orders, was treated with great indignity, and carried prisoner to the city. Antequera assembled the Council, told them that he had accepted the government only for the good of the province, but that it was incumbent upon him now to obey the Viceroy's decision; nevertheless, he would not do this without their consent, for it would be abandoning them to the resentment of a man, from whom he well knew what was to be expected. They required him to continue in his charge, while a fresh representation should be made to the Viceroy. The only two members, who had courage to express a different opinion, were suspended from their offices the next day; and some persons, who refused to sign the fresh charges which were now drawn up against D. Diego, were put in irons.

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1722.

Charlevoix.
3. 17—20.

There was a rumour that D. Diego was coming from the Reductions, to establish himself by means of a Guarani force. Antequera knew that he should attach a strong party to himself if he declared against the Jesuits; and believing, or affecting to believe this report, he put himself at the head of the troops, and marching nearly to the Tebiquari, dispatched letters to the Reductions, denouncing the severest threats against the Indians, if they should make any movement in favour of the deposed Governor. The Jesuit, who presided in the settlements between that river and the Parana, wrote immediately to intreat that he would proceed no farther, lest the Indians should be compelled to defend themselves against the license in which his army indulged. The letter was written in terms of cautious respect; he, in an angry reply, ordered the Magistrates of these Reductions to attend him: they were accompanied by two Jesuits, who assured him that no movement should be made from their settlements without an express order from the King, or the Su-

*Antequera
threatens
the Reduc-
tions.*

CHAP. perior Tribunals. He extorted the same promise from the
 XXXV. Guarani Magistrates, who were as much terrified by his menaces,
 1723. as they were surprized at being charged with any responsibility ;
 then he marched back to Asumpcion. There the profligacy of
 his private life attracted notice even among a licentious people,
 and his rapacity kept pace with his ambition. These latter vices
 will always find supporters in those who partake of the spoil;
 and Antequera had powerful friends in the Audience of Charcas,
 and made his cause good before a Court, which was, in no slight
 degree, accessory to his usurpation. This Court, either unwil-
 ling to acknowledge its original fault, or deceived by the attesta-
 tions which he had remitted from Asumpcion, sent him fresh
 orders, prohibiting any person, under a penalty of ten thousand
escudos, to make any change in the existing government till the
 Viceroy should make known his determination, through the
 channel of that Audience. The Audience had no intention of
 disputing the Viceroy's authority; they expressed themselves
 thus inadvertently, because they supposed that, in consequence
 of the part which they bore in the affair, the dispatches would
 naturally take this course; and they wrote to the Viceroy, inti-
 mating, that as Antequera's commission was effected, it would be
 prudent to recall him. The Viceroy made answer, that he had
 already been ordered to withdraw from Paraguay; not because
 a commission was discharged, which ought never to have been
 entrusted to him, but because of his conduct, and the troubles
 which he had excited. The Audience, he added, were already
 informed, that the charges which Antequera preferred against
 the Jesuits had been investigated at Lima, and declared to be
 calumnies; they were now informed, that D. Diego was to be rein-
 stated in his government, and ordered to facilitate his restoration
 by all means in their power.

Charlevoix.
 3. 20—25.

Antequera had eagerly interpreted the dispatches from

Charcas, to the letter, in his own favour. But when farther ad-
 vices arrived, and he found that he could no longer expect
 support from that quarter, he declared that he would maintain
 possession of the government, in defiance of any orders from
 Lima. It has been supposed, and not without strong grounds,
 that he thought to make himself King of Paraguay. Men of
 his temper derive no benefit from the experience of others; and
 knowing how loosely allegiance sate upon a people so remote
 from the Court, and from all the superior Tribunals, in a coun-
 try rendered easy of defence by its extent alone, as well as by
 all other circumstances, he might flatter himself, not altogether
 unreasonably, with hope of success. The Viceroy's orders
 were, that he should immediately leave Paraguay, and appear
 before the Audience of Lima, bringing with him copies of his
 edicts, all which were annulled. D. Diego, and they who had
 been displaced for adhering to him, were restored by these dis-
 patches to their respective offices; but that Governor was for-
 bidden to take cognizance of any proceedings against the
 persons who had contributed to depose him, this matter being
 reserved for the ordinary courts of justice. The property con-
 fiscated by Antequera was to be restored. D. Balthazar Garcia
 Ros, the King's Lieutenant of the Plata, who had formerly been
 Governor of Paraguay, was instructed to see these orders car-
 ried into effect. There might be some danger in this service;
 three other persons therefore were named in succession to un-
 dertake it in his default, and a fine of four thousand *escudos* was
 imposed upon either of the four who should refuse to accept the
 commission, without a valid reason for declining it. D. Diego
 sent a copy of his instructions to his son D. Agustin, who since
 his capture was living in Asumpcion, and charged him to notify
 them to Antequera in such a manner that the fact might be too

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*He disobeys
 the Viceroy.*

*Garcia Ros
 instructed to
 re-establish
 D. Diego.*

CHAP. public to be denied. D. Agustin took the opportunity of a
 XXXV. sort of tournament, held in the Square before the College on S.
 1723. Ignatius Loyola's eve. Antequera was present at the show ;
 and he, with two other priests accompanying him, held up the
 dispatches, and required that an assembly of the Cabildo should
 be convoked, in which he might formally present them. But
 Antequera took the papers, and neither attempting to restrain
 his anger, nor dissemble his contempt of the Viceroy's authority,
 ordered the three Priests to be confined in the sacristy of the
 Cathedral. Upon examining the papers, he found that one of
 the persons nominated to execute the orders, in case Garcia
 Ros should not be able, was D. Francisco de Arce, who was
 then in Asumpcion; he arrested this officer, exposed him through
 the city upon a lean horse without a saddle, imprisoned him,
 and confiscated his property. Then, knowing that D. Diego
 was at Corrientes, he dispatched his trusty partizan, Ramon de
 las Llanas, to seize him. Ramon embarked with two boats'
 companies of soldiers; he arrived at night, and obtained access
 to D. Diego's chamber upon the plea of having dispatches;
 thirty of his men followed, under favour of the darkness: they
 seized him and his papers, hurried him on board in his night-
 gown, as they had found him, and carried him to Asumpcion,
 where he was thrown into a dungeon, in chains. The Usurper;
 as he may now fitly be called, suspected the Jesuits had advised
 the notification of the dispatches at their festival, and this re-
 newed his animosity against them; the libels of Cardenas, and his
Procurador Villalon, the lying Franciscan, were now again brought
 forward, and a memorial was addressed to the King in the name
 of the Cabildo, recapitulating calumnies which had so often
 been confuted, and praying that the Reductions might no longer
 be under the Company's direction; but that seven of them might

*D. Diego
 seized at
 Corrientes,
 and put in
 irons.*

*Charlevoix.
 3. 25—30.*

be converted into *Encomiendas*, and the Indians from the others reserved for the use of the people of Asumpcion, who were greatly in need of them.

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*Garcia Ros
returns to
Buenos
Ayres.*

Garcia Ros having reached Corrientes, announced his approach from thence, in a letter addressed to the *Cabildo*, and to all the officers for the time being, including Antequera. Upon this a council was called of Antequera's partizans, for they had been appointed to all offices, civil and ecclesiastical; the Usurper, in a concerted scene, laid down his Governor's staff, and was required to take it up again, and continue to govern the province till the Viceroy should have nominated such a successor as they should recommend. A Captain, at the head of an hundred men, was dispatched to notify these proceedings to Garcia Ros, and warn him to quit the province, if he should already have entered it, or to abide in it at his peril. There was no demurring to an order backed by such ruffian force, and therefore he retired to Buenos Ayres; but he first visited the Parana Reductions, and lest they might be occupied by the rebels, suggested that those which were most exposed should be strengthened by detachments from the remoter settlements. But the Provincial, F. Luiz de Rocca, being there upon his visitation, prevented any measure of this kind; for Antequera, he said, upon the slightest military movements in that quarter, would execute his threat of expelling the Jesuits from Asumpcion, and delivering them to the Guaycurus, if the Guaranies should take arms against him.

*Charlevoix.
3. 30—43.*

The course of this incipient rebellion was awhile suspended by events which led to important consequences. Spain, notwithstanding the concessions which it had made at the peace of Utrecht, could brook no competitor in the Plata. It soon rid itself of the Slave-factory which had been granted to the English. In the war with England, which Alberoni provoked by his

*Disputes
concerning
the territory
of Colonia.*

CHAP. great projects of ambition, the persons, as well as property of
 XXXV. the British traders in that river, were seized, although, in case of
 1723. } hostilities, the *Assiento* expressly allowed eighteen months for
 the removal of their effects: the annual ship had made but one
 voyage at this time, and thus this disgraceful arrangement, where-
 with Harley and Bolingbroke had deluded the nation, ended in
 the ruin of those who were engaged in it. The terms with Por-
 tugal, concerning Nova Colonia, were not more faithfully ob-
 served. Colonia, indeed, was restored; but Spain would not
 admit that the question concerning its territory was decided;
 and when the Camp-Master, Manoel Gomez Barbosa, took pos-
 session of the place, the Spaniards refused to withdraw a body
 of troops from the river S. Juan, where they were posted to keep
 possession of the country. The Portugueze Commander ac-
 cepted such cession as was made, rather than give occasion of
 breaking the peace, and drew up a formal protest, that the
 claims of his Government might not be prejudiced. When com-
 plaint was made to the Court of Spain, and full restitution de-
 manded, that Court pretended that no farther extent of ground
 belonged to Colonia, than the cannon from its walls could com-
 mand. The point was debated by the Portugueze Ambassadors
 at Madrid, year after year, against a Government characteristi-
 cally pertinacious, and impenetrable to any reasoning that con-
 tradicted its own inveterate notions. They were referred to the
 Council of the Indies, and to the Council of Castille; and one
 of those Ambassadors, a man of strong sense and caustic man-
 ner, observed in his dispatches, that it would be easier to per-
 suade these tribunals, and this nation, to abolish the Inquisition,
 than to cede a single foot of ground in America to any European
 people, and, least of all people, to the Portugueze.

*Coxe's Me-
 moirs of Sir
 R. Walpole.
 Ch. 19.*

1718.

5 Nov.
 1716.

*Protesto do
 Governador
 da Colonia.
 MS.*

*Instruccion
 ao Joze da
 Cunha Bro-
 chado. 24
 May, 1725.
 MS.*

*Brochado.
 Cartas e Ne-
 gociacoes
 na sua ulti-
 ma Missam.
 MSS.*

Portugal had always believed that its share of America ex-
 tended to the Plata; nor, indeed, could any thing be more evi-

dent than this, that if it had a right to establish itself at Colonia, its claim must be equally valid to the whole territory between that point and the sea, wherever the interior limits might be drawn. Accordingly, eight years after the signature of the treaty, the Portuguese Government reasonably concluded that no right, in such cases, was so good as that of possession, and therefore determined to occupy a situation which should secure to it the country in dispute. A better choice was made than when Colonia was founded. A hill, about two hundred and fifty feet in height, shelters, in a great degree, from the West wind, the best harbour on the North shore of the Plata; it is the highest ground in that part of the land, and its name from this time became well known, having been given to the town of Montevideo, which was founded on this occasion. The harbour is of an oval shape, and very commodious. Two rivulets of good water run into it. The bottom is muddy, and so soft, that though, in the deepest part, the lead only gives three fathoms and a half, vessels of greater draught may enter at high tide without damage, and bed themselves in the mud at low water. The town, which covers the extremity of a peninsula, and is built on sloping ground, affords some shelter from the East; and the landing-place is within the Eastern point of the harbour's mouth, in perfectly still water.

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The Portuguese determine to occupy the North bank of the Plata.

Voyage to the Plata. MS.

The Governor of the Rio, Ayres de Saldanha de Albuquerque, dispatched an expedition under the Camp-Master Manoel Freitas de Fonseca, to take possession of this port, and settle a colony there. The measure would have been wise, if it had been well supported; but never was any important object more feebly attempted, or with more insufficient means. The Portuguese even seem to have calculated, in some degree, for success, upon the chance of establishing themselves before the Spaniards should be informed of their arrival; but when they entered the harbour,

They begin to fortify Montevideo.

CHAP. they found a launch from Buenos Ayres engaged in intercourse
 XXXV. with the natives. Manoel Freitas landed, with the Engineer, Pedro
 1723. Gomez Chaves, and his officers, to chuse a site for the intended
 27 Nov. settlement; and, for the sake of water, they fixed upon a spot
 at the eastern point of the harbour, though it was commanded
 by higher ground. This disadvantage they thought to remedy
 by raising their works; but it was a loose soil, they were not
 provided with fascines, and could procure none: for the country
 round consists of open downs, and the nearest wood is upon the
 river S. Lucia, twenty miles distant. They were obliged, there-
 fore, to support the parapet with some planks which happened
 to be on board a vessel bound for Colonia. These wretched
 works were hastily thrown up, under an apprehension of imme-
 diate danger; for the Indians, with whom the Spanish launch
 had communicated, manifested no friendly appearance; a dis-
 patch from Colonia warned them to be upon their guard; and,
 on the fifth day after their arrival, two hundred Spanish troops
 appeared. They encamped near the site of the intended town,
 posting centinels upon the very ground where the Portugueze, till
 then, had stationed theirs; and, after a few days, the Com-
 mandant demanded, by letter, for what reason the Portugueze
 had thought proper to fortify themselves upon the territories of
 the King of Spain.

*Requeri-
 mento de
 Manoel
 Freitas de
 Fonseca,
 MS.*

*The Spani-
 ards compel
 them to
 withdraw.*

D. Bruno Mauricio de Zavala, then Governor of Buenos Ayres, had been equally prompt and decisive in his measures. He had immediately dispatched as many troops as could possibly be got ready, and he did not rely too much upon the weakness of the Portugueze; for, perhaps, he thought it incredible that the Governor of the Rio should have attempted this measure, unless he meant to support it with an adequate force: and as he supposed that Garcia Ros would, by this time, have restored the royal authority at Asumpcion, he sent for assistance from Para-

guay. Antequera received the order, and gladly obeyed it; because it gave him an opportunity of sending away such troops as he distrusted, and this obedience might afterwards be pleaded as a proof of his loyalty. The Jesuits were also called upon for their service, and supplies of men, stores, and ammunition, arrived every day for the Spaniards; while the Portuguese, in all the misery of conscious feebleness, were proceeding hopelessly with works, which, if they could have been finished, would have afforded them no security. Their tools were bad, their means were insufficient; the expedition had been wretchedly fitted out; and when, upon the first day of the new year, they hoisted the *Quinas*, and fired a salute, the shock of their own guns threw down part of the parapet, and before they could repair the damage, a thunder-storm demolished the rest. Well might the poor Commander lament the hour in which he was ordered upon such a service. Neither aid nor instructions could be expected from the Rio, because of the distance; and Colonia was so little able to assist him, that the Governor of that place having sent him forty horse, was fain to request that ten of them might be returned, as otherwise he could not mount his own guard. Could he have made the works defensible before the Spaniards came up, he would, probably, have defended them without scruple: the celerity of their movements prevented this; and now, when they carried off, in his sight, the cattle which he had purchased for his people, so sensible was he of his weakness, that he dared not make even a show of resistance; his only hope now being, that he might not incur the double demerit of failing in the expedition, and bringing on hostilities with Spain. In this situation it was a relief to him, when he was advised from Colonia that the Spaniards were preparing to blockade him by sea as well as by land, and when the Captain of the King's ship, which had escorted him, refused to expose his vessel in the vain

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1723.

Charlevoix.
3. 33.

1724.

CHAP. attempt of defending the port. No alternative was now left
 XXXV. him, so he re-embarked his people, meaning to proceed to Co-
 1724. lonia; but the Captain, without regarding his wishes or inten-
 tions, made sail for the Rio, as soon as he had got them on
 board; and, on their arrival, Manoel Freitas and his officers were
 put in confinement by the Governor, for a failure which was
 attributable to his own misconduct, not to theirs.

*Manoel
 Freitas.
 Requevi-
 mento. MS.
 Peramas
 Agullii Vi-
 ta. § 19—20.*

*Montevideo
 founded by
 the Spani-
 ards.*

This attempt was fatal to the just claims of the Portuguese. Zavala saw the importance of the position upon which they had fixed, and was resolved not to lose the occupancy which he had gained. Sending back, therefore, half the Guaranies, he retained two thousand, with two Jesuits to superintend them, and employed them in erecting fortifications, and laying the foundations of a town, while the Portuguese confined their exertions to the humiliating task of making vain remonstrances at the Court of Madrid. A double marriage was, at that time, negotiating between the house of Braganza and the Spanish Bourbons; but this did not produce the slightest alteration in the inflexible policy of Spain. The Portuguese Minister presented memorial after memorial, requiring that the Spaniards should be withdrawn from Montevideo; but he clearly perceived that the only use of these memorials was to prevent the Spaniards from saying, at some future time, that the Court of Portugal had tacitly relinquished its claim: a plea which they would gladly have used, had it been afforded them. Meantime the works were vigorously carried on; colonists were sent out, during many successive seasons, from the ¹ Canaries; and, in a very few

*Brochado.
 Cartas e Ne-
 gociaçoens.
 MSS.*

*Peramas
 Agullii
 Vita. § 21
 —22.*

¹ The last of these colonists, a woman, by name Cabrera, died in 1787. (*Peramas.*) Charlevoix (3, 33,) is exceedingly erroneous in his account of these transactions. He says, that the Spaniards had begun to fortify Montevideo,

years, Montevideo became the most flourishing of all the Spanish settlements in these provinces, Buenos Ayres alone excepted. CHAP. XXXV.

Meantime D. Joseph Palos, who had been appointed Coadjutor of Asumpcion, arrived at Buenos Ayres on his way to that city: the Bishop was detained in Spain by habitual infirmities, which made it impossible to take possession of his See. He found Garcia Ros preparing to set out a second time on his commission, armed with proper powers for employing force if his authority should be resisted. That officer would fain have persuaded the Coadjutor to accompany him; but he, who was a man of great prudence as well as goodness, perceived how important it was to avoid exciting any prejudice which might impede the service he hoped to perform, and therefore he went no farther with him than the Falls of the Uruguay. From Los Reyes the Spanish Commander wrote to the Superior of the Reductions, requiring that two thousand Guaranies, with stores for two months, might be ready for him in six weeks on the Tebiquari; he called upon the Commandant at Corrientes to be ready with two hundred Spaniards upon the first summons, and he also summoned the militia of Villa Rica and Espirito Santo; but from these places not more than fifty men joined him, because a contagious disease was prevailing in that part of the country. He found the Guaranies punctually at the time and place appointed; Ramon de las Llanas, with two hundred of Antequera's troops, was on the opposite bank, and made no at-

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*Garcia Ros
marches
against A-
sumpcion.*

*Charlevoix
3. 36—38.*

which was the only fort remaining to them on that side of the river, and that before they had completed their works, the Portugueze came to menace them there. The account in the text is derived from a memorial drawn up by the poor Portugueze Commander, during his confinement at the Rio, and from the official correspondence of the Portugueze Ambassador at Madrid.

CHAP. tempt to oppose the passage ; but retiring a little way before
 XXXV. them, he required Garcia Ros to withdraw from Paraguay in
 1724. the name of the Royal Audience of the Charcas ; and he sent to
 Asumpcion for fresh instructions.

*Antequera
 prepares to
 oppose him.*

Antequera immediately fired a cannon as a signal for his par-
 tizans to assemble. The people did not take arms in his behalf
 with so much alacrity as he expected ; he therefore spread a
 report that he had received a letter from Garcia Ros, threatening,
 if the slightest resistance should be made, to burn the city, put
 all the men to the sword, and deliver up the women to the Gua-
 ranies of the Reductions. This villany succeeded, because
 men who are possessed with a spirit of sedition will believe any
 calumnies, however absurd, against those whom it is their duty
 to obey. A day was fixed for marching against Garcia Ros,
 and an edict appeared, in the names of all the magistracy, com-
 manding the Jesuits to quit the city within three hours. There
 were not wanting persons who proposed to batter down their
 College, and their Church, if they made the slightest demurral.
 It availed them not to plead their innocence, their common
 rights, and their peculiar privileges. The second summons was
 enforced by a body of armed men drawn up in the Plaza before
 the College : the Vicar General of the Diocese then took the
 Pix from their altar to deposit it in the Cathedral, and was fol-
 lowed by the Jesuits in procession, two and two, with tapers in
 their hands. No interruption was offered, for speculative irre-
 ligious had not yet entered South America : but as soon as they
 were returned, they were ordered by a third summons, instantly
 to leave the College, unless they chose to be buried in its ruins :
 so each man took his crucifix and his breviary, and leaving
 every thing else to their enemies, they set out to make their way
 as they could to the Reductions. That they were treated less
 brutally than on their former expulsion, must be imputed not to

*The Jesuits
 are expelled
 from As-
 sumpcion.*

*Charlevoix.
 3. 38-40.*

any melioration in the feelings or manners of the people, but to the difference of temper between Cardenas and Antequera.

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*Antequera
marches
against
Garcia Ros.*

On that same day Antequera set out to put himself at the head of his forces; all Spaniards capable of bearing arms were ordered to join him on pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of property. In such a country the summons was easily disobeyed; yet he found means to collect one of the largest forces which had ever been brought together in that part of the world, consisting of about three thousand men of all shades of colour. He left orders for strangling D. Diego publicly upon a scaffold, if tidings of his defeat should arrive; the *Alguazil-Mayor*, D. Juan de Mena, was charged with this commission, . . . and so ready was he to execute it, that he urged Antequera not to delay the act; but his advice was overruled, and his ferocious disposition controlled, by D. Sebastian Rodriguez de Arellano, who was left with the command in the city. As soon as Antequera joined the troops he promised in an harangue to reward them with the whole plunder of the Enemy's camp, and of the College, and of the Reductions, and to distribute the Indians of the Reductions among the officers and the chief families in Asumpcion. When the two armies came in sight, Garcia Ros began to distrust the Guaranies in whom his chief strength consisted; but on the other hand, when he perceived by a few shot that were fired, how ill the enemy's artillery was served, he acquired confidence, and was less upon his guard than the consciousness of his own inferiority would otherwise have made him. He wished however to avoid an action, in hope that the sense of duty might operate among the Spaniards in his favour; and Antequera, on his part, would not provoke one, because he expected to find an opportunity of attacking the Guaranies unawares, and securing a victory which would be equally easy and compleat; . . . for he knew that, under the moral discipline of the Jesuits, they were rather

CHAP. to be regarded as great children than as men. Accordingly as
 XXXV. he had anticipated, they soon began to quit their posts for the
 1724. pleasure of bathing; and as no hostile movements were going
 on, they learnt ere long to consider the opposite army rather as an
 object of curiosity, than of vigilance. Every day some of them
 drew nearer to look at it, till at length, by Antequera's manage-
 ment, they were encouraged to enter the camp, and some of
 them were brought before him. He treated them with great
 affability, and assured them that he was at least as good a ser-
 vant of the King their master, as any of those persons who were
 now making war upon him; in proof of which, he said, he
 should celebrate the King's birth-day on the twenty-fifth, with
 great rejoicings; and he advised them to do the same, and gave
 them an account of the ceremonies which would be observed by
 his people, that they might imitate or vie with them. That the
 Jesuits should have kept no better watch over their soldiers, is
 indeed surprizing; that the Spanish Commander should have
 disregarded the commonest precautions of military duty, would
 appear so, if we did not know the strange and inveterate indis-
 cipline of a Spanish army. On the day appointed, which was
 the festival of King St. Louis, the Guaranies thought of nothing
 but the holyday show; and being especially curious to see what
 would be done in Antequera's camp, they drew near for that
 purpose. He suffered them to advance so far from their own
 lines as to be beyond all chance of protection, and then slowly
 moved towards them at the head of his cavalry. The Guar-
 nies believed this to be part of the ceremony; till, to their utter
 astonishment, the Spaniards suddenly spurred their horses and
 charged them sword in hand. So little was Garcia Ros able to
 afford them any assistance, that he had not time even to save
 his papers; with only his chaplain in company, he fled full
 speed to the Reduction of S. Ignatius, hastened from thence to

*He deceives
 and slaugh-
 ters the
 Guaranies.*

Corrientes, and there embarked for Buenos Ayres. One of the officers in Antequera's army had compassion upon the miserable Guaranies, and checked the slaughter; but about three hundred were massacred in the first assault, and many were butchered in the woods on the succeeding days, by the more brutal of the enemy. The Spaniards were more intent on making prisoners; and all that were taken were shared among them as slaves. In this affair, which was as disgraceful to the one party for their negligence as to the other for their treachery, the Camp-Master of the Loyalists was mortally wounded, and the two Jesuits who superintended the Indians, were taken.

CHAP.
XXXV.
1724.

Charlevoix.
3. 40—45.

A requisition was now presented to Antequera in the name of the Province, that he should advance against the Reductions, and reduce the Guaranies to the service of the public, and of those individuals who deserved to be rewarded. The force which he had dispersed had been drafted from the four nearest Reductions, and these were the first objects of his vengeance. But no sooner was his approach known than the inhabitants fled to the woods; and when he reached N. Señora de la Fé, the first of these establishments, no person remained there except F. Felix de Villa Garcia, who met him at the entrance. This was a sore disappointment to Antequera; for some of his officers, and the Camp-Master among them, were averse to the enterprize, and he wished much to have gratified his more violent partizans, who had been in great measure induced to join him, by the hope of obtaining an allotment of slaves. Howbeit, he accommodated himself with some grace to circumstances which he could not overrule, treated the Missionary with respect, and by his means induced about an hundred families to return, protesting that he had no intention of molesting them in any way, and that he only required them to acknowledge him as Governor. For the sake of exercising this authority, he appointed

*He advances
to the Para-
na Reduc-
tions.*

CHAP. some of those who returned, to the offices of the establishment.
 XXXV. From thence he proceeded to S. Rosa, where, as in the former
 1724. instance, he found a deserted town, and the Jesuit F. Francisco
 de Robles to receive him. Antequera, seeing that his first ob-
 ject was entirely frustrated, had now thought of gratifying his
 partizans in another manner : he accosted the Missionary, there-
 fore, with a demand that the Reductions should indemnify him
 for all the expences of the war, in which they had had the teme-
 rity to engage. A Jesuit was never at a loss for a prudent an-
 swer. Robles replied, he should not oppose such a demand, but
 it was necessary that a Judge appointed by the King should
 first condemn them to this amends; and it was obvious, that
 nothing could be exacted from them while the people continued in
 the woods. Antequera was not prepared for such a reply, and
 just at this time he was informed that a body of five thousand In-
 dians, who had been collected to reinforce Garcia Ros before
 his retreat, were within a few leagues of S. Rosa, burning to
 take vengeance for their brethren. He had no inclination to
 meet a force so greatly outnumbering his own, and now in a
 temper which it would not have been easy to deceive; therefore
 he gave orders for returning immediately to Asumpcion. His
 people, thus disappointed in all their hopes of booty, committed
 havoc as they went along, destroying the few scattered habita-
 tions in the Guaranies' country, and butchering the horses and
 cattle whose owners had not had time for driving them to a
 place of safety. Antequera was received in the city like a vic-
 torious Prince returning to his beloved people. Triumphal
 arches were erected in the streets, and a soldier in his train
 trailed the royal flag in the dust. A service was solemnly
 performed for the souls of the few that had fallen on his side;
 and the wives and families of those persons who had joined Gar-
 cia Ros, were put in confinement.

*Antequera
 returns, in
 apprehen-
 sion of an
 attack.*

*Charlevoix.
 3, 45-53.*

The Coadjutor had good reason now to rejoice that he had not accompanied the military expedition. He proceeded with a small retinue; Antequera went out to receive him, and he was conducted into the city with the honours due to his rank. There, in the exercise of his spiritual functions, he soon discovered that some of the leading men were discontented with their situation, and desirous of re-establishing the lawful authority. His presence contributed greatly to restore some appearance of subordination, and he found means to inform the Audience of Charcas, and the Court, of the real state of things. Meantime a new Viceroy arrived in Peru, and one of his first measures was to direct that Zavala should go to Asumpcion with a sufficient force for reducing the rebels, send Antequera prisoner to Lima, and appoint a proper Governor. The Jesuits were instructed to supply him with any number of Indians that he might require. While Zavala prepared for the expedition, he sent advice of his orders to the Coadjutor and Antequera, saying also that he was authorized to pardon all those who should voluntarily return to their duty. Many persons pledged themselves to the Coadjutor to avail themselves of this pardon, whatever part Antequera might take: he would have prepared for resistance, but he found his schemes counteracted by the silent measures of the Coadjutor; and having then recourse to dissimulation, wrote to Zavala, and signified his readiness to submit. Yet he tried every means to recover his former ascendancy by inflaming the people, alarming them sometimes with reports that the Jesuits were bringing a force of the wild Charruas against them, and sometimes with the more probable apprehension, that Zavala would never pardon them for having seized D. Diego in a town of his jurisdiction. These schemes were so far successful, that the Cabildo presented a Memorial to the Coad-

CHAP.

XXXV.

1725.

*The Coad-
jutor goes to
Asumpcion.*

CHAP. jutor, requiring him to interfere, and dissuade the Governor from
 XXXV. entering Paraguay with an armed force. It was presented by
 1725. Ramon de las Llanas; and, perhaps, Antequera may have
 wished that this desperate rebel might engage the Cabildo in
 some act of violence against the Coadjutor. The Prelate apprehended such an intention, and avoided the danger by promising that he would advise him to enter with no other force than his guards. Ramon was now sent round the nearest settlements, to secure them in their doubtful fidelity to Antequera; but the fall of this vain adventurer was near: the Coadjutor, by means of clerical agents, was before hand with him, and feeling that the moment was come for acting decisively in the King's service, he assembled the Chapter, and issued a decree of excommunication against any person who should oppose the reception of the King's Governor. Excommunications had not been played with, as in the days of Cardenas; this, therefore, had its effect, and Antequera, with his Camp-Master Montiel, and Juan de Mena, fled down the river. Zavala advanced without opposition; and even Ramon de las Llanas, who had used every exertion to excite a resistance, found it expedient to go out, and meet him at his entrance. He brought with him, from Santa Fé, D. Martin de Barua, whom he thought a fit person to be Governor till the King should appoint one; and having established him in that office, and delivered D. Diego from prison, the general appearance of submission persuaded him that tranquillity was perfectly restored, and he returned to Buenos Ayres. The conciliating conduct which he had adopted by the Coadjutor's advice, contributed in no slight degree to this appearance; for D. Diego had been advised not to leave his house, or receive any visits, till his health would permit him to embark for Buenos Ayres; and the payment of a fine, which the Viceroy had im-

*Antequera
flies.*

*Barua ap-
pointed Go-
vernor ad
interim.*

*Charlevoix.
3. 53—69.*

posed upon those who had disobeyed his commands, was suspended till the result of the Coadjutor's intercession with the King should be known.

CHAP.
XXXV.
1726.

*Barua's
misconduct.*

It soon appeared how little the submission of this turbulent people was to be trusted. They cared little for Antequera; the Spaniards were still a jealous race of men, and his licentious manners had made him some personal enemies, and might alone have lessened him in the general opinion, even if his day of popularity had not gone by. But when a decree of the Audience, for re-establishing the Jesuits in their College, was received, the majority of the Cabildo voted that a representation against it should be transmitted to that Tribunal. Barua was inimical to the Jesuits, . . . some of his memorials against them are among the innumerable libels of this kind, which were presented to the Court of Spain, and triumphantly confuted; he therefore made no effort to carry into effect the known intentions of the Viceroy and the Court. This party was farther encouraged by the appointment of D. Bartholome de Aldunate to the Government. At this time the Jesuits were beginning to lose that favour in the Catholic Courts which they had so long possessed; and Aldunate owed his promotion to a project which he had transmitted, for establishing Spanish Corregidores in the Reductions, throwing open the trade of those settlements, and raising the same poll-tax there as upon the Indians in Peru. That part of the scheme, which promised an immediate increase of revenue, was adopted; but, before the order reached Buenos Ayres, Aldunate, for some misconduct in that city, had been suspended from all his employments. Barua thus remained with the government till another successor could be appointed; and the intention of raising the capitation was laid aside, in consequence of events which put the utility of the existing system to the test. An order came out for restoring the Jesuits; and, as a means of

*Apologia da
Companhia.
MS. § 10.*

CHAP. preventing farther disputes, the Reductions on the Parana were
 XXXV. placed under the jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres instead of Para-
 1728. guay. After many delays the expelled Religioners at length
 made a public entry; the Provincial came with them, and their
 re-establishment could not have been attended with greater cere-
 monies, if all the demonstrations of joy had been sincere. The
 Sacrament was carried back from the Cathedral to the College
 by the Coadjutor, as solemnly as it had been removed; and the
 very soldiers, who had been the instruments of expelling the
 Company, assisted now to do them honour.

*The Jesuits
 are restored.*

*Charlevoix.
 3. 69—83.*

*Antequera
 sent prisoner
 to Lima.*

Antequera, when he fled from Asumpcion, landed above Santa Fé, and made his way across the country to Cordoba, where for a time he appeared in public, and sent abroad various writings against the Jesuits. After awhile he thought it prudent to take shelter in the Franciscan Convent; but having learnt that orders for seizing him, dead or alive, were come from Lima, he escaped by night in disguise, and got to Chuquisaca, where he expected that the Audience would favour him: there he was put in irons, and sent to Lima, with his partizan Mena, who, in a like confidence, had taken the same course. Such is the capricious administration of justice under a Spanish Government, that he was detained there five years, under no other circumstance of inconvenience than that of being lodged in the prison: for he was allowed to go whither he pleased by day, about the city, and the adjoining country. During this time he did not fail to make numerous friends: men are easily inclined to think well of those who appear to be oppressed; and rival Orders eagerly accredited any representations which impeached the Jesuits, whom they hated. He found means also of keeping up a correspondence with Paraguay, and encouraging his partizans there, who were also assured of Barua's protection. This emboldened them so greatly, that when a Judge arrived from Lima with a commission

to proceed against the leaders of the late rebellion, and confiscate the property of the guilty, Ramon and Montiel, who had been permitted to return, attempted to raise an insurrection. They failed in this; Montiel absconded, and Ramon was arrested: but no sooner had the Judge departed, after having performed his commission, than both these men appeared in public, with the knowledge, and therefore manifestly not without the approbation, of Barua.

CHAP.
XXXV.
1728.

Charlevoix.
3. 83—90.

*Faction of
the Com-
mons begun
by Mampo.*

As soon as the Viceroy understood in what manner Barua was acting, he saw the necessity of removing such a Governor without delay, and dispatched D. Inigo Soroeta to supersede him. A certain Fernando Mampo, who had escaped from prison at Lima, was in Asumpcion when the news of this appointment arrived. He was one of those men who are usually among the prime movers of popular revolutions; who, being without personal courage, are audacious when they have a multitude to support them; who boast of their public virtue, while they live in the habitual breach of every private duty; and who are never at a loss for words, because they are too ignorant to understand their own ignorance, and are alike regardless of logic and of truth. Such men naturally desire to promote an order of things in which authority shall be conferred by the rabble, and loquacity and impudence be the all-sufficient qualifications. This fellow began to teach, that the authority of the Commons was superior to that of the King; he advised that, in the name of the Commons, they should refuse to admit Soroeta; and argued, that what should thus be done in the name of the collective body, could never be proved as a crime against any individual. Remote colonies tend inevitably toward republicanism: . . . his doctrine found willing disciples; the few who opposed it were designated by the invidious appellation of *Contrabandos*, while the *Comuneros* triumphantly gave the law, and proclaimed

CHAP. that they would have no Governor except Barua. Barua, mean-
 XXXV. time, had two objects in view ; . . he wished to keep his situation
 1730. as long as possible ; but he was especially anxious to avoid any
 overt act, which might one day draw upon him the punishment
 he deserved. When, therefore, letters from Soroeta came,
 stating that he had reached Santa Fe on his way to Asumpcion,
 he proposed that a deputation should be sent to welcome him ;
 but at this very time Mompo, Ramon, and Montiel, were ex-
 citing the people in the adjoining country to insurrection, and
 two officers of the faction were actually raising troops. At this
 juncture the Coadjutor, who had been absent on his visitation,
 returned to the city ; and understanding the state of things, he
 spoke to the Governor immediately after he had performed mass,
 in presence of the Chapter, the *Cabildo*, and all the clergy, told
 him he was well informed that a conspiracy was going on, and
 warned him of the specific measures which had been taken to
 forward it. Barua received this address with no good will ;
 coldly replied that he was ignorant of any such proceedings, and
 even vouched for the good conduct of Mompo and the two
 officers. Before two days had elapsed these officers approached
 the city, at the head of an armed force ; and, in reply to a mes-
 sage from Barua, forbidding them to advance, said, they had
 matters to represent, on the part of the Commons, to the Go-
 vernor and the *Cabildo*. So they entered, dispersed placards
 against the Viceroy, the Coadjutor, and the Jesuits ; and declared
 that they would not admit Soroeta, nor have any other person
 for their Governor but Barua himself.

Charlevoix.
 3. 90—92.

*Barua re-
 signs his
 office in
 fear.*

Barua, who was always calculating how to excuse himself to
 the Court, when subordination should be restored, was frightened
 by these proceedings, and resigned his office. This could only
 make the present evil worse : moderate men entreated him to
 retain his authority, till he could surrender it to his successor ;

the Coadjutor, twice, at the head of all the superior Clergy and Religioners, represented that this was his plain duty; and the more violent, who were still desirous of having a semblance of legality on their side, exclaimed that he should be compelled to resume the staff which he had laid down. At length he promised to consent, provided the Coadjutor would obtain an engagement from the Commons that they would not resist Soroeta; and they agreed to this, upon the Coadjutor's pledging himself that Soroeta should not proceed against them for any thing which had hitherto been done. Their words having been given to the agreement, they went to hear Mass. This ceremony should have been the seal of the accord; but, during the performance, some agitators succeeded in inflaming them more than ever, and they left the Church, exclaiming, with one voice, that Soroeta never should be their Governor. Barua then persisted in his resignation with undissembled fear; and the Commons, taking the authority into their own hands, began to exercise it, as authority so obtained, and in such hands, is usually exercised. They displaced the existing magistrates, elected new ones, threw into prison those persons whom they disliked, cried out that the Jesuits must be peremptorily and finally expelled, and plundered friend as well as foe. The more respectable leaders of the party were startled at these excesses, and withdrew to their estates, that they might not appear to sanction what they were unable to prevent. They left a guard over Barua, for the security of his person; and stationed another at the Town-house, where some of the new Magistrates were held in durance, because they would not consent to the expulsion of the Jesuits.

CHAP.
XXXV.
1731.

Charlevoix.
3. 92—94.

Soroeta arrives at Asumpcion, and is compelled to withdraw.

By this time Soroeta had reached the Tebiquari; there he received advises from Barua, informing him of the conduct of the Commons; and from the Coadjutor, cautioning him not to proceed without a safe conduct. A safe conduct was sent him

CHAP. by the Magistrates, and, as soon as he had crossed the river, he
 XXXV. was met by a party of about fourscore soldiers, who said they
 1731. were sent to escort him. However little he might have wished for
 such an escort, he perceived that it was intended he should not
 retreat; and the escort increased, as he advanced, till it amount-
 ed to some thousand persons. But he, being a man of pru-
 dence and of courage, demeaned himself so as neither to betray
 any mark of apprehension, nor draw upon himself any personal
 indignity. Barua had not thought proper to quit the Govern-
 ment-house. Soroeta, therefore, was conducted to private apart-
 ments, and a guard assigned him, who suffered no person to
 communicate with him in private. On the following day he
 presented his commission in the Town-house; the Magistrates
 received it, and promised obedience; but the demagogues im-
 mediately assembled the Commons in insurrection, and Soroeta
 was ordered, in their name, to quit the province. Such orders
 could not be disobeyed so safely as the King's. Before he de-
 parted he learnt how it had been concerted, with the leaders of
 the Commons, that Barua should be acclaimed Governor on the
 near festival of St. Blaise, who is one of the patron Saints of
 Asumpcion; and in taking leave of this poor intriguer, Soroeta
 said, "Adieu, Sir: as soon as my back is turned you will re-
 "sume your staff." The hint was conveyed with no friendly
 feeling; but it had its effect, and intimidated Barua from an act
 which might have drawn upon him the punishment of treason.
 Soroeta returned by land, as he came: had he gone down the
 river, as he was advised by persons who affected a concern for
 his safety, it is said that measures had been taken for destroying
 him by the hands of the Payaguas.

Charlevoix.
3. 94-96.

Barreyro
protects the
Jesuits.

It is remarkable that the Jesuits should still have been allowed
 to continue in their College. But they had good friends in
 office; and, perhaps, the thoughts of the people were for a time

drawn off them, when the disturbances had assumed the character of a contest between the Commons and the Crown. The Coadjutor had declared, that if any wrong was offered them, he would lay the city under an interdict; but when he understood that, notwithstanding this declaration, the Commons were determined upon their expulsion, he thought it better to withdraw, than expose the authority of the Church to contempt. He acted wisely in this, for he was greatly and generally respected; he had made no personal enemies, though he never shrunk from the performance of his duty; and it may be, that the Commons did not proceed with violence, as they had intended, because they hoped that this moderation might induce him to return. The Jesuits had also a protector in D. Joseph Luis Barreyro, whom the prevailing faction had chosen to be one of the *Alcaldes*, and now, having intrusted the Government to a Junta, appointed him to be its President. Barreyro was bold, subtle, and loyal at heart. He thought the best service which could be effected, would be to rid the province of Mompo; and decoying this demagogue to the Tepiquari, he there arrested him in the King's name, and sent him prisoner to Buenos Ayres: from thence he was ordered to Lima for trial; but he escaped on the way, and taking refuge in Brazil, was heard of no more. Barreyro maintained his authority a few months after this act of vigour; but when he would have brought some other criminals to justice, and had condemned them to death, the Commander of the troops declared against him; and after vainly endeavouring to resist force by force, he was compelled to leave the city, and after many dangers effected his escape to the Reductions. The Commons did not yet expel the Jesuits, though they sought to make them withdraw by means of insults, and perpetual vexations. But they were not long without a protector; for the

CHAP.
XXXV.
1731.

*He arrests
Mompo.*

*He is com-
pelled to fly.*

*Charlevoix.
3. 96—102.
P. Geronimo
Herran.
Lettr. Edif.
9. 164.*

CHAP. Coadjutor was encouraged to return, and his presence again
 XXXV. restrained the populace.

1731.

*Antequera
 condemned
 and put to
 death.*

The Viceroy had little expected that his authority would be so openly defied at Asumpcion; and learning, upon Soroeta's return, that Antequera and Mena still continued, through their partizans, to influence that unhappy city, he threw them into strict confinement, and hurried on the proceedings against them, which had been so long suspended that the prisoners apprehended no danger from the result. They were found guilty of sedition, rebellion, and treason, and condemned to death. Antequera was taken from prison upon a horse caparisoned with black, and a crier went before, proclaiming his crimes. Two scaffolds were erected in the great square, one higher than the other; upon the more elevated one he was to be beheaded, and Mena to be strangled on the other. Antequera was exceedingly penitent as soon as his fate became certain; but the justice of his sentence was not so readily admitted by others as by himself. The Jesuits had many enemies in Lima, and he had made many friends: moreover there seemed capriciousness at least, if not injustice, in leaving his cause so long undecided, and then, after many years, during which he had scarcely been subjected to the forms of confinement, condemning him to death for an offence, of which the whole nature, extent, and magnitude, had been known from the first. The streets, therefore, were filled with a tumultuous multitude when he was brought out; loud cries of indignation were set up; a Franciscan mounted the scaffold, and stood there, crying out "Pardon!" with all his might; even the least intemperate of the mob repeated this call, and there appeared a determined intention of rescuing the prisoner. Against this danger the Viceroy had provided, by sending for a detachment of troops from the port: and when the tumult increased, he

himself rode to the place of execution. His presence only irritated the people; stones were thrown at him, and seeing the necessity of instant decision, he gave orders to fire upon Antequera, who was still on horseback: he fell instantly, and expired in the arms of the Religioners who were attending him. Two Franciscans, actively engaged in the insurrection, were marked and shot; this effectually intimidated the multitude, and not a murmur was heard when Antequera's body was decapitated, and the head held up. Mena was then brought from prison: the executioner who should have strangled him was not to be found; but this occasioned no delay, for the Viceroy had him beheaded.

CHAP.
XXXV.
1731.

Charlevoix.
3. 102—
107.

The people of Asumpcion, though they had not manifested any strong attachment to Antequera while he was living, were both alarmed and exasperated at his execution. His daughter, the widow of Ramon de las Llanas, and then in mourning for him, threw aside her weeds, and went abroad in her richest attire, saying it did not become her to wear any marks of sorrow for a father, who had suffered so gloriously in the service of his country. Antequera and Mena were now publicly eulogized as martyrs for liberty. A meeting was held in the Town-house, where it was decreed that the Jesuits should immediately be sent down the river; that all persons who had deserted the part of the Commons should be put to death; that guards should be set upon the Coadjutor, to prevent him from quitting his house, or showing himself to the people; and that no person, on pain of death, should publish the excommunication and interdict with which he had threatened them. The first of these resolutions was immediately executed; the College was broken open and pillaged, and the Jesuits driven out, and compelled to embark, without allowing them time to deposit the Sacrament in safety, or take their breviaries on this occasion. The Coadjutor, or Bishop,

The people of Asumpcion are incensed at this, and again expel the Jesuits.

CHAP. as he should now be called, (for at this time he had succeeded to
 XXXV. the See) would have accompanied them in their banishment, had
 1732. it been in his power; he would fain, he says, have shaken the
 dust from his sandals at the gate of the city, and leaving it
 accursed for ever, have departed finally from a province, which
 was worse than Gomorrah. But though he was himself under
 duress, he found means of having the excommunication pub-
 lished: the rebels did not execute their menace, but they stopt
 their ears while it was read, supposing that they should not be
 bound in conscience by censures which they did not hear; and
 when he ordered the bells to be rung, for announcing the inter-
 dict, they surrounded the tower, and suffered no person to ap-
 proach. This casuistry did not satisfy the troops; and when an
 alarm was spread, that the Guaycurus were approaching in great
 force, they declared that they would see the city destroyed, and
 not lift a hand in its defence, unless the interdict and excommu-
 nication were taken off. The Bishop consented, on condition
 that the parties concerned should swear, in the presence of the
 Sacrament, that they would not again violate the immunities of
 the Church. These mutual concessions were made: the Guay-
 curus retreated when they saw the preparations for attacking
 them, and the city remained in a state of anarchy. Barua no
 longer acted as Governor; and the men, who had rashly ac-
 cepted offices of authority under the Commons, found that po-
 pular favour is as inconstant as the wind, and as little reducible
 to rule or reason.

*Letter of
 the Bishop
 in Charle-
 voir.*

*Pieces Jus-
 tif. clxi.*

*P. Herran.
 Lettr. Edif.
 9. 171.*

*Charlevoix.
 3. 110—
 115.*

*Intrigues of
 the Bishop
 of Buenos
 Ayres with
 the Com-
 mons.*

Zavala, meantime, was taking defensive measures, till he could
 act more decisively. The Guaranies were ordered to defend the
 Tebiquari, lest the insurgents should attack the Reductions; and
 the Commandant at Corrientes was instructed to reinforce them
 with some Spanish troops. But the people there had entered
 into an alliance with the Commons: they seized the Commandant,

put him in irons, hand and foot, and sent him to Asumpcion; and having received succours from that city, they attempted to secure an important position in the rear of the Guaranies; but their purpose was foreseen, and prevented. The people of Corrientes were ardent in their new cause: they sent deputies to Buenos Ayres, to require that the form of government which they and their allies had established, should be recognized and approved by the King, as being for his service. It appears, indeed, that whatever might be the views of the leaders, the people, amid all their excesses and acts of rebellion, still regarded rebellion as a crime, and sought to conceal from themselves that they were rebels. The Bishop, who understood this feeling, and relied upon it, as soon as he knew that a Governor had been appointed, endeavoured to prepare the way for his reception; the Camp Master Montiel, and other persons of considerable influence among the soldiers, were well disposed to co-operate with him, and the Commons began to fear the overthrow of their power. They were, however, at this time, about to bring forward a personage of considerable importance in their favour, who had not yet appeared in these transactions. This was P. Fr. Juan de Arregui, Bishop-elect of Buenos Ayres, who was coming to Asumpcion to be consecrated by the Bishop of that diocese. Arregui was a Franciscan, and decidedly in favour of the insurgents, . . . in consequence, perhaps, of the envious ill-will borne by his order against the Jesuits. On his arrival, he proposed to Palos that they should exchange sees, saying this arrangement would doubtless be agreeable to the Bishop of Paraguay, now that circumstances had rendered him unacceptable to the greater part of his flock. This impudent proposal was made in the assembly of the Commons; they testified their approbation by clamours; the whole faction took up the cry, and said that Arregui should be their Bishop; but Palos, with his

CHAP.

XXXV.

1732.

CHAP. characteristic firmness, disappointed the project, by declaring
 XXXV. that he never would consent to such a measure: and that if
 1732. Arregui did not, upon that assurance, allay the tumult which he
 had raised by so unwarranted a scheme, he would not consecrate
 him, but would excommunicate all who had been engaged in
 exciting the disturbance, and interdict the city.

Charlevoix.
 3. 115—
 122.

Ruiloba
appointed
Governor.

Arregui, though baffled in this project, chose to linger in Asumpcion, instead of returning to his own diocese, and he openly encouraged the Commons; but he was of some use, when the Commons themselves, splitting into parties, were on the point of taking arms one against another; his influence, with that of the Bishop, was then successfully exerted, and prevented bloodshed. Things were in this state when the new Governor, D. Manuel Agustin de Ruiloba, arrived upon the Tebiquari: he was met there by Deputies from the Cabildo, by the President and Chiefs of the Commons, and by the Bishop of Buenos Ayres. The Bishop of Asumpcion remained in the city, that it might not be said he had sought the first opportunity of prejudicing the Governor, and advising the measures which were likely to be taken. Ruiloba, as he apprehended, was deceived by the honours which were paid him, and the readiness with which his authority was recognized. He was heard with silence, and, as he supposed, with respect, when he declared that the name of the Commons, being a rebellious appellation, must be used no longer; and no opposition was expressed, when he deprived some of the chief military officers of their posts. But he did not venture to move the restoration of the Jesuits; and the Provincial, whom he consulted by letter upon that subject, agreed with him that things were not ripe for such a measure, and that nothing was endangered by delay. Ruiloba thought this concession to the popular feeling would win him the general good will; but the Commons had only dissembled their deep resentment; and

July 27.
 1733.

the officers whom he had dismissed, raised troops against him in open war. He advanced to give them battle. When the armies were opposed to each other, one of the insurgents came forward, and, in a loud voice, called upon all who acknowledged the Commons, to arrange themselves under its banners. The summons was obeyed by all Ruiloba's people, except a few of the principal officers. The collected force then moved towards him; he took off his hat as they drew nigh, and exclaimed, *Viva el Rey!* but he was answered by *Muera el Gobernador!* . . . an exclamation which proved that his death had been determined. One Ramon de Saavedra fired, and missed him; a troop of horsemen, cowardly as they were cruel, then beat him from his horse with the but-end of their carabines; Gabriel de Delgado cleft his head with a sabre, as he lay on the ground; and many swords were plunged into his body at the same time. His son, a Mercenario Friar, was present at the butchery, and absolved him as he expired. One of the *Regidores* also was murdered; others were saved from the like fate by the Bishop of Buenos Ayres. They stript the dead body, and were hardly prevailed upon by the least inhuman of their own party, to allow it christian burial.

The Rebels now appointed the Bishop of Buenos Ayres Governor; the appellation of the Commons was changed for that of the General Junta; and D. Juan Ortiz de Vergara was chosen president, with the title of Defender. Here, indeed, the chief authority was vested; and the ambitious Bishop soon found himself a helpless and miserable puppet in their hands, compelled to issue edicts against the loyalists, and to subscribe and sanction acts which he abhorred, and yet had not courage to resist. Repenting now of the part which he had taken, and listening, at last, to his faithful adviser, the Bishop of Asumpcion, he found means to withdraw; for it was necessary, he pleaded, that he should go to his own diocese, if it were only to deposit

CHAP.
XXXV.
1733.

He is murdered by the Insurgents.

Charlevoix.
3. 122—
130.

Subjugation of the Insurgents.

CHAP. in sure hands the memorials for the Court, which he had drawn
 XXXV. in justification of the people of Paraguay. On his arrival at
 1733. Buenos Ayres he was summoned to answer for his conduct, both
 before the Royal Audience at Lima, and the Council of the
 Indies in Spain. He pleaded his great age, being fourscore and
 two, as discharging him from either journey; and the plea would,
 probably, have been admitted, if death had not soon removed
 him beyond the reach of earthly tribunals. Zavala, mean time,
 as soon as he was informed of the last insurrection, and its atro-
 cious circumstances, prepared to take effectual means for sup-
 pressing it. He had been appointed Governor of Chili, and
 President of the Royal Audience in that province; but he con-
 sidered this as a business of too much importance to be left
 unsettled, especially as a war with Portugal was apprehended;
 and, in that case, his successor, when he should arrive, would
 find full employment at Nova Colonia. But, for this reason, he
 could not weaken the military force at Buenos Ayres; he took
 with him, therefore, only an escort of forty men, and five cavalry,
 trusting to the Reductions, and to the troops which he might
 collect on the way. At Corrientes, where he landed, the inha-
 bitants, guilty as they had been, submitted with little difficulty;
 for they relied upon the known mildness of his character. By
 this time the natural consequences of popular revolution had
 been felt in Asumpcion: wealth, birth, and respectability of any
 kind, were regarded with envy and hatred by those who were
 destitute of all, and served only to mark the possessors for insult
 and danger. The Junta, however, sent out two hundred of their
 partizans to raise the province: they displayed the royal standard
 against the King's Governor, and they took post at Tabati. But
 the rebel army retreated before a detachment of Zavala's force,
 under D. Martin de Echaury; and that officer, pursuing them
 closely, cut off the rear guard, with the artillery and ammuni-

tion, and captured most of the leaders. Only six of the Junta escaped: a reward was offered for apprehending them, and four were in consequence delivered up; the others fled into Brazil, and there concealed themselves. Three were condemned to be hanged; but, as no executioner could be found to perform the sentence, they were shot. One of Ruiloba's murderers, and the man who had murdered the *Regidor* at the same time, were condemned to be hanged, and afterwards broken on the wheel; but, because of the contrition which they expressed, the sentence was changed for one less ignominious, and they also were shot. Another of the murderers was apprehended in Asumpcion, and hanged there; and a few of the most criminal were publicly flogged. No resistance was now offered to the recall of the Jesuits, and they made their entry with the honours of a procession to meet them, and *Te Deum* for their arrival. The Rector prudently declared, that he required no restitution of the plundered effects of the Company, from those who were not rich enough to make it; and that they who were should be left wholly to their own conscience, for no process would be instituted against them. Zavala now appointed D. Martin de Echauri Governor; and leaving the province in perfect tranquillity, set out for Chili: but he died at Santa Fe, upon the road, greatly and deservedly lamented by the Spaniards.

CHAP.
XXXV.
1734.

Charlevoix—
3. 130—
149.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Danger from the Negroes in Minas Geraes. Mines of Cuyaba discovered by the Paulistas. Disturbances there. Attempts to check the spirit of adventure. Administration of Gomes Freyre. Capitation introduced. Discovery of diamonds, and laws respecting them. Disputes with Spain. Siege of Nova Colonia.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
1720.

*D. Lourenço
de Almeida
Governor
of Minas
Geraes.*

*15 January,
1724.*

*Fifths
established.*

D. Lourenço de Almeida succeeded, under favourable circumstances, to the Government of the Mines. He came out with doubtful instructions, given him under an apprehension that the people might be ready to resist his authority, or, perhaps, actually engaged in a formidable rebellion. He found them intimidated by the fate of the ringleaders in the insurrection, and perfectly submissive to whatever might be the will of the Court. The act, therefore, for establishing the fifths, was promulgated at a meeting of all the magistrates, officers, and chief persons of the various towns, held at Villa Rica, in the Church of S. Quiteria. The royal Smelting-house was to open on the first of October, and to stamp the gold during four months, without fifthing it, that no person might suffer by paying fifths for gold, which had been collected while the commutation subsisted. The commutation was to be paid up till the fifthing should begin,

making, with what was due at the time of this meeting, a term of eighteen months; and it was thought better, for the purpose of saving unnecessary trouble, that the assessment should be made for raising the whole by one payment, rather than by two.

A Mint, at the supplication of the *Camaras*, was to be opened at the same time. The King, it was said, conceived this to be the greatest mark of favour which he could bestow upon the people; and a hope was expressed, that this mint would exceed all others in reputation, for the perfect integrity of its dealings, as it was to be established and directed by the Superintendent-General, Eugenio Freire de Andrade, in person. The Act of Promulgation is remarkable for its ostentatious loyalty; the Speakers throw themselves prostrate at the feet of his Majesty, to acknowledge his great bounty; and the Notary ¹ extols, in the highest language, the obedience, honour, and loving services of the people.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
1724.

Forma, &c.
Pinheiro
Collection.
Vol. 1.
No. 25. MS.

The people of the Mines had escaped a danger which, in all likelihood, was provoked by their own barbarity. The Negroes had formed a conspiracy for massacring all the Whites, on Holy Thursday: an officer discovered the scheme in time; and, perhaps, in consequence of the discovery, so many Negroes took to the woods, that the same evil was apprehended which had been experienced in Pernambuco, and an establishment of *Capitaens do Matto*, or Bush Captains, was instituted. These officers already existed in other parts of Brazil, and the regulations

Danger
from the
negroes.

Ordem. 12
Jan. 1719.
MS.

¹ The person, whoever he was, from whose copy of this act the transcript in my possession was made, was not so well satisfied with it as the majority of the Miners appear to have been. His opinion is expressed in the title which he has affixed to it, . . . "*Forma com que se estabeleceu a Caza da Moeda das Minas, . . . out para melhor dizer, a sua perdiçam, como se tem visto, ve, e vera.*"

CHAP. which were now enacted for them shew, that they were almost
 XXXVI. as dangerous to the community, as the justifiable marauders
 1724. whom it was their business to extirpate. A reward of four
oitavas was to be paid them for every Negro, Mulatto, or Slave (a
 word which, notwithstanding the laws, must here be synonymous
 with Indian) apprehended within a league of any town, *Arrayal*,
 or settlement, where the *Capitam Mor*, *Sargento*, or Bush Cap-
 tain resided; but such persons were not to be apprehended,
 except at the desire of their owners, unless they came from
 another district. For every one taken more than a league off,
 and within two days' journey, the head-money was eight *oitavas*;
 if at more than two days' journey, and within four, it was in-
 creased to twelve; to sixteen, for a distance from four days to
 eight; and for any farther distance the sum was twenty-five. If
 more than four Negroes were found in a *Quilombo*², with their
 huts, vessels for peeling rice, and means of subsisting themselves
 there, it was considered of so much importance to destroy one
 of these settlements before it acquired strength, that the head-
 money was increased to twenty *oitavas*. A Negro, when taken,
 was to be examined by the *Juiz Ordinario*, without delay, or by
 the head of the district, in his absence; if he was found to be a
 runaway, he was to be put in the prison, where there was one,
 or otherwise held in safe custody, and immediate notice given to
 his owner to redeem him, upon payment of the reward. This

Laws
 respecting
 fugitive
 slaves.

Regimento
 dos Capitaens do
 Matto.
 MSS. 17
 Dec. 1722.
 § 1.

§ 2.

§ 3.

§ 4.

² Antonio de Moraes Silva, in his Dictionary, explains this to mean a house, or habitation, belonging to the Calhambolas, or Bush Negroes, in the woods, or the wilderness; but, from the words of the *Regimento*, it evidently means more than this, . . . probably a rude fortification, like the Mocambo of the Pernambuco Maroons. Both words have a family complexion, and are certainly African, . . . Angolan, I believe.

reward naturally gave rise to a new trade of kidnapping: to prevent which, the Bush Captains were prohibited from going beyond their own district, in pursuit of Negroes, without a special order from the Governor. The general patents which some of them possessed were annulled, because of the injury, confusion, and disorders, which had resulted from them; and the Governor was to be informed if any of these Bush Captains made a practice of catching Negroes, who were not runaways. They had devised another mode of roguery, which was to detain the Negroes, and profit by their work; therefore, if a Negro were not produced within fifteen days after his apprehension, the Bush Captain was not only to lose the reward, but to pay the owner the value of the slave's daily labour, from the time of his capture. Knaves in this occupation, who liked their own ease, used, instead of going in search of Negro fugitives, to pay Negroes for running away, and coming to them. This fraud could only have been practised upon humaner masters. As a prevention, the Magistrates were instructed not to let the Bush Captains reside constantly in any town, or *Arrayal*, but to keep them on their duty in the woods. If they fell in with the Chief of an exploring party (*Capitam Mor das Entradas*), they were required to obey him; but their gains were still to be their own. And whereas some of these men had behaved with great cruelty when they captured a *Quilombo*, such conduct was reprehended; only in case of resistance they were authorized to exert what the law here curiously called, the natural right of defence; if they acted otherwise, cognizance was to be taken of their conduct. This mild denunciation was not likely to be so effectual as a sense of interest; the head-money for a Negro slain in the attack of a *Quilombo* was six *oitavas*, whereas it was twenty if he were taken alive; yet the ferocity of these Captains sometimes prevailed over their love of gain.

CHAP.
XXXVI.

§ 5. 6.

Addicam.
§ 1.

§ 9.

§ 8.

CHAP.

XXXVI.

*Jealousy of
the people of
colour.**Ordem.
27 Jan.
1728. MS.**Ordem.
13 Jan.
1731. MS.**Ordem.
27 Jan.
1726. MS.**Ordem.
26 Oct.
1722. MS.**Improved
method of
mining.**RochaPitta.
8. § 66.*

The great importation of Negroes into this Captaincy, occasioned fears which were not felt in any other part of Brazil. The free Blacks and *Bastardos* had been formed into a separate company of *Ordenanza*, at Sabara; an order came out to forbid this in future, and to mix them with white soldiers, that they might be the better kept in subjection. Soon after, a second dispatch recommended, that all the inhabitants of the district should be added to these corps; and the practice was again prohibited, as being highly prejudicial to the state, and highly dangerous to the tranquillity of the people. For the same reason, because of the prevalence of people of colour, no person, who was a Mulatto within the fourth degree, might be chosen *Vereador*, *Juez Ordinario*, or hold any office in the municipal government of the towns in Minas Geraes; nor any person, who was not either married to a white woman, or the widower of such a marriage. Such fears were not acknowledged in the other Captaincies. The Governor was required to make a regular report of the state of his province to the Governor General; and even if nothing had occurred, he was to let him know that there was nothing to be reported.

The method of mining had now undergone a considerable alteration, introduced by some natives of the mother country. Instead of opening *catas*, or searching places by hand, and carrying the *cascalho* from thence to the water, they conducted water to the mining ground, and washing away the mould, broke up the *cascalho* in pits, under a fall of the water, or exposed it to the same action in wooden troughs. A great expence of human labour was thus spared; but, as soon as the advantage was well understood, the *Poderosos* took possession of the water-courses, and diverted them to their own grants. Persons of less influence were then obliged either to purchase water from these great men, at an exorbitant rate, or pursue the old manner of

working. There are many things in which the Brazilian manners resemble the worst parts of the feudal system; but, in the Mines, there had been no time for manorial rights of this nature to be established, and the attempt to arrogate them became a more frequent cause of disputes and litigation, than any other grievance. At length the *Guarda Mor*, Garcia Rodriguez Paez, represented the matter to the Court, and requested that some regulations might be made for putting an end to the continual acts of injustice, and consequent contention, which arose from this practice. A power of deciding summarily in such cases was requisite; because, while suits were pending at Bahia, or, perhaps, at Lisbon, the Mines remained unworked, and the revenue suffered. The *Guardas Menores*, therefore, were empowered to allot the water, according to the means of the miners; and an appeal lay from them to the Superintendent of the *Comarca*. No person might appropriate the waters of a stream without a written licence from the *Guarda Menor*; and that license was null if he had no grant to work, or no slaves wherewith to work it: for there were persons who, having neither ground nor hands in this employ, used to get possession of the water, and thus prevent others from working, unless they purchased the use of the stream. Custom, however, conformably to justice, was allowed to establish it as lawful for those, who brought water-courses upon the mining-ground at much expence, to dispose, in that case, of the water. If a spring was found, upon digging in a grant, it belonged to the grantee. The surplus water from any reservoir which the miners made, was at the *Guarda Mor*'s disposal. Even the water which fell from Heaven was matter of litigation, and the *Guarda Mor* was obliged to mark out the limits within which each miner had a right to collect it for his use.

CHAP.
XXXVI.

Laws respecting water.

Regimento das Agoas. 24 Feb. 1720. MS.

Advance of salaries.

The attention of the Portuguese Government was now parti-

CHAP. XXXVI.

Ordem.
4 July,
1718. MS.

Provisam.
16 May,
1722. MS.

Ordem. 23
Dec. 1723.
Do.
29 July,
1726. MSS.

Do.
28 July,
1723. MS.

Do.
27 Oct.
1739. MS.

cularly directed to this part of Brazil; and if justice was not administered there with purity, it was neither for want of good laws, nor of jealous regulations. The Governor's salary had been fixed, in Silveira's time, at eight thousand *cruzados*; that of the *Ouvidores* at five hundred *milreis*; that of the Secretaries of Government at four hundred, payable in gold coin, not in *oitavas*: a specification which was always made in the Governor's commission. Four years afterwards the Governor's salary was raised one-third, making it about twelve hundred pounds. All offices, however, then existing in Brazil, or thenceforth to be erected, except such as were proprietary, were to be purchased from the Crown; and the deputies who served proprietary offices were, at the end of the year, to pay into the treasury, each a third part of the gross profits of the place; but from this, offices which did not render more than two hundred *milreis*, were afterwards exempted. The sale of judicial offices in France, and of commissions in the English army, has been found to produce no practical inconvenience, because in both countries the power of purchasing implies that the purchaser is of that class of society in which a proper sense of honour is always to be presumed: but such a system can never be adopted with impunity by a people, among whom public opinion has no influence, and the standard of honour is debased. At the end of their term the Governors and Judges were subject to a severe enquiry under a special commission; the remedy introduced an evil as great as that which it was intended to correct, and the history of Spanish America is full of instances of the enormous abuse of the inquisitorial power with which these commissioners were entrusted. The Governor of Minas Geraes was charged to see that such commissioners received no emoluments of any kind within his jurisdiction. No Intendant might succeed another to whom he stood related within the fourth degree, lest there should be any collusion be-

tween them. Ministers and officers of the courts of justice were forbidden to act as *Procuradores* in any cause which should be brought before any tribunal; their wives and children also were under the same prohibition; nor might they present memorials in any cause, nor give letters of favour. It had become a practice for creditors to make over their debts to the servants of the Governor, that thus through his favour they might obtain payment before other claimants;.. the Governors were charged to prevent this mode of injustice. Persons holding judicial offices in the conquests were forbidden to marry without special permission from the King; if they disobeyed the injunction, they forfeited their situations immediately, and were to be compelled to embark in the next fleet for Portugal. The courts of justice must have been dreadfully corrupt, when so many precautions against undue influence were required. The power also of the Governors and inferior Commanders was frequently abused. The *Capitaens Mores*, in whom no such authority was vested, took upon themselves to imprison persons, or release them. This the Court forbade by an express order: and when the Governor had thrown a man into prison for forming a combination to defraud the revenue by keeping the bidding low when the import duties were let by auction, he was reprimanded, and admonished that the offender ought not to have been confined before a process against him had been instituted according to law. It was found, that private letters were intercepted and opened, under pretext of discovering what persons were engaged in the clandestine exportation of gold: the Governors were forbidden to continue this practice, because, it was said, nothing could be more shameful than thus to lay open private secrets and private affairs without urgent cause. These orders indicate a proper sense of equity and honour in the Portugueze Government: but its practice corresponded little

CHAP.

XXXVI.

Ordem. 16
Jan. 1723.
MS.

Do.
25 June,
1728. MS

Carta Regia,
27 March,
1734. MS.

Ordem. 12
April, 1725.
MS.

Do.
5 July,
1725. MS.

Do.
16 Feb.
1733. MS.

CHAP. to these principles; and men who knew how the laws were
 XXXVI. despised and the course of justice perverted at home, might well
 suppose, that their mal-administration in so remote a part of the
 colonies would expose them to little inconvenience, if they had
 good interest at Lisbon.

*Restrictions
 upon emi-
 grating to
 Brazil.*

*Lcy. 20
 March,
 1730. MSS.*

*Ordem. 14
 April, 1732.
 Do.
 20 Feb.
 1733. MSS.*

*Discovery of
 the Mines of
 Cuyaba.*

The discovery of the Mines had occasioned a great increase³ of activity and wealth, notwithstanding the loss of the sugar-trade which it had occasioned, and the jealous restrictions by which the commerce of Brazil was now fettered. These restrictions were now exceedingly severe. Not only were all foreigners forbidden to enter the country, but no person whatever might embark for it, unless he were appointed to an office there; he might then take with him only such number of servants as should be deemed necessary, and all these were to be Portuguese. Portuguese going on business must have passports; and of the clergy, none were allowed to embark except Bishops, Missionaries, Prelates, and Religioners of Orders already established in that state, and belonging to that province; ships were of course permitted to carry each a Chaplain. No women might embark without the King's permission, except wives who accompanied their husbands.

The Paulistas, outnumbered as they were in Minas Geraes by the influx of people from other Captaincies and from Portugal, submitted to the loss of their ascendancy with more moderation than might have been expected from so resolute and lawless a race, especially as they had some cause to complain of ill

³ It appears by a memorial from the British Factory at Lisbon, to the Board of Trade, dated July 31, 1715, that within the thirty preceding years, the woollen trade to Portugal had increased two parts in three; and this increase was ascribed to the improvement of the Portuguese trade to Brazil, and the great quantity of gold brought from that country. *Walpole Papers. MSS.*

treatment from the *Forasteiros*, and partiality from the Government. They were perhaps gratified by having their country formed into a separate Captaincy, and their capital made a City; and being impatient of inaction, it was not long before they hunted out new mines of gold in a remoter part of the interior. It was in the very centre of South America that the Paulista, Pascoal Moreira Cabral, discovered the mines of Cuyaba, . . . mines, which long ere that time would have fallen to the Spaniards of Paraguay or S. Cruz, had they possessed half the enterprize and activity of the Brazilians. The Paulistas at this day follow the same route to Cuyaba as the first settlers, and it is still a journey of great difficulty and considerable danger. The adventurers embark in canoes at Villa do Porto Feliz, about eighty miles West of S. Paulo, upon what was formerly called the Anhembi, now the Tieté, which is said to mean, the river of many waters: its navigation is interrupted by nearly fifty falls and rapids, at some of which a portage is necessary, and others can only be past with half cargoes and at great risk. The Tieté rises in the mountains on the coast, behind the towns of Santos and S. Sebastian: its course is estimated at seven or eight hundred miles. The woods through which it flows afford abundance of fruit, . . . among others the *Jataiz*, the produce of a singularly useful tree; its bark being thick and tough, is used both by the Indians and the Sertanejos for canoes, better fitted for rough river navigation than if they were composed of firmer materials; the timber, because of its hardness and durability, is preferred for the Sugar Works, and from its roots the Indians procure a resinous substance in great abundance which they burn for lamps, and of which they make ear and lip-trinkets, resembling amber. Fish of excellent quality abound there, and of such great size, weighing even when dried from forty to sixty pounds, that it has become a trade to cure them for sale. The

CHAP.
XXXVI.

*Method of
travelling
from S.
Paulo to
Cuyaba.*

The Tieté.

CHAP. Tieté falls into the Parana, where that great river is about two
 XXXVI. miles wide; and the travellers falling a little way down the
 stream, make for the Rio Pardo, which joins it from the north.
The Rio
Pardo. This river they ascend almost to its source, a voyage of about
 two months, and rendered difficult as well as tedious by the
 force of the current and the number of falls and rapids. The
 water is remarkably clear and good, and is supposed to derive
 great virtue from the sarsaparilla which grows upon its banks:
 the want of fruit along its course is compensated by the abun-
 dance of honey and of game; but there is danger in pursuing
 the chace to any distance from the boats, for the Caiapos, a
 race of unsubdued and wily savages, possess the country. This
 part of the journey ends at a place called Sanguisuga, .. either
 because leeches abound there, or for the labour which there be-
 comes necessary, and the expence which must be incurred.
 Here the canoes are mounted upon wheels, and drawn by six or
 seven yoke of oxen; the cargoes are packed in carts, or upon the
 backs of Negroes and hired labourers; and in this manner the
 party proceed, with an armed escort to protect them against the
 Caiapos, a stage of some ten miles, to an establishment formed
 for the purpose of facilitating this portage, and called Capa-
 moan, from the little river upon which it stands. This is consi-
 dered the half way point, and here the travellers lay in stores
 for the remainder of the journey. They re-embark here and
 descend the stream; it is so shallow that the canoes can only be
 half laden; therefore they unload when they reach its junction
 with the Coxiim, and deposit the goods under a proper guard in
 huts made of palm leaves, while the boats return for the re-
 mainder of the cargo; this occupies about three weeks. Eight
 or ten days then hurry them down the perilous rapids of the
 Coxiim till it falls into the Taquari; and after they have gone
 six or seven days down this river, they halt at a place called

Pouzo Alegre, . . the Joyful Resting Place: such it must be to those who return from Cuyaba, . . not so to those who are bound thither: for the broads and flooded plains which extend from thence to the Paraguay (a voyage of something more than a fortnight) are infested by the Payaguas; and here the travellers must collect all their canoes, sixty or seventy in number, arm ⁴ some of them as a convoy for the rest, and put themselves in military order under a commander. At night they rest upon some of the wooded islands which are found every where along this wild navigation. The first business is to clear the ground; they then plant the Captain's tent, for which a tall strong cane, called the *taquare*, serves for the central pole; and a woollen covering lined with linen is thought to repel the rain better than any other. The negroes and common men swing their hammocks from the trees, and cover them with a long cloth which hangs down to the ground, and is even more necessary as a protection against winged ⁵ insects than against the weather. Watch is kept upon the water; and they have always dogs with them upon shore. When they reach the Paraguay the danger becomes greater, for this is the country of the Payaguas, who

CHAP.
XXXVI.

*Danger
from the
Payaguas.*

⁴ The Latin translator of Charlevoix, who brings down his history to the year 1767, says that they used horse-hair wadding for their guns, for two reasons; that no spark might remain in the gun after it had been discharged, and because they thought the piece was less heated when this kind of wadding was used, though it might be more frequently and faster fired. Each armed canoe carried one small gun, a falcon between three and four feet long, fixed upon a swivel so as to turn in any direction; it was served by four men who had every thing in excellent order, and were admirably expert at their business.

⁵ The author of the Supplement says somebody declared that these tormentors were *syncatagorematically* infinite.

CHAP. of all the American tribes have defended their native land with
XXXVI. most perseverance and most success against all invaders. They
owe this success to the nature of their country, and to their amphibious habits, which enable them to profit by its advantages. All the tribes of this region are such fearless swimmers, that even broad and rapid rivers, like the Paraguay and the Parana, afford no protection against them; but the Payaguas live so much in the water, that for that reason the men wear no clothing whatever: with their manner of life any kind of clothing is incompatible, and therefore, though other tribes regard their nakedness as abominable, they are not ashamed. Every family has its boat, which is of great length, very narrow, and curved at both ends so as to resemble the new moon: the head and stern are shaped alike, . . . it moves therefore with equal facility in either direction, and is impelled by means of a single oar, which is long enough and sharp enough to serve also for a spear. However rough the wind and the waves may be, the Payagua has no fear of either; he gets to the one end of his boat and drives it along, half out of the water; if it should upset (which very seldom happens) presently you see him, says Dobrizhoffer, astride the keel, as if he were riding a porpoise. In case of danger from an enemy, they upset it themselves and rise under it, breathing there as in a diving bell, and protected by it as by a shield. They would dive in the whirlpool, and bring up fish at a wide distance from the spot where they went down: and they would remain so long under water, that many persons, supposing it impossible for a human creature to exist so long without respiring, have absurdly insisted, that they carried with them a cane through which they breathed. Their weapons were the macana, the spear, and the bow and arrow, with which they shot point blank. Their larger war-canoes held forty men, and were excellently made, though with no better instruments than stone

axes, and the aid of fire: these, when upon an expedition, they could impel at the rate of twenty miles an hour; and they drew so little water, that they lurked among the islands, or in the smallest creeks and streams, and lay undiscovered under the boughs which touched the water. Such a people, with some fitness in their fables, believed themselves to be the progeny of a fish called the ⁶ Pacu, and looked for a Paradise after death where the souls of the meritorious Payaguas were to dwell among aquatic plants, and feast upon fish and crocodiles. These people made the journey to Cuyaba so dangerous, that when that colony was fairly established, a vessel strongly armed was always sent from thence to wait for the traders when they entered the Paraguay, one expedition only being made in the course of the year. The greatest vigilance was still necessary: the canoes proceeded one after another up the stream; and never ventured to pass the mouth of a river, or creek, on either side, till the armed vessels had gone before and stationed themselves to secure them against an ambush. The same caution was necessary when they entered the Rio dos Porrudos. After ascending this for five or six days, they came to the mouth of the Cuyaba: here wild rice is found, better in quality than what the Brazilians raise; and here there is a considerable extent of ground covered with banana plants, in such profusion, that neither traders nor Indians have ever found the produce fail. A farther voyage of fifteen days brings the adventurers to their desired port, which is about a mile from the town of Cuyaba. But

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*Peramas de
Trececin.
p. 206. 300.
Dobrizhof-
fer. 1. 128
—133.
Noticias de
Paraguay.
MSS.
Azara 2.
157—159.
Summa Iti-
nerarii, an-
nexed to the
translation
of Charle-
voix.*

*Patriota.
May, 1813.
p. 50—61.*

⁶ The Dorado, they say, produced the Spaniards, who for that reason, though otherwise so very inferior a people to the Payaguas, had the advantage of a better complexion. The Guaranies were children of the Toad, and therefore a despicable race. *Azara, 2. 159.*

CHAP. even the latter part of the voyage was not without danger from
 XXXVI. the Payaguas ; and the Caiapos, according to very recent ac-
 {
 Supplemen- counts, still infested the immediate vicinity, to the great detri-
 tum Hist. ment and danger of the inhabitants.

Parag. p.
335—336.

Settlement
of Cuyaba.

This, which is the route at present pursued from S. Paulo to Cuyaba, was the course taken by the first adventurers ; and as soon as they had fixed themselves there, and the richness of the ground was known, cattle and supplies were carried to them with infinite difficulty and marvellous perseverance, overland ; but they were sold for prices which well repaid the persevering speculators, till produce could be reared upon the spot. But about Cuyaba there was a danger from the Indians to which the settlers in Minas Geraes had not been exposed ; for that country, before its mines were discovered, had been in great measure cleared by the slave-hunters. Some kind of military discipline was soon found necessary for self-preservation ; Fernando Diaz Falcam, therefore, was elected *Capitam Mor*, with full powers military and civil, till the King should be pleased to supersede him. He was a Paulista of good family. Many restless spirits from Minas Geraes resorted to this new ground ; but all private and provincial quarrels seem to have been suspended : for the savages, who looked upon every man of European blood as their enemy, made them all feel as countrymen who were embarked in one common cause. By means of the good discipline which was now established, Cuyaba began to flourish as rapidly as Minas Geraes had done.

1721.

RochaPitta.
10. § 86—
88.

A way by
land opened.

Rodrigo Cesar de Menezes, brother to the Viceroy, had been appointed Governor of S. Paulo when that Captaincy was separated from the Mines. As the way by water to Cuyaba was so circuitous and difficult, he offered a reward for opening a communication by land ; and this desirable object was effected by the exertions of Manoel Godinho de Lara. A House was then

established at the point where the Parana was crossed, to register the gold, and collect the fifths; heavy penalties were enacted against those who should attempt to evade the duties, and a third part of the seizure offered to the informer. But a mode of collecting, which it was not difficult to evade in the Mines, proved absurdly inefficient in such a situation; and after much deliberation it was judged expedient to recur to the old method, of a poll tax upon the slaves. By the choice of the *Senado* of S. Paulo, Lourenço Leme da Sylva was sent to Cuyaba as *Provedor*: he was preferred to this office, because he knew that part of the country well, and had many kinsmen and dependants there; and in order to gratify him and strengthen his authority, his brother Joam Leme was appointed Camp Master. These brothers proved to be two of the most atrocious ruffians that had ever figured in Brazil; and the power with which they were intrusted produced in them that insanity into which the wicked fall when they are emancipated from every kind of restraint. They collected about them a band of desperate wretches, to whom they compelled the richest settlers to give their daughters in marriage; others of these unfortunate women they took by force, as many as they pleased for themselves; they put to death persons of whom they were jealous with their own hands, and with their own hands quartered them. At length their enormities became so crying, that Rodrigo Cesar sent a force against them from S. Paulo. The well-disposed part of the inhabitants gladly joined it; and the ruffians, after attempting vainly to defend themselves in their strong holds, were hunted down. Lourenço was killed in the woods, like a wild beast; Joam was taken prisoner, and beheaded at Bahia. Among other acts of tyranny, these Lemes had ordered the *Forasteiros* to leave Cuyaba. Slight occasion indeed would have revived the old feud, now that the danger from the savages was inter-

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*Tyranny
of the Lemes.*

*They are
put to death.*

CHAP. mitted; and for this reason, when Almeida had begun to open a
 XXXVI. communication from Minas Geraes to Cuyaba, the Home Government instructed him to suspend the work, lest the Paulistas, under an apprehension of being outnumbered and overpowered there also, should relax in their researches, and perhaps forsake the settlement; for this cause the people of the Mines were ordered to take the road of S. Paulo.

RochaPitta.
 10 § 89—
 96.
Ordem. 29
April, 1729.
Do.
 15 *Feb.*
 1730. *MSS.*

Restraints
upon min-
ing.

CartaRegia.
 8 *Feb.*
 1730. *MS.*

Successful as the discoverers had been, it was found that the frequent rumours of new discoveries occasioned much evil in Minas Geraes, by unsettling men who were already prone to an adventurous and wandering life. The miners, eagerly following after vain reports, hurried from one place to another, and frequently abandoned sure profit for the hope of a richer contingency. The injury, both to the revenue and to individual trade, became so great, that the Court sent out an edict forbidding for the present all persons from going upon discoveries in parts which were wholly separated, and at great distance, from the existing mines, unless they had the King's special permission. Perhaps there were other reasons, now that the Mines were so abundantly productive, for endeavouring to check the spirit of adventure. Something like social order had, not without much resistance, been established in this Captaincy. Government had felt the difficulty of reducing such a people to habits of obedience, and was well aware that this, which had unexpectedly become the most important part of the Portuguese possessions, was at the same time held by the most precarious tenure. But every fresh discovery endangered the authority of the laws: for now, when Minas Geraes was perhaps more populous than most of the other Captaincies, such multitudes flocked wherever gold was newly found, that it was no longer possible to observe the old regulations concerning grants; and the Government found it expedient to yield an authority which could not be maintained.

The concession was made in time, and in such a manner as to appear an act of grace rather than of necessity. Great crowds had assembled in a new discovery at the Morro de S. Vicente, upon the Rio das Pedras, one intruding upon the ground which another had appropriated; so that instead of extracting gold, all were engaged in tumults and contention. The Govern-
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Relaxation of the laws of the Mines.

or therefore proclaimed that the ground here should be common to all the people, and that no grants should be made; only a certain distance was to be left between the openings. The *Camara* of S. Joam d'El Rei, represented, that a few individuals claimed to themselves the whole hill at the Rio das Mortes, and the people, because they had no mining ground whatever, were deserting the town. In a case of this kind there was no time for a reference to the Home Government. D. Lourenço therefore gave notice, that no man should appropriate more ground than his legal proportion, according to the number of slaves whom he employed; and as the hill was of great extent, there was room enough, he said, for the negroes of the inhabitants to mine and search for gold, without interfering with the works of those who had brought water to the ground; for, he added, it had always been the custom in these towns, that the adjoining hills should be common gathering places for all the inhabitants. Here the grasping disposition of a few *Poderosos* had provoked resistance: but six years afterwards, when the Morro de Cattas Altas was opened, the people demanded that it should be declared common property, free for all to work who chose; and it was proclaimed accordingly that no person should appropriate ground to himself under any title, but that all might take the benefit of it, and employ their slaves there. Wherever a party of miners were hutted in one of those *Arrayeis*, or Camps, from which so many towns have grown, a set of harpies followed, who opened booths and drinking houses, which were injurious to the miners

Bando. 22
March,
1728. MS.
Bando. 24
Nov. 1728.
MS.
Portaria. 2
May, 1734.
MS.

CHAP. in every way: slaves were debauched from their work, and
 XXXVI. tempted thus to spend the gold which they had collected for their
 Bando. 24 masters; and drunkenness led to quarrels, rioting, and blood-
 Nov. 1728. shed. Rigorous edicts therefore were issued against these pests
 MS. of the community. The stores were confiscated, the negresses
 by whom such places were usually kept, were to be imprisoned,
 and if it was discovered that the real owner was a free person,
 he was to be imprisoned also till he paid fifty *oitavas* toward the
 works of the Church. No goods of any kind were to be sold
 publicly or privately by man or woman in these camps; and the
 people were authorized to demolish any shops or stands that
 should be erected:.. these edicts were always proclaimed by
 beat of drum. The prohibition of trade in these places may
 have arisen from the double motive of encouraging the fixed
 traders in the elder settlements, and preventing the disorders with
 which fairs were likely to be attended among such a people.

Portaria.
 2 May,
 1734. MS.

Coiners and
 false mints.

Hitherto the goldsmiths had been the great agents and allies
 of the miners in their perpetual endeavours to avoid the pay-
 ment of the fifths. It was not possible to ascertain whether
 wrought gold had been fifthed or not; and they made it up into
 trinkets, and pieces of such rude workmanship as evidently to
 betray the purpose for which they had been fabricated. There
 was a law which ordered all these craftsmen to be expelled, and
 condemned those who should endeavour to continue in the Cap-
 taincy, to confiscation of their effects, and six years banishment
 to India. After awhile, such goldsmiths as might have taken to
 other occupations, were exempted from this severe decree; but
 their frauds were now so palpable, and the mischief so great,
 that directions were sent out to enforce it, and confiscate all the
 gold which should be found in their possession. These persons,
 however, were succeeded by more artful enemies to the revenue.
 A firm of Coiners, who had practised for some time at the Rio

Ordem.
 18 Feb.
 1719. MS.
 Do.
 12 June,
 1725. MS.
 Carta Re-
 gia. 8 Feb.
 1730. MS.

removed to the Mines, and established themselves first at Paraipeba, afterwards in the house of the *Guarda Mor*, Luiz Teixeira, at the Rossa da Itaberaba. It is a proof of remarkable vigilance on the part of the Court, that information of this false mint should have been communicated from Lisbon to the Governor; in consequence the party were surprized, the principal, one Ignacio de Sousa, was arrested, and a great seizure was made of gold, in dust and in ingots. This discovery, and the certain knowledge that frauds were practised to an enormous extent in evading the fifths, induced the Government to think once more of changing the form of the impost, which was moreover so unpopular, that D. Lourenço had consented to reduce it to twelve per cent. Neither had this been the only concession. The Crown winked at frauds which it had no means of preventing, and which it was afraid of pursuing to the utmost: all its dispatches expressed a full sense of the weakness and instability of its authority over such subjects, in so remote a country. An order came out, that bars which were brought to the Mint should not be examined whether they had been marked with a false stamp, for fear of such disturbances as had arisen at the Rio, . . . probably from some such cause; and also lest persons should be deterred from bringing bars which had been duly stamped, by an apprehension that they might possibly be condemned, although innocent, and brought under the severity of the law: the Treasury would thus lose its Seignorage, which was something more than five per cent.

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Carta Regia.
12 August,
1732. MS.

Carneira.
MS.

Ordem. 27
Feb. 1731.
MS.

Capitation
again at-
tempted.

Because of these numerous inconveniences the capitation was again taken into consideration, as the simplest method, and one which was recommended by the ablest ⁷ of the Portuguese states-

⁷ It seems to have been adopted at this time, on the recommendation of D.

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Carta Regia. April 24, 1732. MS.

Carta Regia. Oct. 30, 1733. MS.

When therefore the Conde das Galveas, Andre de Mello e Castro, succeeded D. Lourenço, he was instructed to propose this measure; and perhaps as a means of inducing the people more readily to acquiesce in it, he was to exact the full fifth as long as the present mode should be continued. But they proceeded with great caution. After awhile the *Procuradores* of all the *Camaras* were assembled to deliberate upon the matter: they were unanimous in disapproving the proposed alteration, and as the Count agreed with them in opinion, and had moreover a discretionary power, for fear of resistance, it was deferred for the King's farther consideration. Meantime, till his pleasure should be known, a smelting-house was established in

Luiz da Cunha. This great statesman, while he was employed in embassies, seems to have frequented the society of Portugueze Jews, whom many of his countrymen would have shunned with abhorrence, or in apprehension of the consequences to themselves when they returned within the sphere of their then terrible Inquisition. D. Luiz enquired of a Jew, who was born at Rio de Janeiro, and whom he praises for his sound understanding, what could be the reason that the King of Spain derived so much larger a revenue from his mines than the King of Portugal, though the Spanish mines were silver and those in Brazil were gold. The Jew replied, there was no other means of explaining it, than by the frauds which were practised concerning the fifths; for it was certain, that he who took to the mint two *arrobas* to be stamped, administered a bribe in the proper place, and paid only for one. The means of remedying this, the Jew said, would be to tax not the gold, but the persons who were employed in extracting it. One hundred thousand slaves were engaged in this employment; each of them collected, upon a moderate average, one *oitava* per day; which, excluding Sundays and the few holydays observed in the Mines, would be two *arrateis*, or pounds, every year; and the fifths upon this quantity ought to be forty thousand *arrateis*, . . . an enormous difference this, from the quantity which was actually paid. (The hundred *arrobas* were twenty-eight thousand pounds weight: . . . the fifths when collected probably fell short of twenty thousand, . . . and were therefore not half what they ought to have been, according to the Jew's estimate.) The Jew added, that, in stating the slaves at one hundred thousand, he was below the mark; but the numbers might be ascertained

every *Comarca*; and the *Camaras* engaged to make up to the Treasury the yearly quantity of one hundred *arrobas* (about one hundred and sixty-eight thousand pounds sterling), if the fifths should fall short of that amount. But in apportioning this impost great injustice was committed. Some *Camaras* were taxed more heavily than others; and they in their turn laid on the burden unequally among the people within their jurisdiction, oppressing those who possessed no influence, and favouring the *Poderosos*. The Court in consequence instructed the Governor to make the assessment himself, and by no means leave it to the *Camaras*. The readiest mode was supposed to be by a capitation on the slaves, which the *Camaras* themselves affected to adopt: but if such difficulties and unforeseen disorders should arise that it

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Carneiro.
MS.

with perfect certainty by the Priests; and the Owner who had fifty slaves, ought to be called upon every fifth day for fifty *oitavas*; but as an allowance for sickness and accidents, he proposed that the master should only pay for four-fifths of the hands whom he employed. D. Luiz objected to this, that although in the streams the supposed daily quantum might be collected with sufficient regularity, it was otherwise where the gold was procured by digging; for in such places the labour of many days must oftentimes produce nothing. The answer to this was, that when a vein was found, the produce was so abundant that it more than compensated for the unproductive time. A last objection was, the danger of exciting an insurrection by such an impost, among a people upon whom the bonds of duty and allegiance sate so lightly: but the Jew, who knew them, replied, that if the King left the arrangement to the people themselves, and not to the Governor, he was certain that the measure would succeed; for they regarded any mark of honour from the King more than any considerations of interest; and nothing would be lost by making the experiment. *Carta ao Marco Antonio. MS.*

D. Luiz perceived the danger, that by this, or by some other means, the negroes might learn to estimate and understand their great numerical superiority. For this reason he advised, that one place in the Captaincy should be well fortified, and have a strong citadel, with a regiment of infantry to keep the country in obedience. Perhaps he thought this precaution advisable not against the negroes alone.

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Cartas Regias. July 18, 1734. MSS.

Gomes Freyre Governor.

Jan. 2, 1735.

might appear dangerous to put this plan in practice, it was left to his discretion how to make up the sum; and he was charged to take counsel in what manner the frauds which were committed in paying the fifths, might be prevented.

This compromise did not prevent the contraband practices: more secret Mints were discovered, and the Court was then determined to establish the Capitation; but the perilous task of introducing it was left to the new Governor, Gomes Freyre de Andrada, who was removed from the Government of Rio de Janeiro to that of Minas Geraes, when the Conde das Galveas was promoted to the Viceroyalty of Brazil. If there was one Portugueze family more than any other from which pure loyalty and uncorrupted patriotism might have been expected, it was that of ⁸ Freyre de Andrada. This Gomes Freyre had not derogated from his illustrious name during his administration; and he was destined to bear a more conspicuous part in South American history than his high-minded father, but not one upon which his posterity might look back with equal satisfaction. Upon his removal he received a remarkable letter, not less honourable to the Sovereign from whom it came, than to the subject unto whom it was addressed. . . . Gomes Freyre de Andrada, it began, Go-

⁸ When Sebastian was inspecting his army, immediately before the fatal battle of Alcacer, he stopt at seeing a party of only five knights among those who were attached to the royal standard, when all the other parties consisted of six; and he said with some degree of anger, here is one knight wanting! It was Gomes Freyre de Andrada, with two sons on his right hand, and two on his left; the old man lifted his bever and said, Methinks, Sir, a father and his four sons, who are come to die for you, may supply the want of a sixth. . . . I place this fine anecdote here, because while I was employed upon this part of the text, the news arrived that the representative of this illustrious family had suffered death by the hands of the executioner at Lisbon!

vernor and Captain General of the Captaincy of Rio de Janeiro, Friend, I the King, greet you. The good reputation which you have obtained in your government causes me particular satisfaction, since it confirms the judgement with which you were chosen for it. And although on this account it may seem superfluous in any manner to remind you of your duties, nevertheless, I esteem it a fitting and peculiar mark of my good will towards you, and of my expectation that you will in all things justify the choice which I have made, to prepare you with some useful advice, though you stand in need of no admonition. On this occasion especially, when I send you into a country ruder even in customs than in cultivation, where evil examples have struck deep root, where opportunities for misconduct are more frequent, and the remoteness of the *Sertam* more easily deludes men into a persuasion that their excesses may remain undiscovered; all the light which my instructions can give you, will be useful, in order that the provisional authority which you will exercise in Minas Geraes may accredit my choice, and serve as an example to your successors. The King then observed, that there was the more necessity for his maintaining justice, and setting inferior officers an example of maintaining it, because the more distant the country, the more slowly could the King apply any remedy to the disorders which might arise. He reminded him that there were more ways than one by which a Governor might incur an ill reputation, and fail in his duty; he might do so either by breaking the injunction against engaging in trade, which was imposed upon the Governors for just cause; or by receiving gifts, which, though they might seem to be mere compliments, carried with them always a kind of subornation for future occasions. He was to beware also of showing any undue indulgence toward his servants and favourites; for by this means some Governors, though otherwise upright and disinterested men,

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had given occasion to as many inconveniences as would have resulted from transgressing in their own persons. Against this fault, into which men sometimes fell, less from ill intention than from an excess of good nature, he was especially warned; and he was charged not to suffer his servants to accept gifts, (which in reality were bribes) nor to use any influence, nor to engage in any trade; for they could not do this without abusing the authority of their master, and drawing upon him the suspicion of being privily concerned in their transactions. "Finally, (said the King,) set before your eyes the difference between a fortune acquired with the public esteem, protected by the royal pleasure, and founded upon good services, which constitute a claim to future honours; and a fortune gained by vile means, arraigned by the cries of the miserable, and never secure from the rigour and displeasure of the sovereign. Let this consideration suffice to make you seek for advancement by those means only which become a man of sound judgement, who respects the reputation of my service, and loves the public good. And I expect that these admonitions, in which you ought to recognize the distinction and benignity wherewith I treat you, will remain in such manner impressed upon your mind, as continually to make you careful that in whatsoever you do you may give me the satisfaction of seeing my anxiety for you well bestowed, and rendering yourself worthy of my especial favour." . . . At the expiration of the year, the King granted to Gomes Freyre six thousand *cruza-*
zados in aid of his expences, because the words of the grant expressed, as his Majesty did not choose that he should derive any profit or accept any presents in his government, contrary to the laws, so it was not the King's intention to fail in supplying him with what was necessary for supporting himself suitably to his station.

*Collecçam
dos Regi-
mento, &c.
MS.*

*Aviso. 30
Jan. 1736.
MS.*

*Capitation
Tax.*

It was doubted at Lisbon whether the Capitation could be

safely introduced. Indeed any change in the mode of levying that share which the Crown claimed from the produce of the mines was sure to be unpopular, because it deranged the settled method of evading that which was established; for this was always so successful, that upon every change the miners doubted whether the new frauds to which they should have recourse would answer as compleatly as those which were now become a matter of routine. The proposed tax was an impost of two *oitavas* and twelve *vinteins* of gold every half year, upon every slave male or female, excepting only the females who were employed in *ventas* and shops, and children either black or mulatto born in the Captaincy, under fourteen years of age, and not employed in mining, or in any hard work. Free persons of European birth or extraction, who worked as miners, were liable to the tax; and free negroes and emancipated people of colour who possessed no slaves, but worked themselves either in agricultural or mining employments; and a shop tax was imposed at the same time of four, eight, or twelve *oitavas*, according to the extent of the⁹ business. To superintend and collect these imposts, five

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Regimento da Capitania. 14 Jan. 1736. MS.

⁹ The Intendant of a *Comarca*, by this edict, was subject only to the Governor of the Captaincy, and to the Captain General of Brazil; all other persons were subject to him in his department. There were also for the management of the capitation in each district, a Fiscal, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and a *Meirinho*; and where the business required it, an Assistant-Secretary. Every year the Ultramarine Council was to send from Lisbon a proper number of billets for the matriculation; the Governor was to distribute these to the Intendants, send back the surplus, and account for the rest. Twice a year, in January and in July, all slaves were to be registered, by name, surname, age, country, and such other individualizing designations as the form required; and the Intendants and Fiscals were charged to observe that no owner should enter two slaves of the same name without clearly distinguishing them. The name and dwelling place of the owner were also to be specified. At each matriculation two *oitavas* and twelve

CHAP. Intendants were appointed in Minas Geraes, for the districts of
 XXXVI. Villa Rica, Ribeiram, Rio das Mortes, Sabara, and Serro Frio ;

vinteins of gold were to be paid for every slave, without regard to the condition and quality of the owner, or occupation and worth, or worthlessness of the slaves: the only exceptions were those stated in the text; and boys below fourteen were chargeable if they were employed in any work which required as much strength as mining, or was of equal convenience to their owner. Sickness did not exempt a slave; but the owner was not required to pay for the blind, the incurable, or those who from any other cause were totally unproductive. Slaves newly introduced were to be presented within two months, taxed for the current half year, and entered in a separate book; runaways retaken after some lapse of time were in like manner to be produced. The owner received a billet for every slave, and the forgery of one of these papers was punishable by ten years transportation to the Isle of S. Thomas, and the confiscation of all the criminal's goods, unless he had parents, or children; in either of which cases the transportation of the offender was properly thought a sufficient punishment. Every slave who had not been matriculated was to be forfeited to the Treasury, if discovered by the enquiries of Government, or to the informer who should prove the fraud: and if it were proved that a slave had been concealed, whose person could not be discovered, the owner was to forfeit another in his stead. A slave thus concealed, who either by himself, or by another person, should give information of the deceit, was to be rewarded with a deed of freedom, gratuitously, in the King's name. Free persons of European race who were liable to the tax, might pay it either in person or by attorney; so in like manner the free negroes and mulattoes who had been emancipated: in either party, the attempt at evasion was punishable by a fine of one hundred *oitavas*, and banishment from the Mines. Persons also were to present themselves who kept store-houses, or shops of any description (*loges, vendas, boticas, cortes de carne*); the larger were to pay twelve *oitavas*, those of intermediate size eight, the *mascates* and *loges pequenas* four. They were to be rated upon testimony given by two persons on oath; and if it were proved that any had been under-rated, the owner was to be fined in a double impost. *Loges* in which any kind of food was sold in small quantities, were to be rated at least as *vendas*, and so were the *boticas, cazas de pasto, cortes de carne, and estalagens*. The books were to continue open during two months; persons bringing slaves to enter after they were closed were to pay one tenth more to the Intendant for re-opening them, and another as a fine for their negligence. The Trea-

four for the Mines of Goyaz, Cuyaba, Pernagua, and Perampama, which were then included in the Captaincy of S. Paulo, and one for those of Arasuahy and Tanados in Bahia. The newly erected offices were exempted from the tax of the thirds;

CHAP. XXXVI.
Carta Regia.
 31 Jan.
 1736. MS.

urers were to be careful that they received good gold, without any mixture or deceit, and not of low touch (*de toque notoriamente baixo*); they were therefore not to accept in payment, the gold of Borda do Campo, Congonhas de Sabara, or Pitanguí, except from persons residing, or having slaves at work there. They who had not gold to pay the capitation, might leave pledges for it, which, if they were of wrought gold or silver, might be redeemed within such reasonable time as the Intendant should appoint; but if they were articles which might impair in value, or were liable to any other risk, they were to be redeemed or sold in time. In the two last months of every half year, the Intendant was to go through his district and inspect it: if the circuit were too large, he was on the next journey to visit those places first which had been omitted in the preceding visitation. The Intendant, his officers, and the soldiers who accompanied them, both as a mark of honour and for their protection, were not to call upon the inhabitants to supply them with beds or provisions of any kind, except *capim* for the horses, this being by custom a royal right, and an acknowledgement of lordship. Whosoever took any thing without paying for it, or extorted it by force, should be punished as a robber. The Intendant might shorten his visitation at the close of the year, at which season travelling is difficult, and make a longer journey in the other half year, by trespassing on the month of July. On these visitations he was to receive secret information concerning subtracted slaves. Where there was great suspicion, he might summon the party with all his slaves, and read the list before them of all whom the owner had matriculated, telling them, that any person who was not inserted in that list, and who would reveal himself, would obtain his pardon. And he was to go to any farm or works within a certain distance, where he might suspect that slaves were concealed. . . . The chief duty of the Fiscal was to watch, as *Procurador* of the Treasury, that no slaves were subtracted, and to enforce the penalty in such cases. For this purpose he was to examine the parochial lists, and collate them with the alphabetical accounts of the matriculation. The Governor might bring the Intendants and their officers to trial for misconduct; and if it were needful, carry into effect sentence of death against them.

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Carta Regia. 8 Nov. 1735. MS.

and as the former Intendants had represented that their appointments barely sufficed for their ordinary support, and were altogether inadequate to defray their inevitable expences in preventing, or detecting, the ways by which gold was clandestinely carried out of the country; an increase of five hundred *milreis* was made to their salaries. When the edict for the Capitation was fixed up in the public places throughout the Captaincy, as usual, the inhabitants in the districts of Papagayo and S. Rummam tore them down and determined to resist the tax. Gomes Freyre knew how difficult it would be to punish this outrage; and dissembling therefore his resentment, he pursued so wise a course of conciliation with these people, that they were induced to pay it before any of their neighbours. Far as the impost fell short of the real value of the fifths, it was thought burdensome, and in reality was so to all except the miners; . . . they certainly paid less than before, because the receipts of the Treasury were not increased by the new method; but it relieved them at the expence of all other persons. Fresh mines however were opened about this time at the Morro da Gama, and Papa Farinha, and Paracatu; and these rich discoveries gave such impulse and activity to the whole Captaincy, that it is said there was scarcely a man who did not in some measure partake of the general benefit.

*Carneiro. MSS.**Discovery of diamonds.*

A curious question, in which the value of individual property was implicated, as well as the rights of the Crown, was at this time under the consideration of the Portuguese Government. The administration of D. Lourenço had been distinguished by the discovery of something more rare and more valuable than gold itself; but instead of deriving any advantage from this good fortune, he drew upon himself a sharp reprimand for the negligence with which he had regarded an affair of such importance. Bernardino da Fonseca Lobo found, in the Serro do Frio,

certain stones which he supposed to be diamonds: . . . a rumour that such precious stones existed in that part of the country had long been current, and specimens were sent home to Portugal two years before the Governor thought proper officially to mention the subject. The expectations of the discoverer were well founded; and for his reward he was made *Capitam Mor* of Villa do Principe for life (subject to a triennial investigation of his conduct,) and vested in propriety with the office of *Tabelliam*, or Public Notary of the same place. But D. Lourenço was told that his negligence was inexcusable; it was the duty of a Governor faithfully to report every thing which occurred within his jurisdiction, and it was highly unfit that a matter of so much importance should first have reached the King through any other channel. At the same time the diamonds were declared to be royalties, and subject to the same duties as gold.

But it was not possible to collect these duties in the same manner; for neither by number, nor weight, nor measure, could any equitable means of taking a fifth be devised. A capitation upon the slaves employed appeared the only practicable means, and this was first fixed in Portugal at the very moderate sum of five *milreis*; but before the order reached Brazil, D. Lourenço had agreed upon an assessment of four times that amount for the ensuing year. In the course of the year he was superseded, and his successor, the Conde das Galveas, was instructed to double this, and raise it even to fifty *milreis*, if he found it practicable. The diamonds were to be remitted as gold was, only in the King's ships, and pay one per cent upon their value for freight. Ere long it was perceived that the value of diamonds was more factitious than that of gold, being sustained by fashion and opinion only, not by common convenience and the necessities of civilized life; and the sudden influx and diminution of their value, (for in the course of only two years they fell more than three

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*Resoluçam
de S. Ma-
gest. 12
April, 1734.
MS.*

*Carta Re-
gia. 8 Feb.
1730. MS.*

*Conse-
quences of
this discove-
ry.
Ordem. 18
March,
1732. MS.*

*Carta Re-
gia. 15
May, 1733.
Aviso. 16
May, 1733.
Carta Re-
gia. 30 Oct.
1733. MSS.*

CHAP. fourths in price,) threatened such serious injury to individuals,
 XXXVI. that it was found necessary to take some means for limiting the
 extraction without delay.

*Plans for
 regulating
 the extrac-
 tion.*

For this purpose four projects were laid before the Govern-
 ment. By the first it was proposed that all Brazilian diamonds
 should be purchased by the Treasury, or by a Company to be
 established for that purpose, and a suitable penalty enacted for
 selling them to any other purchaser. It was objected to this,
 that in all monopolies of the Crown, depending as they necessa-
 rily must upon the good management, ability, and integrity of
 many agents, there had always been a loss upon summing up
 accounts at the end; that as to forming a Company, it would be
 difficult to find persons who would engage in it, because of the
 immense capital which was required; and in either case the
 holders of diamonds, particularly those who were least necessi-
 tious, would frequently conceal and dispose of them undetected,
 to the injury of the lawful trade. A second plan proposed, that
 the diamonds should be extracted by a Company of Miners, who
 should either pay to the Crown a fifth of what they found, or an
 adequate compensation. The objection, that this Company en-
 gaging for a certain number of years might collect so many
 stones in that time, as would render the contract of no value to
 any future contractors, was anticipated by the proposers, and to
 be obviated by employing only a certain number of slaves; and
 the best mode of payment they said would be by a capitation,
 as had provisionally been adopted. This arrangement might
 prevent a glut in future, but offered no remedy for the present
 urgent evil, which was the depreciation of the stones already in
 the market. The third project recommended, that all farther
 extraction should be prohibited, till the present stock was sold.
 To effect this the establishment of a Company was advised under
 nine Directors, each being a subscriber to the amount of more

than twenty thousand *cruzados*, to be elected by those subscribers who had vested property to this amount, to hold their office one year, and not to be re-elected till after a year's interval; a tenth Director was to be appointed by the King. The diamonds now afloat in Brazil might be permitted to circulate freely in that country, but when they came to Portugal all must be sold to the Company without reserve: the price was to be fixed now at a valuation favourable to the owners, and at this price those which were afterwards imported would be taken, all that should be withheld being liable to seizure and confiscation. This Company was to be called into existence, by incorporating all persons who possessed these new-found diamonds, so that there was no difficulty either in finding members or capital, the stones themselves being the capital. They would have the benefit of the certain rise in value, and their shares would be disposable like those of any other company. If any of these persons were poor and wanted immediate money, the Crown might purchase their shares; or monied subscribers might be admitted, and the capital thus introduced be appropriated to the purchase of such shares. The King was to have a tenth of the Company's gains, as an indemnification for his loss while the farther extraction of diamonds was prohibited. It was not to be admitted as an objection, that this was a compulsory arrangement and interfered with the liberty of commerce, because such interference becomes a duty when it is for the public good, and was already practised in the case of all exclusive companies. The reservation of the royal tenth, though an obvious objection to the scheme, was obviously just, because the Crown would lose the amount of the annual capitation, and would also incur the expense of watching the diamond country, while the prohibition should be in force. And the Company would gain through this interference of the Crown, far more than the tenth which was

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paid for it, because of the certain advance of price, and the certainty that no more diamonds would be brought into the market till their stock was exhausted. Moreover, it was estimated that by the advantage of sorting the stones, which no contraband trader could enjoy, they would be increased a fifth in value. Nevertheless it was admitted, that many diamonds would be withheld for the sake of avoiding this tax, and a contraband trade be carried on in them, which would not be the case if the owners could look to their share of profit without deduction; and it was acknowledged, that extreme caution would be needful to prevent injustice in valuing the stones, and that to effect this when they were valued, it must not be known to whom they belonged. The fourth plan proposed, that the diamonds thenceforth should be extracted by an Exclusive Company open to all who chose to engage in it, either with diamonds or money, and chartered either for a term of years, or in perpetuity. The quantity extracted was to be kept secret from all but the Crown, and the Crown to have a tenth, which the Company would sell faithfully with their own, and also a tenth of the gains. The diamonds at present in the market were either to be sold to the Company at the present price, or consigned to them to be sold for the owners at a commission of two per cent: if they remained unsold for three years, the Company would then take them at the current price, but would no longer be charged with the business of individuals. This was in fact compelling all holders to embark in the Company, or sell their stock to it; and the difficulty of finding capital was an obvious objection.

*Arbitrios
que se deram
a S. M.
MSS. Pin-
heiro Collec-
tion, T. 1,
No. 37.*

*Opinion of
Dr. Joam
Mendes.*

These proposals were referred to some commercial men for their opinion, and a curious memorial upon the subject was presented in reply by Dr. Joam Mendes de Almeyda, . . . animated, as he says, to the task by the fear of God, the love of his neighbours, the respect due to the King, and the fidelity of a good

subject. The object in view was to prevent diamonds from losing their estimation; and this, he affirmed, was the most important affair that had ever been brought forward from the beginning of the world. Till this time large capitals had been employed in the diamond trade; now, owing to the incredible quantity which came from Brazil, there was no disposition to purchase, because there was so little vent for them. Two years ago they had sold for eight *milreis* a carat; of late two *milreis* would not be given; and now, when it was known that more were expected in the next fleet, there were no purchasers at any price. Of the four projects, he said, the third was the only one which required consideration; and the formation of such a Company as was there proposed, would be ruinous. It was in fact a scheme which certain foreigners and Jews in the north of Europe had set on foot through their agents, and the persons with whom they were connected. They had bought up so largely that they knew not what to do with their stock, and it would be many years before they could cut the brute stones which were already in their hands: what they were aiming at, therefore, was to lock up the diamonds of the Portugueze in a Company, which would be their prison, or rather burial place, while their own would have a free sale, and the whole market to themselves. For who in Portugal would purchase diamonds? not the Portugueze, it was well known; and certainly not foreigners, while they had any upon their hands:.. the case was indeed palpable; for at this time they would not purchase at any price. Another evil would be, that the directors of the proposed Company would be all connected with these foreigners and Jews, and look of course to their interest, not to that of the country: for the Lisbon Exchange was greatly fallen from what it had been, and foreigners had now got possession of the trade of Portugal. There were yet farther objections. Secresy, which is important in all

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CHAP. trades, was especially so in the diamond trade; but all sales by
 XXXVI. the Company must be public. The valuation was another difficulty, for in this the most experienced persons might be deceived. There were in diamonds differences of colour and of water; one might be more chrystalline, another more brilliant;... delicate matters for the judgement and the conscience; and where it was so nice a point to do right, what complaints would there be of wrong! Men bear patiently the losses which they bring upon themselves; they are impatient under those which are brought upon them by others. And in this business they would have opportunities, if left to themselves, which a Company could not possess. A Company would deal only at stated times; an individual at all times. His advice therefore was, that all these projects should be rejected; that the diamond country should be reserved for the King's use, under peculiar laws, and the diamonds extracted for the King's account, slowly. The oriental diamonds had been kept up to their price, because they were few in number; and the practice of the Dutch with the spices was a case in point. Such stones as, because of their size and beauty, were fit for a King's use, should be deposited in the King's treasury, and the others reserved till those which were in the market should be sold, or sent into the market to sell at the market price, with which they would interfere little, because the supply would not be great. Indeed, an immediate advance might be expected; for as soon as it was known that the mines were to be reserved, foreigners would hasten to buy up the stones upon sale, before any other rise should take place in consequence, as the Jews had done with pearls in France. Upon this plan the diamonds would gradually recover their price, and thus they might be kept up.

*Reposta aos
 Arbitrios.
 MS. Pin-
 heiro Collec-
 tion, Vol. 1,
 No. 38.*

*Contract for
 extracting
 diamonds.*

After mature deliberation, the Court resolved to reserve the diamond country, according to this advice, and to limit the ex-

traction, but not to undertake it on its own account. The *Dezembargador*, Rafael Pires Pardiniho, was therefore charged, with the assistance of proper persons, to mark out the limits of the forbidden district, and a very heavy capitation was to be imposed, so that few persons would undertake to search for the stones upon such terms: thus it was thought that they must necessarily be sold at a high price when they came to market laden with such costs. It does not appear at what the tax was fixed during the seven years next ensuing; but under Gomes Freyre's government, a contract was made for employing six hundred effective slaves in the extraction, paying an annual poll tax upon them of two hundred and thirty *milreis*; and in favour of the Contractor, a law, reserving stones above a certain size for the Crown, which had been past in 1734, was repealed, and such stones were only to be tendered to the Crown before they were offered to any other purchaser. This contract was for four years, and was found so gainful, that, at the expiration of that term, the capitation was raised to two hundred and seventy *milreis*; with this condition, that the Treasury should every year give the Contractor credit for sixty thousand *milreis*, of the hundred and sixty-two thousand for which he stood engaged. The views of Government happened to coincide with the interest of the European lapidaries, and of all persons engaged in the trade. While the market was glutted they kept back their stock, aware that the price of the articles must soon be restored by the restrictions which were now imposed; and therefore, they waited for the certain profits of delay. And they were not scrupulous in the means of promoting this object. At first they diligently spread a report that the Brazilian diamonds, if indeed they were diamonds, for this was sometimes denied, were decidedly inferior to the Oriental. The assertion was false: but what they bought as Brazilian, they sold as Oriental, profiting in both transactions.

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Carta Regia. 30 Oct. 1733. MS.

Condições para a Extração dos Diamantes MSS.

Ordem. 4 Feb. 1746. MS.

Ordem. 22 April, 1744. MS.

Effect upon the Diamond Trade.

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Mawe on diamonds. chap. i, § 37.

Description of Minas Geraes.

14 Jan. 1714.

by the fraud. It is even said, that for awhile they sent the Brazilian stones to Goa, and thus introduced them into the Indian market, to find their way from thence to Europe through the old channel, till the authenticity and equal value of the Brazilian diamonds were fully established.

The Serro do Frio, in which these stones were found, had been first explored by Antonio Soares, and Antonio Rodriguez Arzam; and its capital, Villa do Principe, had been made a town about fourteen years before the discovery, . . . a discovery which accelerated the peopling of the district, but in every other respect has produced much more evil than good. When the Captaincy of Minas Geraes was separated from the Government of S. Paulo, the boundaries were to be traced between the new Captaincy and the adjoining ones of the Rio, Bahia, and Pernambuco. The surveyors, who in this wild country were significantly called Pilots, performed their office only where it was necessary, on the side of those provinces with which there was a regular communication. Toward the North and West there was a wide extent of unappropriated territory; and even toward the coast, it was not till the year 1800 that the demarcation from Espirito Santo was made. The Province as at present defined, lies between the sixteenth and twenty-second degrees of South latitude. On the South it is bounded by the Captaincies of S. Paulo and the Rio, on the West by Goyaz, by Bahia on the North; and its communication with Espirito Santo and Porto Seguro, so recently as 1799, was cut off by the savages, who possessed a line of forests extending along the whole eastern frontiers. The whole Captaincy is part of an immense tract of mountains, which begins from S. Paulo, and has its main direction from South to North, sending off branches that extend through all Brazil. The seasons are not very distinctly marked there; the trees are not stript of their leaves by the moderate

cold of June and July, and in August they present only a faint appearance of spring, by putting forth young foliage and flowers. A short winter of two months commences toward the latter end of May, when the average temperature in ordinary years is 50° of Fahrenheit's thermometer; in the hot season the glass rarely or never rises above 80°. The more marked distinction of the year is into its wet and dry seasons, the former continuing from October till May. The rain, especially at its commencement, is accompanied with frequent and tremendous thunderstorms; they come on suddenly, and having spent their force, leave the sky as clear and as serene as they found it, with a freshness which is felt by the inhabitants in every pulse. The rain is heavy while it lasts, which is sometimes for days, and even weeks. The greatest weight of water falls in November and December: in January there is an interval of fine weather, which is called *veranico*, or the little summer; and in February and March the rains become less frequent, till they cease. The North wind comes constantly with the wet season, and the East with the dry; the latter brings with it cold and fog, which go on increasing till the winter months. Notwithstanding this regularity of the winds, the changes of temperature are said to be sudden; in all other respects the climate is salubrious.

Manuel Ferreira de Comara. MS.

Joze Vieira Couto. MS.

Its four districts.

The Captaincy is divided into four *Comarcas*, each having its *Ouvidoria* or Court of Justice, and its Smelting-house. That of the Rio das Mortes, which is the southernmost division, has for its capital S. Joam del Rey. Villa Rica, which is the seat of government, gives name to another; Sabara to that on the West; and this district almost surrounds the fourth, which is that of the Serro do Frio, having Villa do Principe for its capital. The river Doce with its two arms embraces almost the whole Captaincy; by its southern branch the produce of Villa Rica and Sabara might be exported; by the northern that of the Serro.

CHAP. The Rio S. Francisco runs under the mountains to the West,
 XXXVI. and its different branches are navigable through the greater part
 of the *Comarca* of Sabara. The Gectinhonha, which rises near
 Tejuco, and enters the sea in latitude 18°, where it is called
 the Rio das Caravellas, is, like the other rivers, navigable;
 but as yet no use has been made of these great natural advan-
 tages. Portage would be necessary in some places upon all
 these rivers; and assuredly, one day, an active intercourse through
 these channels will be carried on with the coast.

Joze Vieira.
 Couto. MS.

Serro do
 Frio, and
 the Forbid-
 den Dis-
 trict.

. In entering the *Comarca* of Serro do Frio from Sabara, a re-
 markable difference is soon perceived: the soil, which before had
 been a red fertile marle, becomes sandy and covered with small
 stones; the trees have no longer the same luxuriant growth, and
 the mountains which rise in the distance, instead of the dark ver-
 dure with which they are clothed in other parts of the Captaincy,
 are bare and black. On the summit of these uninviting fells
 the air is cold and the winds violent, whence the *Comarca* derives
 its name; and the surface of the earth is hard, arid, and full of
 imbedded stones. Here the Forbidden District of the Diamonds
 is in sight; and its appearance is such as might form a fit descrip-
 tion in eastern romance, for the land where the costliest and
 proudest ornaments of wealth and power are found. Innumera-
 ble peaks are seen, some of prodigious height; mountains of
 bare rock and perpendicular elevation, others of more perishable
 materials, and in a state of dissolution, like the Alps of Savoy,
 with brush wood growing among the grass, and a sort of grey
 moss which clothes the surface wherever it is not newly scarred,
 or covered with recent wreck: . . . a scene of Alpine grandeur and
 Alpine desolation, but in one respect of more than Alpine beau-
 ty, for the waters are beautifully clear; they fall in sheets, in
 threads, in cataracts, and make their way, sometimes by subter-
 ranean channels, to the four larger rivers which carry off the

waters of the district. Of these the Gectinhonha is the most renowned for its riches in gold and diamonds; the Arisuahy is next in estimation; both have their sources to the east of Tejuco, and flow nearly with a parallel course from North to South, till they meet at Tocuyos, where the latter loses its name, and they enter upon a country which is still possessed by unsubdued savages. These rivers collect all the waters of the eastern side. The Parauana rises to the South of Tejuco, and flowing toward the West, precipitates itself from the Serra by a famous cataract, a few leagues beyond the bounds of the Forbidden District: it then falls into the Rio das Velhas, which carries off all the western waters of the demarcation to the great S. Francisco. The fourth river rises five leagues E. S. E. of Tejuco, on the skirts of the lofty Serra de Itambe; and having received on its way the Itambe, the Turvo, the Rio Vermelho, the Guayana, and the Rio do Peixe, it becomes one arm of the Rio Doce: the other comes from the *Comarcas* of Sabara and Villa Rica.

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Jose Vieira.
Couto. MS.

The Forbidden District of the Diamonds is nearly circular in form, and in diameter about fourteen leagues; in circumference, therefore, about an hundred and seventy English miles. It was supposed that no diamonds were to be found beyond the boundaries of this jurisdiction; but they have since been discovered in Cuyaba and Mato-Grosso, and more recently in many of the rivers and brooks which flow from Sabara to the river S. Francisco; and it is said that they exist in most parts of Minas Geraes, though nowhere in such abundance as within the forbidden ground. They are never found in veins, nor in the *cascalho*, nor imbedded in a matrix of any kind; but always on the surface of the ground, and generally in the bed of a stream; and they have been picked up on high table lands, and even on the tops of the mountains. Beyond the demarcation, the character of the country changes. The mountains lose their ruggedness, and dimi-

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*Joze Vieira.
Couto. MS.*

*Disputes be-
tween Por-
tugal and
Spain.*

nish in height till they terminate in a fertile tract of land, which continues some fourscore miles, to a place called Itacambira; there the surface again becomes rugged, and in the river Itacambiruçu diamonds of inferior value are found.

The Portugueze Court was supposed to receive a much greater revenue from its gold and its diamonds than was actually derived, or could have been derived even if no means of defrauding it had been practised. Portugal was believed to be rich, and known to be weak; both circumstances tended to invite aggression; and notwithstanding the double marriage by which the Spanish Bourbons were connected with the House of Braganza, a bitterer spirit against Portugal never prevailed in Spain than during the latter years of Philip V, when that King was wholly under the guidance of his ambitious and restless wife, Elisabetta Farnese. It happened that the servants of the Portugueze Ambassador at Madrid rescued a malefactor from the officers of justice; and for this offence the Spanish minister Patiño ordered them to be arrested in the Ambassador's house and thrown into prison. The Portugueze Court complained of the manner of their arrest as a breach of the law of nations; and not obtaining the redress which it required, resented it by arresting and imprisoning the domestics of the Spanish Ambassador at Lisbon. Both parties were in so irascible a state that they would willingly have commenced war upon this wretched cause of quarrel; but a strong British fleet was dispatched to the Tagus, and this proof of the readiness with which Great Britain would, in case of extremities, have supported its old ally, induced the Court of Madrid to accept the mediation of France and the Maritime Powers. Hostilities were thus prevented in Europe; but while the negotiations were going on, war was commenced in America.

*Coxe's Me-
moirs of Sir
R. Walpole,
Ch. 45. Do.
Mem. of the
Kings of
Spain, Ch.
41.*

*Prosperity
of N. Colo-
nia.*

Though the question concerning the country round about Nova Colonia was as undetermined as ever, the Portugueze had not

been disturbed in the use of it while Zavala was Governor of the province of the Plata; and they became exceedingly prosperous, not through the contraband trade alone, gainful as that was, and extensively as it was carried on, but by a general spirit of enterprise and industry. They exported to Brazil dried meat, hides, and considerable quantities of wheat. The annual consumption of cattle for the place itself and the shipping, was about seven thousand head; and the abundance of animal food had not barbarized the Portugueze as it has done the Spaniards of Paraguay and the Plata. They had introduced all the fruits of their native country, and cultivated all its culinary plants, with equal care and success. Their farms and plantations extended above sixty miles inland: Zavala suffered them to enlarge their borders without any serious remonstrances, perceiving undoubtedly that the more vulnerable they made themselves, the less likely would they be to provoke a war, and the greater the booty for Spain whenever war should arise. His successor, D. Miguel de Salcedo, manifested a different temper at his very arrival. Instead of taking the southern channel, which would have carried him straight to his destined port, he coasted along the north shore up to Colonia, reconnoitred the port and the works, and then crost the river to Buenos Ayres. It appears certain that he brought out with him hostile instructions, and his dispatches¹⁰ were designed to gratify the inimical disposition of the Court: he represented that Buenos Ayres was distressed for provisions because the Portugueze usurped the country on the opposite

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Salcedo attaches it.

¹⁰ In a paper upon these transactions transmitted to England by the British Ambassador at Madrid, Salcedo is said to have represented, that the inhabitants and soldiers of Colonia were putting themselves in a condition of penetrating into Peru!! *Keene Papers. MSS.*

CHAP. shore; and he said that unless these enterprising neighbours were
 XXXVI. restrained, they would push their settlements to the Rio Grande
 1735. de S. Pedro. A few days after his arrival he dispatched a letter
 to the Governor of Colonia, D. Antonio Pedro de Vasconcellos,
 requiring him to appoint a time when they might meet and fix
 the demarcation. Vasconcellos replied, that he had received no
 instructions upon this subject; and Salcedo, after a second and
 third requisition to the same purport, informed him that if
 the Portugueze did not keep within the range of gunshot from
 the place, they must be responsible for all the evils which would
 ensue. This denunciation was followed by open war, as soon
 as the forces returned from Paraguay who had been sent there
 to quell the Commons. By the treaty of Utrecht it was stipu-
 lated, that the Portugueze should have six months allowed them
 after a declaration of war, to remove with their property from
 the Spanish dominions. In contempt of this stipulation the
 Portugueze were now ordered by the Governor to quit the Spa-
 nish territories on pain of death, and the same penalty was de-
 nounced against any person who should harbour one of that na-
 tion. A flotilla consisting of a frigate, a galley, and ten gun-boats,
 manned with six hundred and fifty men, captured the merchant
 ships of the Portugueze; and Salcedo himself landed ten leagues
 above the port: horses had been collected there for his army,
 and there he was joined by six thousand Guaranies from the
 Reductions, under F. Thomas ¹¹ Werle. Salcedo laid waste the

*Silvestre
 Ferreira. 25
 —43.
 Relation of
 what has
 happened at
 Buenos
 Ayres.
 Keene Pa-
 pers. MS.
 Extract des
 Lettres du
 Rio de Jan.
 et de la
 Colonie de
 S. S.
 Walpole
 Papers. MS.*

because the Portugueze usurped the country on the opposite

¹¹ Berly, he is called in the Portugueze history of the siege, and this looks like an English name written by the ear, . . . but Werle was a Bavarian. The name was thus metamorphosed by the custom of pronouncing the *W* as a *V*, and the practice of indiscriminately using *V* or *B*, by which both the Spanish and Portugueze languages are sometimes strangely disfigured.

country as he advanced, like a barbarian, burning huts, houses, and chapels, destroying plantations, gardens, orchards, and vineyards, and sending into captivity the unoffending labourers on whom he could lay hands.

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1735.

The population of Nova Colonia consisted at this time of two thousand six hundred persons, old enough to be under the care of the Confessor; in this number a garrison of nine hundred and thirty-five men was included. Some of these troops were old soldiers who had fought in the war of the Succession, but the greater part were bad subjects; for the ordinary punishment for most crimes in Brazil, was to serve in this garrison for a term of years. The works were mounted with eighty pieces of artillery, and were not in good repair. The Governor, with a supineness too common among his countrymen, had relied upon a continuance of peace: he bestirred himself now as the emergency required, and the children in the town were usefully employed in assisting at the necessary repairs. The horses were turned out and hamstrung, because they could no longer be driven to pasture, and it was impossible to support them: . . . had there been any consideration of humanity as well as of policy, these poor animals would have been mercifully put to death at once. An act of characteristic superstition followed: Vasconcellos having appointed the stations for his men, and encouraged them to resist a general assault which he expected, went to the altar of St. Michael the Archangel, and prostrating himself before the Image, placed the Governor's staff in its hands and resigned the command to this "Prince of the Armies of Glory," declaring that from that time he should act under him as his Lieutenant.

*Activity of
the Portu-
guese Go-
vernors.*

*Silvestre
Ferreira.
43—72.*

*Progress of
the siege.*

Salcedo issued proclamations inviting the inhabitants and the slaves to come over to him, promising liberty to the latter, and to the former grants of land. The Portuguese Commander replied to this, by offering pardon and rewards to all deserters

CHAP. who should return to their duty, and a bounty for all Spaniards
xxxvi. who should desert. But he would not, he said, vie with the
1735. Spanish Governor in tempting slaves to fly from their masters,
because this was contrary to the laws of Christian morality,
which ought not to be trampled under foot by Catholics when at
war with each other. The Bishop of Buenos Ayres had endeavoured
in vain to dissuade Salcedo from undertaking the siege; he told him
that the attempt thus to surprize the possessions of a Power with
which Spain was at peace, was unjustifiable; and he warned him to
remember that the men whom he was about to attack at their own
doors were Portugueze, who had their property, their wives, and
children, to defend. But Salcedo was confident of success: he took
possession of the Isles of S. Gabriel, which the Portugueze abandoned
at his approach, erected a battery upon the largest of these Isles,
from whence he opened an useless fire, carried on his works against
the place, and promised the Court of Spain that he would be master
of it in the ensuing month, and keep the feast of the Conception in
the Great Church. He destroyed the suburbs, without sparing two
Chapels, one dedicated to Our Lady of the Conception, which is the
favourite invocation in Brazil; the other to Our Lady of Nazareth,
an appellation scarcely less popular: these edifices were razed to
the ground, the ornaments were sent to Buenos Ayres, and the
materials employed in constructing batteries: but the Portugueze
regarded this as an act of sacrilege, and were at once exasperated
and encouraged, by conduct which they believed would draw down
upon their enemies the vengeance of heaven. On the twenty-eighth
of November the batteries were opened, and in the course of twelve
days a large and practicable breach was made. Salcedo then
summoned the Governor to surrender. Vasconcellos replied, that
before he could return a formal answer to the summons, he must
know whether war had

been declared between the two Crowns in Europe; and if it had not, whether Salcedo had received orders to commence hostilities in America; for his dispatches, he said, only informed him that the dispute concerning the Ambassador's servants had not been adjusted. Salcedo answered, that he would never communicate the instructions¹² which he received from his Sovereign; and on the night following he prepared to storm the breach: but a ball from the works happened to strike the centre of his column, where it killed and wounded so many men, that a general panic ensued and the intention was abandoned; and the Spaniards, not chusing to venture upon any more perilous service, contented themselves with cannonading and bombarding the town.

CHAP.
XXXVI.
1735.

*Walpole
Papers.
MSS.
Silvestre
Ferreira.
72—90.*

Early in the new year succours arrived successively from the Rio, Bahia, and Pernambuco, more than a thousand men. Upon the arrival of the first ships the Spaniards abandoned the Isles of S. Gabriel, spiking their artillery and leaving their stores; and their station was immediately re-occupied and strengthened by the Portugueze. Salcedo also withdrew about three miles from the walls, and giving up all hopes of winning Colonia by force, turned the siege into a blockade. Many skirmishes now took place: Salcedo's son received a wound in the arm which maimed him for life; and as the father was sitting at dinner in his own quarters, the cup was struck from his hand by a cannon

1736.
*The siege
converted
into a block-
ade.*

¹² When the Portugueze agent at Paris informed Cardinal Fleury of this correspondence, "his Excellency said coldly, M. Patiño denies the orders. I answered, your Eminency knows better than any body what value is to be set on M. Patiño's words. He smiled, and said, what would you have poor Patiño do, but to follow and execute the orders and passions of the Queen his Mistress, if he would preserve himself: nor is that enough, for he is even obliged to guess at her thoughts in order to content her." *Walpole Papers. MSS.*

CHAP. ball. The *Sargento Mor* of Buenos Ayres was killed in one of
 XXXVI. these rencontres; he was greatly esteemed, and his body was
 1736. fought for with as much animosity as the Greeks and Trojans
 were wont to display upon like occasions, but with a better feel-
 ing, . . for when the Portugueze succeeded in carrying it off, they
 bore it into the town with military honours, and interred it in
 the Great Church with every mark of public respect. The Je-
 suit Werle was also killed; and the Guaranies ¹³, after four months
 service, were sent back without any reward, though there was an
 order that they should receive pay; and the privations which
 they endured during the siege were such, that this resource, which
 on other occasions the Jesuits had declined for them, would
 have been thankfully accepted.

Walpole
Papers.
MSS.
Silvestre
Ferreira.
 90—95.
Charlevoix.
 3. 149.

¹³ Charlevoix says, *Je n'ai pu rien apprendre du motif, ni du detail de cette expedition.* The detail perhaps was not sought with much solicitude, because it did little credit to the military prowess of the Guaranies. *Ces Neophytes n'eurent pas occasion de se distinguer beaucoup*, he says, and leaves the event of the siege unnoticed, as if he were uncertain how it had terminated. Bernardo Ibañes de Echavarrri, in what he has thought proper to call his History of Paraguay under the Jesuits, says, *quant à la Colonie du Sacrament, si elle ne fut pas prise en 1735, ce fut uniquement parceque les Guaranis secoururent les assieges, en leur procurant de la viande et des nouvelles de l'Ennemi.* T. 1, 278. This is a fair specimen of the impudent falsehood which pervades the whole of this rascally work! In another part, (T. 2, p. 16,) he says that Colonia would have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards at that time, *si les Indiens Guaranis que les Jesuites amenoient à ce siege, pour faire une vaine parade de leur fidelité, n'y avoient pas fait entrer un convoi de bestiaux, et s'ils n'y avoient pas porté la nouvelle que l'on alloit abandonner l'entreprise le jour même que les Portugais, dénués de tout secours, étoient sur le point de se rendre. Joseph Ignacio Almeyda, Sergent Major de la Colonie, et le meilleur Portugais que j'aie jamais connu, avoit été témoin oculaire de cet evenement; et il m'en a rapporté plusieurs fois jusqu' aux moindres circonstances, que je crois inutiles de repeter ici. L'attaque fut changée en blocus. Peu de jours apres il arriva un barque d'avis, avec la nouvelle de la conclusion de paix.* The blockade continued from January 1736, till October, when it was broken up by the successful sally of the Portugueze; and the tidings of the peace did not arrive till September 1737.

Salcedo had not given credit to the Portugueze for the military virtues which they possessed; and he was now as much disappointed by their patient fortitude as he had been by their activity and their courage. The troops from the northern Captaincies were ill able to bear the severity of a winter season on the shores of the Plata; they suffered severely from sickness, and their sufferings were increased by the want of wholesome and sufficient food. At length the supplies which Gomes Freyre dispatched from the Rio arrived, after they had long been retarded by bad weather. Upon this occasion Vasconcellos went with all his officers in procession to return thanks at the Church of the Sacrament; and as soon as his men by means of a proper diet had recovered strength, he marched out by night and surprized the enemy's camp. The Spaniards were caught sleeping: without waiting to dress themselves, they got on horseback, and fled as they could: their works were destroyed, and their magazines and stores fell into the hands of the Portugueze. A naval action afterwards took place off the Isle of Martin Garcia, in which the Spaniards lost two corvettes; and the Portugueze were thus victorious by land and by water, when, nearly two years after the commencement of this unprovoked attack, orders came out from Europe that hostilities should immediately cease, and the prisoners on both sides be released. The loss of the Spaniards in killed, wounded, and deserters, is said to have exceeded two thousand eight hundred men; that of the Portugueze was trifling in point of lives, but they suffered grievously in their possessions: two hundred and forty-eight country houses were destroyed, and all the chapels, potteries, windmills, and limekilns in the surrounding country; farms, gardens, orchards, and plantations, were laid waste in a spirit of brutal havoc; vineyards were extirpated, some of which were of such extent as to contain nearly one hundred thousand vines. Above eighteen thousand

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XXXVI.

1736.

The siege is raised.

1737.

Cessation of hostilities.

CHAP. beasts of burthen were captured by the invaders, eighty-seven
 XXXVI. thousand head of cattle, and two thousand three hundred sheep.
 1737. The loss in property, even before the bombardment, was computed at one million two hundred thousand *cruzados*. Colonia recovered its commercial prosperity, and the cattle soon became as numerous as before; but the vineyards were not replanted; the humanizing employments of horticulture were not resumed, and the inhabitants of that country at this day have cause to execrate the name of Salcedo.

*Walpole
 Papers.
 MSS.
 Silvestre
 Ferreira.
 95—106.*

*Conduct
 of the
 Spaniards.*

During the blockade the Spaniards apprehended an attack upon Monte Video, which might easily have been taken if the allies of Portugal would have encouraged the Court in its views of just resentment: but Portugal was withheld from any act of offensive war by the prudence of the English cabinet; and the Spaniards, emboldened by this forbearance, attempted, but without success, to establish themselves at the Rio Grande de S. Pedro. They gained no reputation by this war, which was begun wrongfully, and miserably conducted; but they effected one part of their object, in reducing to a desert the fine country which the Portugueze had occupied; and for awhile they stopt the¹⁴ illicit trade, which had been carried to such an extent that

¹⁴ During the year 1735, (and before the month of October in that year) thirty vessels laden with goods of all kinds for the contraband trade, entered the bay of Nova Colonia. Four of these were English ships, straight from Lisbon, with passes from both Governments, and carrying both flags, to use either as might be convenient. (*Relation of what has past at Buenos Ayres since the arrival of D. Miguel de Salcedo.*) Joam V said at this time to our Envoy, Lord Tyravley, that the English would find the loss of Nova Colonia in their trade more than he should, for it took more of their woollen goods than the whole of Brazil beside. (*Letter of Feb. 19, 1736.*) It appears, however, by a dispatch from Azevedo to the Portugueze Minister in England, (31 July, 1736,) that the London merchants thought differently. He says, "I do not like one thing I hear

it had almost ruined the commerce of Peru. The Court of Spain had just cause to be irritated at the use which was made of this port, in direct violation of treaty; but its own conduct was far more dishonourable. The Court of Lisbon was no otherwise implicated in the contraband trade, than that it connived at what it could not have prevented, even if the desire for preventing it had existed. And that it suffered itself in no trifling degree by the trade, is certain; for by this channel much

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1737.

from certain merchants on the Exchange whom I believe impartial; this is, that the loss the English suffer at Colonia is for once, and of goods already there; but that as for the trade in general, it is indifferent to this nation whether they carry it on by the way of Cadiz, or that of Colonia." (*Walpole Papers.*) Dobrizhoffer, who was there in 1749, speaks of the place thus, in his lively and forcible manner: *In adverso fluminis Argentei littore, quod orientem solem spectat, Boni Aeris urbi opponitur Colonia S. S. Sacramenti, quem Hispani, suo scilicet in solo a Lusitanis conditam olim, munitamque, expugnarunt toties, totiesque, dum pax in Europâ coalesceret, pactorum vi reddidere, palam plaudentibus Boni Aeris inquilinis, in quos ex clandestino cum Lusitanis commercio plurimæ redundabant utilitates. Ast privatorum hominum lucra Catholici Regis ærario fraudi erant maximopere ob debitorum vectigalium imminutiones. Urbecula hæc, tot discordiarum pomum, editiori fluminis ripæ incubat. E domibus et paucis et humilibus componitur, pago quam urbi similior. Neque spernenda tamen: miseris enim sub tectis, opulenti mercatores, omne mercium genus, aurum, argentum, adamantes delitescunt. Muro simplici ac pertenui clauditur, militari præsidio, machinis bellicis, armorum suppellectili, annonâ ad subitos belli casus affatim instructa. Nihil cæterum aut elegantia, aut roboris ostentat.—Territorium quod Lusitanici erat juris tam exigui est ambitus, intra semihoram a pedite vel languidissimo perambulari ut possit. Naves Lusitanicæ Anglorum Batavorumque mercibus, et, quæ ingenti cum fœnore in America veneunt, mancipiis Africanis onustæ, certatim ad hunc confluxere portum, e quo, delusis vel ære corruptis Hispanis excubitoribus, in Paraquariam, Peruvium, Chilenseque regnum res venales clanculum deportabantur. Fidem superat quot milliones ex vetito hoc mercatu Lusitanis accreverint, quot pericerint Hispanis. Prona hinc est conjectura, cur hanc coloniam quantovis demum sumptu conservendam Lusitani, quam primum evertendam Hispani sibi semper putaverint. T. 1, p. 6.*

CHAP. of the gold and diamonds which were subtracted from the Treas-
 XXXVI. ury, found its way out of Brazil. But the chicanery respecting
 1737. the territory, (it deserves no better name) was the act of the
 Spanish Government: that Government, in the present instance,
 disowned the orders which Salcedo had certainly received, and
 the whole transaction was as disgraceful to the faith of the Court,
 as to the military character of the Commander.

*Representa-
 tion des Mi-
 nistres des
 Puissances
 Mediatrices
 MS. Wal-
 pole Papers.*

*France pro-
 poses to
 Spain a par-
 tition of the
 Portugueze
 dominions.*

*Walpole
 Papers.
 MSS.*

Although Phillip V, during the latter years of his life, was the mere instrument of his wife's ambition, he entered cordially into her hostile feelings towards Portugal; for when the other allies, upon entering into the Succession War, spake only of obtaining for the Emperor a just equivalent for his pretensions, Portugal had stipulated that the Duke of Anjou should never be allowed to reign in Spain. The French Government relied upon this resentment; and when it was preparing for that war in which it hoped to drive George II from the throne, it endeavoured to tempt the Spaniards into a war against Portugal, by proposing a partition of the Portugueze dominions: Portugal and the Islands were to be seized by Spain, and France was to take Brazil as her portion of the spoil. But even the passions of Philip and his Queen could not blind them to the impolicy of this arrangement. Such however was the known disposition of the Spanish Court, and such the weakness of Portugal, that the ablest Portugueze statesman of that generation was induced to record his wish that the King should remove to Brazil, fix his Court at the Rio, and assume the title of Emperor of the West. Sooner or later, he foresaw that such a removal would become inevitable, and he seems to have regarded it rather as a glorious¹⁵ dream of

¹⁵ What in such a case would become of Portugal, is the question which D. Luis da Cunha anticipates when he proposes this measure: and he asks in

ambition, than as matter for melancholy contemplation and natural regret.

reply "What is Portugal? It is a slip of land (*huma orelha de terra*, . . . the expression is stronger in the original) of which a third part is uncultivated, though capable of cultivation, a third belongs to the Church, and the other third does not produce sufficient corn for the inhabitants. The other powers of Europe would protect Portugal from Spain, and Spain itself would be deterred from attempting to seize it, by the fear of losing in return the Provinces of the Plata and Paraguay. . . In the event of such a removal a complete demarcation in America would become necessary: the Wiapoc and the Plata ought to be the boundaries on the North and South, and in the interior, the Paraguay up to the Lake of the Xarayes; from thence an imaginary line trending westward for an hundred leagues, till it reached the Madeira." D. Luiz argued, that whether or not the removal of the Court took place, the Portuguese Cabinet should exert itself to have these limits determined. The Spanish Jesuits, he said, were neither better, nor more zealous Missionaries, than their Portuguese brethren; and indeed, the Jesuits were, like the Jews, a peculiar people, having the same character wherever they were found. By such an arrangement the King of Spain would sacrifice a considerable extent of country; but it was a country wherein he had only the mere right of dominion, and the Jesuits had the whole profit. They had satisfactorily proved that there was neither gold nor silver there; but there was the Herb of Paraguay, and he wondered that it was not introduced into Europe, like tea. He had tasted it in London with Dr. Fernandes Mendes da Costa, and that great Physician said it was much more wholesome than either tea or coffee. . . Returning then to the proposed removal, he says, Spain would tremble for Peru, and the whole line of country as far as the isthmus, because all men know that the rigour with which the miserable natives are treated by the Spaniards makes them always ready to throw off the yoke whenever any assistance shall be given them. And it might not be impossible to effect an exchange of the kingdom of Chili and the whole country to the Straits, for Algarve, which, because of its ports, would be very convenient for Spain. . . So many Portuguese would follow the Court, that in this respect there would soon be little difference between the cities of Brazil and of Portugal. "And as for the Tapuyas of the *Sertam*, I may say that they differ in nothing but complection from the rustics in our Provinces; and moreover, that when they have suffered themselves to be instructed, they observe the precepts of the Church better than our peasants, who either forget them, or

CHAP. disregard them. . . But the strong point is this; the King cannot maintain Por-
 xxxvi. tugal without Brazil; whereas, for maintaining Brazil, he stands in no need of
 } Portugal: it is better, therefore, to reside where you have strength and abun-
 dance, than where you are in insecurity and need. . . I shall conclude this my
 vision by observing, that though this may not be the time for taking it into con-
 sideration, a time may come (from which God preserve us!) in which it may be
 remembered with advantage: . . . *Acabarei pois esta minha visam, dizendo a V. M. que
 sem embargo de nam ser ja tempo de fallar nella, pode vir algum (de que Deos nos
 livre) em que nam seja mal lembrada. Carta ao Marco Antonio. MS.*

CHAPTER XXXVII.

War between Spain and England. The French attempt to occupy the Island of Fernam de Noronha. Discovery and settlement of Goyaz and Mato-Grosso. The Portugueze reach the Moxo Missions. Voyage of Manoel Felix de Lima down the Madeira. Progress of the Portugueze up the Orellana, and its tributary streams.

Could the British Ministers have foreseen how soon they were to be forced into a war with Spain, they would have engaged at once in the King of Portugal's just quarrel concerning Nova Colonia, instead of exciting his resentment and ill will by interfering only to patch up the dispute. They would then have had an efficient ally in America; and a better cause would have been found in the spirit and letter of existing treaties, than in the grievances, real or alledged, of men who were actually engaged in a contraband trade. The Ministers were driven into that war by the violence of an opposition which cared not what injury it might do the country, so it could but annoy the existing administration; and by the clamours of a deluded people. The war was unprovoked, impolitic, and unjust; and we deserved the disasters and disgrace which were incurred by ill planned expeditions against Spanish America. Spain also suffered heavy losses both in treasure and in men; but her strength in America

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Growing
importance
of Monte
Video.

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was proved, and the events of the war contributed to the growth and prosperity of her settlements on the Plata. A squadron of six ships, carrying about three thousand five hundred men, under D. Joseph Pizarro, was sent to wait for the expedition under Commodore Anson. This squadron rendezvoused in the Plata, and was afterwards driven back there from Cape Horn in a miserable state: its long continuance upon that station, and the great number of the men who settled in the country (for of the whole number scarcely an hundred returned to Europe) brought a great increase of wealth and activity both to Monte Video and Buenos Ayres. The importance of the former position was now fully perceived, and these ports were from this time more rapidly progressive than any other part of the Spanish Colonies.

*Anson's
Voyage.
Echaharri.
T. 3, p. 133.*

*The French
East India
Company
seek to occu-
py Fernam
de Noronha.*

1732.

Happily for itself and for Brazil, Portugal was not involved in the contest, nor in the wider warfare which soon ensued upon the death of the Emperor Charles VI. Their failure at Monte Video warned the Portugueze to make no farther attempts at enlarging their border where a superior force might be brought against them; and for this reason, they seem to have left the debatable ground in this direction untouched. But they guarded their own possessions with their usual jealousy. The new Governor of Pernambuco, on his arrival at Recife, was informed that some foreigners had established themselves upon the island of Fernam de Noronha: who they were was not known, nor in what strength; but seeing that Portugal was then at peace with all other powers, and that its right to this island had never been questioned, the presumption was that they were Pirates. This name had not lost its terrors in South America, and the Governor immediately dispatched a squadron strong enough to subdue any force which could possibly be found there. The squadron was dispersed on its way: one vessel arrived, and was at anchor off the island waiting for her consorts, when a Portugueze seven-

ty-four, in its passage from Angola to Bahia, hove in sight ; and the Captain, D. Miguel Henriquez, having learnt the state of affairs, took upon himself the direction, and landed part of his men with the Pernambucan troops. Five and twenty Frenchmen were found on shore, who without any show of resistance came to meet the Portugueze, and said they had been sent there by the French East Indian Company, to take possession of the Island. The Portugueze Commander did not at first give credit to this account. The Island, he said, was incontestably part of the King of Portugal's dominions ; and it was not possible that the King of France, being at peace with Portugal, should have authorized such an attempt ; nor that a Company of French subjects should have the audacity to act thus upon their own authority. They seemed therefore, he said, to be Pirates, who had established themselves there for the purpose of infesting the Portugueze commerce ; and they deserved the severer punishment for this falsehood, which they had invented as an excuse. The men, however, produced a formal act of possession drawn in the name of the French Company : a copy of this act was found inscribed upon two sheets of lead at the foot of a cross which they had erected ; and the white flag, which was hoisted at their quarters, appeared to corroborate their story. It was properly determined, therefore, that they should be well and courteously treated till the truth of their statement could be ascertained. They were then desired to strike their flag ; and upon their refusing to do this, the Portugueze took it down, delivered it with military honours into their keeping, and hoisted their own. At this time the remainder of the Pernambucan squadron arrived ; they made an inventory of all the French property upon the island, and the poverty of the establishment made the Frenchmen's story seem the more incredible. It proved, however, to be perfectly correct.

CHAP.
XXXVII.
1738.

*Officios de
Antonio
Guedes Pe-
reira, MSS.*

CHAP. XXXVII. 1738. The island of Fernam de Noronha is about seventy leagues from the coast of Brazil, and some twenty miles in circumference. Many little islets are divided from the main one, and from each other, by narrow channels. There are two harbours, or rather roadsteads: the best of these is well sheltered from the South and East, but both are entirely exposed to the North and West; and when those winds prevail, which is periodically, but for no long time, the shore cannot be approached without the greatest danger. The main island is mountainous, and one of its rocky peaks, when seen from the sea, so much resembles a church tower, that it is called *O Campanario*, or The Belfrey. There are some brooks which proceed from the mountains, and their sources are said never to fail; but this is the only water upon the island; and sometimes not months alone, but even whole years in succession pass without rain, so that every thing is parched up. At the beginning of the seventeenth century a Portugueze factor was established there with some ¹ fourteen negro slaves of both sexes; .. there were then goats, swine, and cattle, wild upon the island, where they had been put ashore

Isle of Fernam de Noronha.

Joannes de Laet. Verhuel van West Indien, p. 47. Do. 110. Ulloa. Book 9, Ch. 3. Cook's second Voyage. Book 4, Ch. 10.

1602.

¹ They had all been baptized, and called themselves Christians, but they were living without the Sacraments, or spiritual food of any kind, and were equally devoid of all charity. Thus they are described by the crew of the Galeon Santiago, who were set on shore there by the Dutch squadron. The tropic-birds frequented the island in great numbers, and were at first so fearless of men, that they suffered themselves to be taken by the hand; but they soon became shy, and discovered remarkable sagacity and boldness in defending themselves. A sailor struck one with a stick, and failed in killing it; the bird set up a cry which brought its companions to its aid, and they attacked the man so fiercely as to put him in considerable danger; nor did he escape till he had killed a dozen in defending himself. When the crew were in great distress for provisions, purslane sprouted up in abundance. *Melchior Estacio do Amaral. Successos do Galeão Santiago. C. 10. Hist. Trag. Mar. T. 2.*

by some of the early navigators who were so excellently provident in these things. Pigeons also were numerous there. About the year 1630, it was in possession of the Dutch: but after some years they abandoned it, because of a plague of rats² who multiplied so greatly as to destroy whatever was planted. The coast abounded with fish, and the Dutch during their dominion in Pernambuco, dispatched vessels there to profit by this never-failing harvest. At one time they sent a number of negroes³ to maintain themselves upon the island, for the purpose of lessening the consumption in Recife when they were confined to its walls; afterwards they transported criminals there, whom they supplied with implements of agriculture, and left to fare as they could. If the Portuguese made any use of the island after the Dutch were driven out of Brazil, it could only have been by private adventurers, and only for a time. But this attempt of the French alarmed the Government, and they immediately gave orders for fortifying it strongly. The State was then rich enough to disregard expence; and no fewer than seven good forts were erected to secure it against all interlopers. From that time to the pre-

CHAP.
XXXVII.

*Nieuhof's
Zee en Land
Reize. p. 6.*

*Present
state of that
island.*

² Amaral's narrative (p. 497,) mentions the great number of rats; but if the account which is there given of them be correct, it should rather seem that they were jerboas, though it is certainly difficult to imagine how this animal should have found its way there, . . . *tem os pes tam curtos que nam andam nem correm, e o seo fugir e meneyo he em saltos como pulgas, e assim os matavam facilmente*: they have such short feet that they neither walk nor run, and thus their pace and mode of escape is by bounding like fleas, so that they are easily killed. . . Very possibly this race, like the old English rats, may have been exterminated by the Norway rat, . . . the great sailor, and colonizer of this species.

³ A certain Gillis Venant commanded this colony, which remained there for some time, and cultivated the ground. The rats had probably turned cannibals after they had driven out the former colonists.

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sent, the island of Fernam de Noronha has continued in a most extraordinary and disgraceful state; . . . it has been garrisoned, not colonized; no women are allowed to go there, and it is used as a place of banishment for male convicts from Pernambuco: the soldiers are relieved annually, and so is the miserable Priest, who is usually pressed into the service; for no men can be found to go voluntarily among this community of miscreants. It is wonderful that so detestable a system should ever have been introduced; but it is not possible that so moral and religious a Government as that of Portugal should suffer it to continue.

*Ulloa. Book
9, Ch. 2.
Koster's
Travels, P.
39.*

*Gomes
Freyre Go-
vernor of the
Rio and Mi-
nas Geraes.*

*Anico. 5
Oct. 1737.
MS.*

The Portugueze were now advancing in the interior of Brazil, and on the Orellana, with an adventurous intrepidity which the Spaniards could neither emulate nor oppose. Gomes Freyre had conducted himself so entirely to the satisfaction of the Court that he was appointed to the united Governments of the Rio and Minas Geraes: the appointment stated, that news could be conveyed from the Rio to Villa Rica in four days, he having performed the journey himself in that time; . . . there would therefore be no inconvenience in his residing at that distance from the seat of his maritime Government. A wide extent of territory was explored and appropriated during his long administration. The Paulistas and the people of Minas Geraes spread themselves into that extensive region behind the Captaincies of Bahia and Piauhy, which now forms the Captaincy General of Goyaz; and from Cuyaba the Portugueze continued to advance, on the one side in a direction which brought them nearer to the Chiquito and Moxo Missions; on the other they came upon the great western branch of the Tocantins and its tributary streams; and they secured for Portugal, a country containing not less than two hundred thousand square miles, which is now the Captaincy of Mato Grosso.

Goyaz derives its name from the Goya tribe. The first person

CHAP.
XXXVII.Goyaz first
explored by
Manoel Cor-
rea.Bartholo-
meu Bueno
the second
explorer.Almeida
Serra. Pa-
triotu. T. 2.
No. 1. p. 50.Cazal. Corn-
grafia Bra-
zilica. T. 1.
p. 314. 312.Bueno the
son makes
the first set-
tlement.

who discovered the mineral riches of this country was the Paulista Manoel Correa, who sometime in the seventeenth century, made his way there at the head of a party of slave-hunters. He brought back a few *oitavas* of gold which had been collected in one of the rivers, and on his return he offered them, as his contribution towards a crown for N. Senhora da Penha, in the town of Sorocaba. Bartholomeu Bueno, the most renowned adventurer of his age, explored the same country after him. In one of his expeditions he found some rich samples of gold in the territory of the Aracys, upon one of the great rivers which flow into the Orellana, .. the Araguaya as supposed by some, the Xingu by others; for the place, though often sought, has never been rediscovered. He named it *Minas dos Martyrios*; not, as might be supposed, on account of the sufferings which he and his companions had undergone in the journey, but because it is said, the site was marked by a natural representation of the instruments of the Passion, rudely formed by the veins of the rock. But it has been surmised, that in reporting this wonder Bueno designed to act upon the credulity of his countrymen, as he had been used to sport with the ignorance of the Indians: by playing tricks before the natives with burning brandy he had obtained the appellation of Anhanguera, The Old Devil, and had persuaded them that he could dry up the rivers by his art.

In another expedition, wherein he was accompanied by his son Bartholomeu, then only twelve years old, he made some stay upon the Rio Vermelho, a river which flows into the Araguaya: and he observed, that the Goya women wore pieces of gold which they picked up in the beds of the torrents. This was in the year 1670. The discovery was not pursued at the time: the age of mining was not yet arrived; and when it came, the Minas Geraes were so productive, that for many years adventurers had little inducement to wander farther in the quest. More than

CHAP. fifty years therefore elapsed, before Bueno the son, then more
 XXXVII. than threescore years of age, proposed to the Governor of S
 Paulo to go in search of the place which he had reached in his
 boyhood, and still vividly remembered. The recent discoveries
 in Cuyaba excited in him this desire, and made the proposal
 appear reasonable; and the Governor, Rodrigo Cesar de Me-
 1722. nezes, sent him upon this service with an hundred musqueteers
 and a numerous body of attendants. After the lapse of so many
 years, it was hardly possible that he should be able to retrace his
 way though a wild country. He got too far to the South, and
 found gold: some of his people, believing that they had totally
 lost all clue to the place of which they were in search, would
 fain have given up all farther exploring, that they might profit
 by the fortune upon which they had fallen. Bueno however
 persisted in his purpose, and continued to wander, till at the
 end of three years, having lost the greater part of his compani-
 ons by disease, hardships, and accidents, he returned to S.
 Paulo. But this ill success had neither broken his spirit, nor
 extinguished his hopes: his character stood high for probity, as
 well as enterprize and sagacity, and the Governor sent him out
 a second time, with better hap. After some months he came to
 a place where it appeared certain that some Portugueze must
 have been in old times: there he took up his quarters, and hav-
 ing caught two Indians they were immediately known to be
 Goyas. The first enquiry was, if they knew where the white
 men had formerly been encamped: they led him to a place not
 far distant, and Bueno recognized the spot which he had seen
 when a boy. He collected gold from five different streams, and
 returned with such rich and abundant samples, that he was pre-
 1726. sently sent back to establish a colony there, with the rank of
Corografia
Brazilica.
 1. 314. 317. *Capitam Mor.* He founded an *Arrayal* upon the place which he had so long
The colony
flourishes.

and painfully sought. It was probably named at first after St. John the Baptist, to whom the Chapel was dedicated; but when the miners removed to richer ground, the blacksmith chose to remain; and from him, as a personage of no little importance in a new country, it was called the *Arrayal do Ferreiro*, which name it continues to bear. The Goyas lived awhile upon friendly terms with the settlers, till, upon suspicion of some treacherous design³, which the recollection of foul treatment in old times rendered but too probable, they appeared in arms. Bueno knew their customs, and captured some of their women, . . . to whom these people were so much attached, that rather than leave them in captivity they solicited for peace. As the price of this reconciliation they shewed the Portugueze where the richest veins were to be found. The Mines of Goyaz, in consequence, soon rivalled those of Cuyaba: and because the way to Cuyaba was very dangerous, infested as it was by the two most formidable of all the South American nations, adventurers who had yet their place to chuse, preferred a country which appeared to offer attractions as tempting, with the advantage of a shorter and safe communication. There was, therefore, a great influx of settlers; provisions came regularly from S. Paulo, but, gainful as the carrying trade was found, not in sufficient quantities for the

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3 It has certainly always been the desire of the Portugueze Government that the natives should be treated with humanity and justice, and even with forbearance. In 1738, the Governor of S. Paulo was instructed to take care that the persons who were busied at some newly discovered mines in this country might be enabled to defend themselves; and if the savages continued to commit any excesses, he was to collect full evidence, that it might be seen whether there were just cause for proceeding to an offensive war against them, conformably to the laws. The exposition which the Superintendent of Goyaz had sent home, was not thought sufficient for such a determination. (*Orden*, 12 April, MS.)

CHAP. population. The bushel of maize sold for six or seven *oitavas*,
 XXXVII. that of mandioc flour for ten, and the first milch cow was purchased for ten pounds weight of gold. It was not long before men began to rear cattle and cultivate the ground, finding that by this means they could enrich themselves with less labour and greater certainty than by mining. In the course of ten years after the first huts had been erected, the Colony required a separate jurisdiction, and was made a *Comarca* of S. Paulo; and twelve years afterwards it was declared to be a distinct Captaincy, having Villa Boa for its capital. This town, which stands upon low ground on both sides of the Rio Vermelho, a league westward of the first settlement, was originally called the Arayal de S. Anna. It was chartered in 1739, and is at this time described as a large, populous, and flourishing place, with seven places of worship, and three bridges. Some of the first adventurers, whose disposition led them rather to explore the country for gold, than to labour for it when it was found, made their way, travelling sometimes by land and sometimes by water, to Para; but the difficulties which they underwent were such as to induce a persuasion, that it was not possible to open a communication between that city and the new mines.

*Goyaz made
a captaincy.
1737.*

*Corografia
Brasilica.
1. 317. 318.
333.*

*Cartas de
Aut. Guedes
Pereira.
MSS. C. 22
Feb. 1738.*

Mines discovered at Mato Grosso.

The first mines in Mato Grosso were discovered upon the banks of the river Sarare, in 1734, by Antonio Fernandes de Abreu, a Paulista in the service of Brigadier Antonio de Almeida Lara, then stationed at Cuyaba. He and his companions built a Chapel for S. Francisco Xavier, which they thatched with grass; and taking the Saint for their patron, called the Arayal which they founded after his name. Gold was so plentiful, that for the first year every slave commonly returned three or four *oitavas* a day: it lay upon the surface of the ground. But the thoughtless adventurers had made no provision for supporting themselves in the wilderness, and they discovered when too late,

that in their situation food was more precious than gold. The land afforded them very little; a few white deer were the only animals, and the *mangava* the only fruit. The *alqueire* of maize sold for six, seven, or eight *oitavas*; the same measure of kidney beans rose from fifteen to twenty; a pound of pork, bacon, or jerked beef was two *oitavas*, four for a plate of salt, six for a fowl, six for a pound of sugar, fifteen for a bottle of rum, wine, vinegar, or oil. Higher prices have seldom been demanded in a besieged town, or during extreme famine, than these poor miners were glad to pay. The gold which they gathered was expended upon provision; . . . all was not enough, and most of them literally died for want of food. At length Antonio de Almeida sent cattle from Cuyaba; but when they arrived the flesh and bone together were sold at an *oitava* and half per pound. The time when gold was most abundant is described by one of the survivors as a season of pestilence and famine; and the discoverer himself, who counted his gold by *arrobas*, died of leprosy.

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Sufferings
of the first
adventurers.

Manoel Felix de Lima.
MS.

Communication with
Goyaz opened.

The Bororos.

Noticias de
Paraguay.
MSS.

But the report of the riches of this land was more powerful in alluring adventurers, than the tale of misery in deterring them. Many people flocked thither from Cuyaba and from S. Paulo, and the supply of provisions became regular when a road was opened to Cuyaba from Goyaz, which was by this time become a great breeding country. Teodosio Nobre, and his son-in-law Angelo Preto, both Paulistas, were the men who established this beneficial communication. There existed upon the Rio dos Porrudos, a tribe called the Bororos, remarkable for their docility. They adorned their heads with feathers, but wore no clothing whatever. They were not given to excess at their feasts, neither had they any of the ferocity which habits of drunkenness excited and fostered in other tribes: and it is said of them, that if one of their women were captured by the Portu-

CHAP. gueze, all her family would voluntarily follow her into bondage.
 XXXVII. This attachment to their women, which is so rare among savages, seems to indicate that they were of the same race as the Goyas. Nobre and Preto had got a considerable party of these people in their service: at their head they penetrated through the country; and when the first persons who went with cattle along the road which they had opened, were cut off by the Caiapos, they made active war upon the savages in revenge, and cleared the way so as to render it safe. The Arrayal of S. Francisco Xavier began now to flourish. A capitation of four *oitavas* and three quarters upon every slave, was allowed without resistance; a shop-tax of sixty-four, or thirty-two, according to the extent of the business, and an impost of sixteen upon the *ventas*. A prison was built at the expence of the settlers, who seem to have contributed readily to every useful work. Churches were erected and hung with silk on holydays; for the finest silks which were imported into Brazil found their way to this new establishment in the centre of the continent, where the miners purchased them with characteristic prodigality.

Manoel Felix de Lima. MS.

Expedition of Manoel Felix de Lima down the rivers.

Manoel Felix de Lima, a native of the mother country, was one of the few companions of Antonio Fernandes de Abreu who survived⁴ the miseries of the first year. He had held some honorary offices in the Arrayal, but he had not enriched himself: gold became every day scarcer, the prices of every thing continued high, and being weary of a settled life and of a pursuit which had lost its attractions, he found companions who

⁴ He escaped, he says, by miracle; but whatever part he may assign to N. Senhora da Conceiçam in preserving him through that year of famine, something is certainly to be ascribed to seventy boxes of marmalade from Taboate, which he consumed, and which cost him three and a half *oitavas* each, . . . in the whole rather more than two pounds weight of gold.

agreed to seek their fortune with him in an adventure down the rivers. Three of this party were, like himself, *Reynoes*, or Kingdomers, as those who were born in Portugal were at this time called in Brazil. Their names were Joaquim Ferreira Chaves, Vicente Pereira da Assumpçam, and Manoel de Freitas Machado. The Paulistas were, Tristam da Cunha Gago, a Licentiate who had the reputation of being a good scholar, his brother-in-law Joam Barbosa Borba Gato, Matheos Correa Leme, the Licentiate Francisco Leme do Prado, and Dionizio Biculo: Joam dos Santos, another of the party, was a native of Rio de Janeiro; . . . their slaves and Indians made up the number of fifty. Manoel Felix was at the sole expence of the ⁵ outfit, the others indeed had nothing but their persons and their slaves to embark; some were mere vagabonds, without character or means; the others, young raw men, unprincipled, and deeply in debt, some of whom had already fled from Cuyaba to Mato Grosso to avoid their creditors; and having now contracted new obligations, they engaged in this enterprize for the purpose of escaping. Before the preparations were completed the creditors suspected their intent, and began to take legal means for preventing their flight; but the adventurers getting intimation of this, embarked in two canoes on the Sarare, fell down the stream till it joined the Guapore, and there at the point of junction, called *A Pescaria*, or the Fishery, built two more canoes, and laid in stores for the voyage without being discovered.

The Sarare and the Guapore rise within three leagues of each

Manoel Felix de Lima.
MS.
Itens, &c.
MSS.

The Campos dos Parecis,

⁵ The account of this remarkable expedition is drawn from two manuscripts in my possession. The one is by Manoel Felix himself, and in his own handwriting; . . . perhaps there may be no other copy in existence. The other contains the official examination of those persons who returned to the Arrayal, taken by the Ouvidor of Cuyaba, Joam Gonsalvez Pereira.

CHAP. other, in the Campos dos Parecis, as the highest tract of ground
 XXXVII. in Brazil is called, from a people once the most numerous of all
 1742. its tribes; but now the few who have escaped from death and
 slavery are incorporated with the Cabixis and Mambares. These
 Campos are a succession of sandy downs in long ridges, one
 higher than another, and of very gradual ascent. The soil is so
 loose that horses sink over the fetlock at every step; and when
 they attempt to crop the plants which grow there, the roots
 come up with the stem, and their teeth are filled with sand. The
 tract ends in a chain of mountains of the same name, which ex-
 tends some eight hundred miles in a N. N. W. direction.
 Thirsty as the soil is, it is every where intersected by streams,
 along the course of which the horses find subsistence during the
 difficult passage; and here the Paraguay, the Tapajos, and the
 Madeira, have some of their remotest sources. The Sarare is
 navigable, from the place where it leaves its native mountains
 to its junction with the Guapore. It was upon the Guapore that
 the adventurers embarked when all their preparations were com-
 pleted. Manoel Felix says they began their voyage in the
 name of Jesus, and trusted themselves to the course of the river,
 expecting to find gold.

Do. No. 1.
51. 54.
No. 6. 41.

*Fourteen of
 the party
 turn back.*

On the tenth day of his voyage they landed on the right bank,
 at the mouth of a stream where they found marks of a re-
 cent encampment, made, as they supposed, by a party under
 Antonio de Almeida Moraes, who had set out from the Arrayal
 six months before them, on an expedition to enslave Indians,
 and seek for mines. They encamped upon the ground and sent
 scouts in quest of these adventurers: on the second day the
 scouts returned, and Almeida came with them. He said that he
 had met with an old Indian who spake the general language, (so
 the Tupi is called) and by him he was informed, that if he pro-
 ceeded down the river he would be in great danger from the

natives, who were spearmen, very numerous, and warlike; but if he ascended the smaller stream, which there fell into the Guapore, he would find people in the interior who were less ferocious, and were, moreover, at war with these more formidable tribes: therefore he had taken the old Indian's advice; and having sent his men forward to explore the country, had remained with the baggage. This intelligence discouraged some of the party. The Licentiate, Tristam da Cunha, said their wisest course would be to join company with Almeida, for it would be madness to pursue their voyage and encounter these terrible savages, unless they had a greater force. Borba Gato supported this opinion: Manoel Felix said he would go on till he came to the Indians, and it would be time enough to turn back when he found it impossible to make his way through them. The Licentiate replied, that he must have a heart of brass to persist in such a resolution; but he desired that ammunition and provisions might be left for his brother-in-law and himself and those of their company, who were fourteen in number, and one of the canoes also. In this determination they persisted, after a dispute which continued through the night: the rest of the party declared that they would follow Manoel Felix till death, and scoffed indignantly at their late comrades as sheep-hearted adventurers, when they saw them actually set off with Almeida.

The more resolute, who were probably also the more desperate of the party, proceeded on their way. Presently they perceived great numbers of the birds called *yacu*, from their cry, eating the earth on the banks, and innumerable parrots covering the trees, who were come for the same food; . . . the earth was salt, and therefore they concluded that salt was to be found somewhere near. The next day brought them into an inhabited country, where there were many huts on the left bank, and many landing-places cut through the reeds. They landed and

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*Voyage
down the
Guapore.*

CHAP. entered a circular dwelling, the wood work of which consisted
XXXVII. of poles resting at the top upon a central pillar; it was hung
1742. round with hammocs, for which this is the most convenient form
of building. About thirty Indians fled at their approach: a
woman remained, with three children, seated upon a little bench,
made by some of those tribes who use the teeth of a fish for their
instrument. Manoel Felix made a sign as if he wished to take
one of the children; . . the woman embraced that child, but
pushed another towards him. The one whom she thus offered
was a boy with red hair and light complexion; and it was sup-
posed that she was not his mother. He gave her some beads,
served himself in exchange with a basket of *mandubi* and a small
hammoc for one of his lads, and re-embarked. On the follow-
ing day they came to an island which divided the river into two
streams, so equal in size that they suffered the canoes to find
their own course: the current carried them to the right hand
channel. On both sides the land was low, and subject to inun-
dation. During the whole day's voyage they saw the devices
used by the Indians for catching fish; and coming afterwards to
a grove of cacao, they concluded that they should find people
there because it was a land fit for plantations. Manoel Felix
therefore, with four Portugueze and four Negroes, went to ex-
plore. They entered a great lake, where the crocodiles were very
large and very numerous, and presently they discovered a land-
ing-place. As soon as they got upon a little rising ground, they
saw some Indians and fired a blunderbuss to frighten them.
This was not the best way of opening a friendly intercourse;
the natives fled along a path which seemed to lead into a well
frequented country; but one man of great stature, in running
through a plantation, struck his foot and fell. Two of the Ne-
groes caught him by the hair before he could rise; Manoel Felix
came up, and thinking that his breast was covered with blood,

began to blame the Negroes for having wounded him. The man had hurt his leg in the fall; but what Manoel had mistaken for blood, was oil reddened with *roucou*, with which they smeared themselves, for the double purpose of a defence from insects, and of making their skin so slippery that an enemy could not lay fast hold upon them. Manoel Felix made signs of friendship to the Indian, and followed him into a house thatched with palm leaves. Here there were ten or twelve jars full of a fermented liquor made from maize, some of which the Indian presented to them in a gourd; but Manoel cautioned them not to taste it, because they did not know what it might be. The house was well furnished with bows and arrows, and instruments so formed as to serve both for oars and *macanas*, the wood being hard and elastic, and the broad blade like a two-edged sword. Another large building belonging to the same owner was fitted up with ovens for a baking house; and the appearance of a large ⁶ domesticated bird sitting upon its nest, was another proof of settled life and improved manners. A woman entirely naked, and carrying a child upon each arm, stood by the house gazing at the strangers, without any semblance of fear; but the man after awhile went out, and looking toward the cultivated part of the country, twice set up a long and loud cry. Presently Joam dos Santos came up with two Indians behind him; one of them cried aloud, and going into the house, took one of the two-edged oars. Manoel Felix, among other necessaries for the expedition, had provided an image or portrait of Our Lady of the Conception, which in Brazil is the most in vogue of all her numerous invocations. He had as firm a trust

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⁶ What this bird may have been it is impossible to discover. Manoel Felix says it was a hawk bigger than the American ostrich! . . . *tinham de xoco hum grande gaviam, maior que huma ema!*

CHAP. in this as Ulysses in his guardian Goddess ; and upon this occa-
 XXXVII. sion, he says, *Nossa Senhora* reminded him that he had left his
 1742. canoe in the dock of these Indians, who, if they chose to seize
 it, might kill him and his companions, and eat them. He had
 previously given a knife to the first Indian, to put him in good
 humour ; he now made one of his slaves take the weapon from
 the other, and moved toward the boat, going the last of the
 party, and giving some knives to the Indians as a peace-offering.
 Just as they reached the port three Indians came up with bows
 and arrows, which they levelled at them : his companions called
 out, and he was preparing his gun, when the first Indian spake
 to his countrymen, and they lowered their bows, . . . a great mira-
 cle, says Manoel, of N. Senhora da Conceiçam in the canoe.
 He adds, that the Paulistas when they were few in number, never
 ventured to go among the savages in their own country by day, . . .
 but that the Mother of God favoured the bold.

*Manoel Fe-
 rrv de Lima.
 MS.*

*Rash provo-
 cation of the
 Indians.*

On the following morning they renewed their voyage early,
 and proceeded in silence because they knew that the natives
 would be on the alert. On the right bank there were habitations
 the whole way, and canoes lying in their ports ; but as soon as
 any of the people saw them, they set up a cry and ran into the
 country. Joam dos Santos and two Negroes went first in a small
 canoe, exploring the way, and shooting and fishing as they
 went. In the evening they came to the termination of the island,
 and there they met a canoe with an old man and woman on
 board, a young man and his wife, the two latter being hand-
 somer than any Indians whom he had ever seen either in S. Paulo,
 Minas Geraes, Cuyaba, or Mato Grosso. Joam dos Santos,
 in his intercourse with the Indians, seems to have acknowledged
 no other code than the law of the strongest ; and not expecting
 any resistance, he attempted to seize these people in their canoe ;
 but they stood bravely upon their defence, the young woman sup-

plying her husband with arrows as fast as he could use them. They got to shore and escaped, leaving their canoe with a few ⁷ *ma-moens* on board, a prize for the Portugueze. But early on the morrow seven canoes came in pursuit of the aggressors: there were seven armed men in each, and the leader of the party was the youth who on the preceding day had been so wantonly attacked. He was now gaily ornamented with macaw feathers, as a gala dress of war, and they raised the war-whoop as they approached. The Portugueze had not yet begun their day's voyage, and were lying moored to the shore; and the Indians seeing this landed, leaving only one man in each canoe, and defied their enemies. Manoel Felix immediately gave orders to push off, and keep the mid stream; he answered their warwhoop with a shout, that no want of resolution might be betrayed; but seeing that the Indians did not begin the attack, he tried to conciliate them by holding up some iron hoops; then tying this precious metal to a piece of wood, he threw it into the water. Immediately the whole party re-embarked, took up the present, and came up to his canoes without fear or hesitation; they were bold beggars, and the interview might have ended in blood, when one of them seized the pistol and would not allow it to be wrested from him, while the muzzle was directed to his own breast, if their leader had not authoritatively interfered; for this he received a looking-glass in addition to his former gifts, and giving a friendly whoop at parting, they made signs to the Portugueze to continue their voyage.

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1742.

Manoel Felix de Lima.
MS.

They meet with some converted natives.

Three days afterwards they came to some high ground, and here they would have searched for gold; but having landed, they heard the natives singing in the woods, and thought it pru-

⁷ A sort of bread fruit, probably the *Mammea Americana*.

CHAP. XXXVII.
 1742. dent to re-embark without delay. This day they past by many deserted habitations and many ports; landing at one and following a path, it led them to a house where there were many broken jars, and many graves: the mode of interment was strange and hideous; for though the bodies were concealed, the long hair of every corpse was carefully left above ground. It was supposed that the persons in this burial place had either perished in war, or been cut off by pestilence, which the number of forsaken dwellings renders more probable. The next day they shot an antelope which was crossing the river, and landing to skin the carcase, they found a piece of black cotton cloth, which was manifestly part of a *tipoya*, or sleeveless shirt of the converted Indians. Presently they perceived a little cross fixed upon a pole, some marks in a tree which appeared to have been cut with a chissel, and a *boucan* for drying fish; and they halted for the night with confidence, because, says Manoel, it had been the quarters of Indians already half christian. In the morning they met a canoe full of men and women, who made from them in such fear that the women paddled with their hands to assist the motion of the boat. But having reached the mouth of a lake or river, where they felt themselves safe, they repeated the words Capibari and S. Miguel, giving the Portugueze to understand that they belonged to that Reduction, toward which they pointed, and that they were hunting the capibari. They were clothed in black *tipoyas*, and they had beads round their necks, and crosses.

Manoel Felix de Lima, MS.

A Christian native undertakes to guide them.

These people belonged to the left shore; and Manoel Felix therefore kept that side of the river, which was here very wide. Upon meeting another canoe he hailed it, and asked one of the men if he was a Christian; the man replied, Ignacio; and in like manner told the names of all his companions; then in his turn repeated the word Christian in an interrogative tone, and Manoel in reply told the baptismal names of himself and his com-

panions. Presents were now exchanged ; the adventurers received some cakes of maize, and gave in return a portion of the smoked antelope's flesh, some fishing-hooks to the men, some large needles to the women, a looking-glass, which set them all laughing with wonder and delight, and lastly, a yard of ribband to Ignacio, who in his gratitude volunteered to guide the bountiful strangers ; and taking the lead accordingly, entered a stream which joined the Guapore from the left. It was not long before they saw a canoe, from which they were accosted in Spanish with the religious salutation of ' Blessed and praised be the Most Holy Sacrament ;' but the Indians who thus saluted them were in great fear, and running the canoe ashore, drew it out of the water and carried it overland to a place where they could embark without danger of being pursued. They met many canoes in the course of that evening, and most of them fled ; though they saw that the Portuguese were guided and accompanied by men whom they knew. The adventurers were now amid a labyrinth of islands and channels, where they might have wandered, as they say themselves, till they became food for the crocodiles and insects, unless they had had a guide. About night-fall they came to a part of the river where the water was entirely covered with a matted weed called *morurus*. Ignacio then told them, that as their canoes were laden and made little way, they could not reach S. Miguel before the next evening : he gave Manoel Felix a piece of cotton dipt in cocoa oil, and made signs that he should rub his head with it to keep off a stroke of the sun : then, saying that he was going to hunt for capibari, he bade him farewell, and turned back, to the no little grief of the Portuguese, who were however too honourable or too prudent to make any attempt at detaining him.

Manoel Felix de Lima. MS.

Ignacio however had only left them for the sake of passing the night in greater security than he should have felt in their com-

They come to the Reduction of S. Miguel.

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1742.

CHAP. pany. He rejoined them in the morning, and guided them among
 XXXVII. an infinity of channels, where it would have been impossible for
 1742. them to have found their way. They saw many islands which
 were cultivated, and many canoes, all of which shunned them fear-
 fully. At length Ignacio made known by signs that the port of
 S. Miguel was behind the next bending of the river, and Manoel
 sent him forward with a letter to the Missionary, complimenting
 the Father upon his labours, and letting him know who he was,
 and whence he came. The adventurers followed slowly; when
 they came to the turn they saw the port, and such multitudes
 of people assembled there to see the strangers, that the trees
 were clustered with them. An apprehension of danger came
 upon them, undoubtedly from a consciousness of what the
 Paulistas had deserved both from Jesuits and Indians; and they
 told Manoel Felix that it was his duty to run the risk of enter-
 ing:.. Certainly, he replied, it was; but he added, they ought
 to understand that if he were killed, they themselves had no
 chance of escaping with life. So he drest himself for the occa-
 sion, to make the best figure which circumstances would permit:..
 after a lapse of sixteen years, when Manoel Felix was in ex-
 treme poverty, he described with evident pride the grand cos-
 tume in which he appeared that day. It consisted of a full
 dressed shirt, red silk stockings, breeches of fine green cloth, a
 miner's jacket of crimson damask lined with silk and laced with
 ribbands, morocco shoes, a wig, and a gold-laced beaver hat,
 which had been worn at the espousals of D. José, then Prince
 of Brazil. Thus equipped he got into a small canoe, taking with
 him two Negroes, with a musket for each, some of those ⁸ knives

⁸ *Faca de ponte*, a weapon, or instrument, commonly worn in Brazil, two-
 edged and pointed; the point so sharp and strong that it will strike through a

which serve the Brazilian Portugueze either for their meals or their murders, and a pistol. He himself stood erect in the canoe, with an Indian walking-cane in his hand; and in this manner, says he, I made for the port, at all risks, trusting in God our Lord, and in our Lady of the Conception, who always was my helper.

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XXXVII.
1742.

*Manoel Felix de Lima.
MS.*

As soon as he landed he was met by a great number of old men, who were dressed in their gala attire to receive him: they were in cotton shirts without sleeves, blue baize breeches, and hats made of feathers; and kneeling down before him they besought his blessing, as if he had been a Bishop. Manoel Felix blessed them one after another as they succeeded, till after nearly an hour his arm was weary with this unusual exercise, and he desired that they might proceed to the Reduction. Upon this they formed a lane for him, and as soon as he ascended the bank, his heart, he says, leapt at the sight of cattle and mules. The houses were faced with a kind of white clay called *tabatingue*, which looks well, but has the inconvenience of falling off in wet weather. The Church was a long building, with three bells, and in the *Terreiro*, or Square, there were five crosses. The Alcaldes of the Mission came out to meet the stranger, and the Jesuit himself, with a white cloth thrown over him so as to resemble a surplice. This Missionary was a German, called by the Spaniards, Gaspar de Prado, and nearly fourscore years of age. He addressed Manoel Felix with an apology for the state of the square; the cattle had made it filthy, and he said that he had not received the Lieut. General's letter in time to have it cleaned. Ma-

Manoel Felix lands.

piece of copper money. It is carried at the waistband in a leathern case; the handle is like that of a knife, and it is used either as a knife, a tool, or an implement for settling quarrels.

CHAP. noel, in his reply, desired that they might go into the Church, for
 XXXVII.
 1742. after so long a voyage through a savage country, his religious
 feelings were awakened now that he found himself in a place
 where he could enjoy the ordinances of his faith. The three
 bells chimed as they entered the building: in the middle there
 was a Crucifix, large as life, raised upon three steps which were
 formed of wood-work and clay; and there were three altars of
 Our Lady, well ornamented. But while Manoel stood in a
 pious meditation upon the mercy of God who, he says, had
 wrought such a miracle as to bring him to that spot, the old
 Jesuit, being naturally desirous of some conversation with a
 civilized being, proposed to adjourn to his house, and told him
 he might say his prayers at leisure.

*Manoel Fe-
 lic de Lima.
 MS.*

*State of the
 Reduction.*

To the Jesuit's house accordingly he went, and presently the
 doors and windows were blocked up with the heads of the In-
 dians, . . so eager were they to see the stranger. Paraguay-tea was
 brought him in a gourd, upon a silver waiter, and with sugar.
 He tasted it, but spit it out; for though the Paulistas were ac-
 customed to take it copiously in the morning, he believed it to
 be unwholesome. When the Jesuit learnt that his visitor came
 from Mato Grosso, he was astonished, and exclaimed, This Lieu-
 tenant Governor has discovered the whole world! and upon his
 explaining it to the Indians they were astonished also, for they
 had supposed that the country up the Guapore was possessed
 by savages alone. This Reduction, which was situated upon
 the River Baure, twenty miles above its junction with the Gua-
 pore, belonged to the Moxo Missions, and was the most recent
 of their establishments. It was composed of the Muras, a peo-
 ple whose various hordes, in various grades of civilization, were
 almost as widely dispersed upon the rivers which flow from the
 centre of the continent into the Orellana, as the Tupi race in
 those parts of Brazil which had been earlier colonized. Whether

their ⁹ language is a derivative, or an original tongue, has not been ascertained. The tribes who approach nearest to the back settlements of Para are remarkably savage, both in their customs and their manner of life. Many of them are elaborately tattooed, and therefore probably it is that when any of them are reclaimed from their wild state they are more unwilling than any other tribe to put on the slightest clothing, . . . for this fashion takes away the appearance and the sense of nakedness. It has also the effect of preserving the skin from the annoyance of insects, by destroying in great measure its sensibility: other hordes defend themselves by painting the body, or smearing it with clay. The men bore their lips, noses, and ears, and adorn them with shells, tusks, and teeth of animals: many of them have beards like Europeans. The women are noted for affection to their infants. But the hordes on the Guapore from whom the Reduction of S. Miguel was formed, were among the most civilized of all the native tribes. They cultivated maize, plantains, potatoes, and other fruits and roots: they had domesticated many kinds both of land and water fowl, and they manufactured their clothing from bark, like the South Sea Islanders. They poisoned their arrows with a certain gum.

CHAP.
XXXVII.
1742.

*Corografia
Brazilica.*
2. 316.

Itens. MSS.

F. Gaspar had charge of about four thousand of these people: they had killed some former Missionaries, and his own authority over them was very precarious. He always slept in the Church, evidently in the hope that he might derive some protection from the sanctity of the place; and he told his visitor that the Indians sometimes snatched his food out of his hands, and sometimes

*Precarious
condition of
the Mission-
ary.*

⁹ Hervas (1. 4. § 72.) conjectures, that they may have been the people who inhabited the country to the East of Cuzco, called Muru-Muru, which Capac Yupangue added to the empire of the Incas. (*Garcilaso, L. 3, C. 14.*)

CHAP. beat him. They were honest however, notwithstanding these fits
 XXXVII. of brutality; for when, at the desire of Manoel Felix, they were
 1742. sent to bring the things from his canoe, not even the smallest
 article was purloined. The Jesuit allotted a house to these unexpected guests, and sent the Lieutenant General, as he called him, a cow, apologizing that he had no people to dress it for him, because none of the Indians understood cookery. Manoel now presented the Father with a fine beaver hat, three pounds of white candles, three carpenter's axes, and some knives. He made his men fire a salute, upon which the Indians who filled the house, and were handling every thing which they saw, ran away, and the Jesuit came presently to thank him for having thus terrified them. The next day being Sunday, Manoel drest himself in black velvet, and went to hear mass. The women were on the left side of the Church, drest each in a single sleeveless garment, which had been dyed black; their hair was loose, and wet with palm oil; round their necks they had many strings of small beads, for they were ambitious who should have most. The men were on the other side, and space was left between them for approaching the high altar. The Licentiate, Francisco Lemos, confessed to the Jesuit, and when he had done F. Gaspar ascended the pulpit:.. Praised be God, said he, who has sent Christians all over the world to magnify his name! The discourse which the poor old man thus introduced betrayed the sense of his perpetual insecurity: he said to the Indians, You see how this D. Francisco has confessed to me, and see the presents which have been made me by the Lieutenant General,.. and then he displayed them from the pulpit;.. know therefore that there are Christians every where, and that if you do any wrong this Christian Commander will return, and with balls of fire kill all those who shall have killed me. Mass was then performed to the sound of a stringed instrument, which, says Manoel, was

out of all tune, but with God would be like the music of Angels. His Negroes had been ordered to fire three salutes during the service; one in honour of All Saints, the second at the elevation of the wafer, the third at the elevation of the cup. This threw the Indians into a tremor and cold sweat, and strengthened the impression which the Jesuit desired to make.

CHAP.
XXXVII.
1742.
*Manoel Felix de Lima.
MS.*

But Manoel Felix was more liberal in his gifts than was quite consistent with the good order of the Reduction: two or three persons having been requited for bringing him fruit with fish-hooks and beads, he was besieged the next day by women and girls, who came in large parties, each bringing a *beju*, or cake of maize, for which she was rewarded with a sash; and Manoel kept measuring on, to gratify his visitors, till he had distributed among them nine pieces of ribband containing about three hundred yards. But then the Jesuit came to him with a doleful countenance, and requested that he would give away no more, saying that these women were leading loose lives, and he had done him unintentionally much harm by supplying them with such finery. Manoel then departed, and in the square he met above fifty women coming with their cakes, who were sorely disappointed at being too late, and who, he says, would all of them have had sashes, if it had not been for that servant of God. He had determined to visit the Missions on the Mamore. F. Gaspar told him he would find the Provincial there at this time, in the Reduction of S. Pedro, and entrusted him with a box of books for him, and a letter. This letter stated, that D. Manoel Felix de Lima, Commander of the Portugueze, had conferred upon him many favours; and expressed a wish, that if all the Portugueze were such as these, many might come to visit him. He directed him also to S. Maria Magdalena, the nearest Mission, situated on the second river which they would come to on the left, after they had re-entered the Guapore. The old man embraced him

*Departure
of the Por-
tugueze.*

*Manoel Felix de Lima.
MS.*

CHAP. at parting, saying he took away his heart with him, and request-
 XXXVII. ed to see him again on his return.

1742.

*They enter
 the river
 Ubay.*

On the third day after they had entered the Guapore they came to the second river, which is the¹⁰ Ubay. Ascending it, they saw large crocodiles in great numbers, and observed crosses upon the shore, wherever a party of converted Indians had made their halt. On the tenth day they came to cultivated fields, in which scare-crows were set up; and they learnt from an Indian that F. Gaspar had sent news of their coming over-land; that the nearest Reduction was that of S. Maria Magdalena, and that it was under F. Joseph Reiter, an Hungarian, having for his assistant an Italian, by name F. Athanasio Theodoro, who was learning the language of the wild Indians that he might preach the faith to them, and receive martyrdom from their hands. By this Indian Manoel Felix sent a message to the Missionary, requesting permission to visit him, and rest a few days from the fatigues of an expedition in which he had mistaken his course; . . . a falsehood this, which implies some apprehension of danger on his part. About nightfall a canoe came from the Reduction with two Indians on board, one of whom addressed the Commander in Spanish, and in the Jesuit's name presented him with two dozen fowls, some pigeons, beef, fruit, and sugar. Manoel Felix replied, that on the morrow he would go to thank the Missionary in person, and hear mass in honour of St. Ignatius Loyola, whose festival was appointed upon that day; then giving the messengers a piece of English cloth, they set up a whoop and took their leave.

*Manoel Felix de Lima.
 MS.*

¹⁰ This river is sometimes called the Magdalena, from the Mission. And in Arrowsmith's map it is called the Itonamas, from the name of the most powerful tribe. Coleti makes the Ubay fall into the Itonamas. . . In this part of the story there is a confusion, both in the narrative of Manoel Felix and in the depositions of his companions. They call this river the Mamore, . . . though the error manifestly appears in the course of the relation.

Manoel prepared for the interview with as much solicitude as on the former occasion; and from the extraordinary wardrobe which he carried with him on this wild vóyage, he attired himself in pearl-colour silk stockings, a waistcoat and breeches of embroidered dove colour velvet, and a coat of red *barbarisco*, lined with white silk, and with cuffs of rose colour velvet; the wig, the gold-laced hat, and the Indian cane, compleated his costume, and his arms were a pocket-pistol, a silver-hilted sword, and the formidable *faca de ponte*, or knife of all work, inlaid with gold and silver. Matheos Correa, whom he desired to accompany him, wore a coat of blue cloth embroidered with silver. If such details are less dignified than the descriptions of chivalrous or oriental costume, they are not less characteristic. They took with them two Negroes armed with muskets and knives, and swords which they wore round the neck. The landing place was about six miles from the spot where they had passed the night, and the Indian archers were drawn up in a double row to see them land. Mass was over before they arrived; the two Jesuits received them courteously in the Church porch, and led them to a house where there was a large table covered with an embroidered cotton cloth; a wrought salver with refined sugar was on the table, and in the corners of the room there were plantains, mammoens, oranges, and that fruit which the Spaniards call *Almendras*, and the Portugueze, Maranham chesnuts. Before the food was served Manoel's companions arrived, not in such imposing costume ¹¹ as their leader: the Jesuit would have placed them at another table; but Manoel said this would be failing in what was due to honour and cour-

CHAP.

XXXVII.

1742.

Their recep-
tion at S.
Maria
Magdalena.

¹¹ They were however dressed, he says, *vestidos em corpo, que todos os tenham, se entende os brancos.*

CHAP. tesy, for they were his friends, and for friendship had accom-
 XXXVII. panied him, being all white men, some of S. Paulo, some of
 1742. Portugal, and all having slaves of their own. F. Joseph then
 called for napkins, and giving one to each of the Portugueze,
 put one carefully under Manoel's chin; and when he, not being
 used to this uncomfortable ceremony, took the napkin off, the
 Jesuit replaced it, assuring him that it was a mark of respect.
 A plentiful repast was set before them, of pigeons, poultry, game,
 meat, and neats' tongues, all good in their kind if they had not,
 much against the visitors' taste, been all seasoned with sugar.
 The want of bread was supplied by cakes of maize, kneaded
 with milk and baked in a pan.

*Manoel Fe-
 lix de Lima.
 MS.*

*Flourishing
 state of this
 Reduction.*

This was a flourishing Mission. The Church was a spacious
 building of three aisles, the columns, as in Paraguay, being each
 the trunk of a tall tree: the walls were well made of clay, and
 the roof tiled. A Calvary stood in the middle; there were three
 altars richly ornamented, an organ, four stringed instruments
 which are called harps, and four trumpets, which though made
 of canes, are said to have been as finely toned as if they had
 been of metal. Some Indians who were expert in the art of
 carving, had been brought from another Mission; they were em-
 ployed upon a pulpit, and the Portugueze were astonished at
 the beauty of the work; it was covered with foliage and the
 figures of various birds, and was to be gilt when finished. A
 golden pix had been sent from Lima as the offering of some de-
 vout persons; its value was three thousand five hundred pieces
 of silver. Manoel Felix, who was wanting neither in devotion
 nor in liberality, presented for the service of the altar a large
 piece of blue taffeta, and a smaller one, of the richest brocade
 which had ever reached the mines of Mato Grosso. The Jesuit
 accepted the gift, and then opening the Sacristy shewed him
 thirty hangings of tissue and brocade, which had been sent from

*Manoel Fe-
 lix de Lima.
 MS.*

Potosi and Lima, for the same purpose. Manoel was somewhat mortified at perceiving how little his own present would be valued: nevertheless, he said, he had given what he could.

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1742.

The whole settlement was inclosed with a square wall, which being probably of clay, like the Church, was covered to preserve it from the weather; and this covering projected so far that there was a dry walk at all times round the Reduction. The great square, according to the usual style of these Jesuit establishments, had a Cross at each corner, and a larger one on its pedestal in the centre; but in other respects the ground plan appears to have been traced by some whimsical architect; for Manoel Felix says, that in whatever direction the houses were seen they appeared in regular order, like the chequers of a chess-board; and the country was laid out in farms after the same fashion, with paths of white sand. A considerable space was enclosed within the walls, so as to afford room for folds and gardens; and the settlement bore many marks of civilization: there were shops for weavers, carpenters, and carvers; an *engenho*, where rum as well as sugar was made; public kitchens, and stocks for the enforcement of wholesome discipline. The plantations of bananas, mamoes, and cotton, were numerous, and the cultivation extended many leagues along the river. The children were instructed in Spanish, and taught to read; and there was a school of music. Horses and kine were very numerous, and two beasts were slaughtered every day for the various artificers who were employed in the service of the Mission. The Indians who had been Chiefs before their conversion, held the rank of Alcaldes.

Manoel Felix de Lima. MS.

Though the Portugueze were so well received in these Missions, that according to their own relation greater honours could not have been shewn to a Prince, nor to the General of the Company himself; the Jesuits at S. Maria Magdalena were not

The Jesuit makes a display of his force.

CHAP. desirous that such visits should be repeated, and thought it prudent to make a display of their strength. On the second morning, therefore, after the guests had breakfasted upon chocolate and sponge cake, and after mass had been performed, fourscore horsemen were exercised in the great square before the Church. They were drest in cotton shirts which had been ornamented with some labour, and large trowsers of blue baize; their weapon was the *macana*; they had cotton horse-cloths, and many small bells fastened to the poitral and saddle. They saluted the Jesuits first, and then the strangers, the Alcaides, and the women who were seated upon mats to see the spectacle. They were all good horsemen, and their usual employment was in tending cattle. When they had concluded their exercise both sides of the square were presently filled with archers, naked, their bodies stained red as if for battle, stamping with their feet and setting up the war-whoop. They discharged their arrows into the air skilfully, so as that they should fall in the middle of the square; and the great cross was bristled with them as they fell. Both sides then drew nearer each other; and when they were within point blank shot, they raised so terrible a shout, that Manoel Felix ordered his people to stand upon their defence, and made some of his Negroes gather about him, because he perceived that the natives were more afraid of them than of the Whites. Some of these tribes had been old enemies before the Jesuits had brought them to live together in peace; and this circumstance afforded Manoel a pretext for requesting the Jesuits to bid them disperse for fear of evil; the men, however, were heated in their sport, and appeared to pay little attention to the commands of their Alcaides. Manoel then fired a pistol in the air, .. they stopt immediately and began to pick up their arrows; and he noticed with wonder that every man knew his own. The day had been consumed in these exhibitions. When they were seated at supper, one of the

Jesuits asked Manoel Felix what he thought of these Indians; adding, that the Missionaries could bring into the field forty thousand archers. Manoel, who perfectly understood the hint, spoke in reply of the effect of field-pieces upon such troops; and the dexterous Jesuit then turned the conversation by complimenting the military prowess of the Portugueze. But especial care was taken that these suspicious guests should have as little opportunity as possible of reconnoitring the place; and for that purpose amusements¹² were continually devised for them.

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XXXVII.
1742.

*Manoel Felix de Lima.
MS.*

Some of the Portugueze proceed to the Mamore.

Manoel Felix had sagacity enough to perceive that the information which he had obtained concerning these Missions, might be of some political importance; for now that the Spaniards and Portugueze were so rapidly drawing near each other, it was evident that a question must soon arise concerning the right of occupation. Some of his companions believed that they might better their fortunes by returning with this intelligence, and that a speculation in cattle would answer their purpose well, and serve as an excuse for having absconded. Manoel thought this part of the scheme impracticable, because the intermediate country was full of swamps, and inhabited by fierce savages; they nevertheless proposed to F. Joseph, to purchase beasts from him at the rate of seven hundred and fifty *reis* per head, in such articles as they had with them. The Jesuit replied, that as far as concerned himself he would willingly present them with

¹² An old man was brought, to exhibit his skill in catching oranges with his feet as well as his hands. His whole body was so seamed with the scars of arrow wounds received in war before he became a convert, that Manoel Felix says he was like a St. Sebastian. And now, notwithstanding his advanced age, the Jesuit affirmed that seven stout Indians could not stand against him in battle.

CHAP. a thousand head, but that it was not in his power to dispose
 XXXVII. of any thing belonging to the Mission without authority from
 1742. the Provincial, who was then at La Exaltacion de S. Cruz,
 upon the Mamore. Thither they determined to go, less perhaps
 in the hope of effecting this object, than for the sake of explor-
 ing the land farther; and probably for that same reason Manoel
 Felix and the three Europeans chose to perform the journey by
 land, while the Paulistas went in their canoes. The latter set
 off; the others remained while F. Joseph sent persons to facili-
 tate their way by burning the country. But before this was ef-
 fected a messenger arrived with a letter from the Provincial, in
 which the Father was reprimanded for having entertained the
 Portugueze, informed that he had incurred the displeasure of
 the Governor of S. Cruz by so doing, and commanded to dis-
 miss them as soon as he could, giving them all necessary assist-
 ance for their return.

*Manoel Fe-
 lix de Lima.
 Itens. MSS.*

*Manoel Fe-
 lix is dis-
 missed from
 the Reduc-
 tion.*

Manoel Felix had been nearly three weeks in the Reduction, and the good Jesuit, notwithstanding his reasonable suspicion of such guests, had become so familiar with them, and had perhaps derived so much enjoyment from their society, that he did not obey these orders without sorrow. He suffered them to linger three days longer, in hope that their companions might return; and when he could not permit of any further delay, stored their canoes with every thing needful. F. Athanasio entrusted Manoel with a letter for his friends in Italy, and gave him a silk mask with green goggles, which fastened behind the head and below the breast, as a protection against sun, wind, dust, and insects. They parted, with many tears on both sides; and Manoel, confiding firmly in the recent confession by which he had made up, as he believed, his accounts with Heaven, and trusting not less firmly in his constant Patroness N. Senhora da Conceiçam, committed himself once more to the stream. Soon

after they had re-entered the Guapore they met a canoe with a cross erected in the middle; but it gave them no tidings of their former companions: and all hope of rejoining them was at an end when they came to the place where the Mamore and Guapore join, and lose their names, the great river which they form being from that point called the Madeira, because of the quantity of wood which after the rains it carries into the Orellana. The Mamore comes with such power that it makes its way through the other stream, and strikes forcibly against the right bank. Even the crocodiles cannot make way against it, unless they swim deep. The canoe passed over some of these creatures who were lying upon the sand in shoal water, and the splash which they made had nearly swamped the incautious voyagers.

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1742.

Manoel Felix de Lima.
MS.

In the course of a few days they reached the point where the great river Beni joins the Madeira, and immediately they came upon falls and rapids, more formidable than any which they had yet passed. At the first of these impediments Manoel Felix got upon a large crag in the middle of the stream; there was a hole in the stone from top to bottom, and hearing distinctly that there was some animal at the bottom he fired into it: one of his Negroes then was ordered to creep in, which he did in great trepidation, and there he found a capibari, killed by the shot. This was a good prize for men who had had neither meat nor fish that day, and they feasted upon their prey. On the morrow evening they moored for the night at a place where some Indians had formerly been stationed, but which was grievously infested with a long legged fly, called by the Portugueze *pernilongo*: these blood-suckers attacked mouth, nose, and ears, in such swarms, that their hands were covered with blood in killing them as they alighted on their faces. Manoel Felix hoped to escape from this intolerable plague by means of a large mosquito net,

Voyage down the Madeira.

CHAP. under cover of which he ordered his hammock to be slung ; but
 XXXVII. upon getting in he found that the net was of no use, having
 1742. been eaten in holes by the ¹³ ants. The rest of the party would
 gladly have remained where they were for the night, but Manoel,
 who suffered more acutely from the flies, made them re-embark,
 and they fell down the river till they came to a piece of high
 ground, where, by favour of a slight breeze, they slept free from
 this torment. In the morning a quarrel arose between Manoel
 and one of his companions as they were passing a rapid ; and as
 they were too angry to attend to the canoe, they had very nearly
 been lost. When they got into smooth water, the one party
 leapt on shore with a blunderbuss and challenged Manoel ; he
 instantly landed with his musket, and they were about to fire
 upon each other, but their companions interposed in time, and
 convinced them of the madness of quarrelling and fighting in
 such a situation. One of the Portugueze that day fired thirteen
 shots successively at some birds, without killing one ; he was so
 chagrined at this, that he made a vow never to shoot again ; and
 this vow he observed faithfully during the voyage, though they
 were often in want of food.

On the following day Manoel Felix saw some birds which he
 calls *marequas*, upon some level ground which he supposed to

¹³ Manoel Felix says that these red ants devoured the cloths of the altar in the Convent of S. Antonio, at S. Luiz, and brought up into the Church pieces of shrouds from the graves, so that the Friars were obliged to prosecute them, according to ecclesiastical law ! A similar case, he assures us, had occurred in that Seraphic Paradise, the Franciscan Convent at Avignon, where the ants did so much mischief that a suit was instituted against them, and they were excommunicated, and ordered by the Friars, in pursuance of their sentence, to remove within three days to a place assigned them in the centre of the earth. It is gravely added, that the ants obeyed, and carried away all their young and all their stores.

be a dark sand. He landed in pursuit of them, while the canoe proceeded to a bend of the river a little way below; and bringing down three at one shot he ran to secure them, when, to his misfortune, what he had mistaken for sand proved to be a morass of which the surface was dry, and he sunk to his middle. The more he plunged about to extricate himself, the deeper he sunk; and no sooner had he begun to cry for help, than he was answered by a growl from the thicket, where a jaguar was watching at about thirty paces distance. His musquet was wet and full of mud, his cartridge-box in no better plight; and seeing himself in double danger of being smothered in the bog, or eaten alive by the wild beast, he vociferated for assistance, and called upon *N. Senhora da Conceição*. They in the canoe heard him, but supposed that the cry proceeded from the savages; till one of his slaves, wondering that he did not return, ascended the bank to look for him, and then recognizing his voice, summoned the others to his aid. The jaguar fled at their appearance and the shout which they raised; the Negro, meantime, threw off what little clothing he wore, and plunging into the morass, made his way through the mud like a crocodile up to his master, and bade him lay hold of him: in this manner, struggling with his feet to assist himself, Manoel was extricated; the Negro also recovered the gun and the cartridge-box, and got the birds. Manoel remarks, that he had often been obliged to punish this slave for theft, but that he was always ready to exert himself in any danger.

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XXXVII.
1742.

Manoel Felix de Lima.
MS.

The canoe wrecked.

The following evening Manoel with one of his Negroes kept pace with the canoe by land; they came to a small river, and Manoel not being able to swim, was ferried over upon the trunk of a tree by the slave, who swam beside it. In washing himself from the dirt which he had contracted in this passage, he took off a small leathern bag containing a golden amulet called a

CHAP. ¹⁴ *Breve*, which he wore about his neck. When they had reached
 XXXVII. their resting place and he was about to lie down for the night,
 1742. a sudden pain made him lay his hand upon his breast, and he
 missed the charm; so the next morning the canoe was unladen,
 and they went back to fetch it. If this had not been done, the
 misfortune which that day befell them would have been ascribed
 to the loss of the amulet. They had to pass a rapid in which
 the canoe went so close to the left bank that Manoel leapt
 ashore, for the purpose of seeing it pass an upright rock; the
 current carried it against the rock with such force that the lading
 was thrown forward; the men were thrown out and got safely to
 land how they could, but the canoe was carried down the stream
 and presently out of sight. A few things were saved, but the
 prospect was sufficiently appalling; they had advanced so far
 that it was impossible to return: how far it might be from the
 nearest settlement on the side of Para they knew not, but it was
 certainly a great distance, and the intermediate country was full
 of wild beasts and formidable tribes. They rested for the night
 near a bank of salt clay, which was a great place of resort for
 animals. Antas, boars, deer, and many other creatures, birds
 as well as beasts, feed upon this clay: . . . the marks of their feed-
 ing are manifest upon the ground itself, and when they have
 been killed, the stomachs of the one and the craws of the other
 have been found full of it. It is said to render their flesh in-
 sipid. Here they shot an anta, which eluded their search at the
 time, but was found dead the next morning. They rested that
 day, and having eaten half their game, salted the other and

*Voyage up
 the Madeira
 in 1749.
 MS.*

¹⁴ The Brazilians at this time, commonly wear these amulets, which are called *Bentinhos* when they are purchased from the Benedictines. They are seldom seen on young men, but few persons of middle age are without them.

placed it upon the *moqui*, or boucan, to be smoked: on the morrow, when they returned at night to the same spot, having spent the day in reconnoitring the river without perceiving any termination to the rapid, they found their fire scattered and their meat carried off by the jaguars, who were very numerous and very bold, and whose tracks were seen every where. On the following day they proceeded along the shore; Manoel Felix led the way, and at a place where he least expected such a change, found that the rapid ended. To his still greater joy, he discovered a canoe caught between two large stones near an island in the middle of the river, the prow resting upon one and the poop upon the other, and the body suspended in the air, . . . he says, like Noah's Ark. He shouted for joy, and cried out to his companions, that God in his mercy had succoured them when they must else inevitably have perished.

CHAP.
XXXVII.
1742.

Manoel Felix de Lima.
MS.

They find a canoe.

There yet remained a difficulty in reaching the canoe, and there appeared so much danger in swimming to it, because of the force of the stream, that when one of the slaves undertook the service, Manoel Felix engaged to pay his master for him if he should perish in the attempt. He failed in the first trial, but got near enough to ascertain that the canoe was whole and serviceable. Then having re-landed, rested, and strengthened himself with food, he took water a second time higher up the stream, and reached the island, carrying some cords with him, by the help of which the rest of the party joined him upon a *jangada*, and then they embarked once more and pursued their way. They came now to the falls, which are numerous upon this river; but by means of the *embiras* and *embambas*, long lithe creepers which are found in the woods, the canoe was let down safely. At one time they were in distress for food; they shot a huge jaguar, who was too much intent upon catching fish to perceive his own danger: this animal not only served as meat, but as a

CHAP. good bait for their hooks. When this resource failed, they laid
 XXXVII. a loaded musquet in a path made by the beasts in their way
 1742. to the river; about midnight it went off and an anta fell. They
 preserved it with some rock-salt which F. Joseph had given
 them, and fed upon this as long as it lasted.

Manoel Felix de Lima.
MS.

They narrowly escape the Muras.

At length they left behind them the last rapid and the last fall, where the river leaves the mountains through which it had passed during a considerable part of its course. Immediately on the right hand, they saw ground which had been cleared for cultivation, and the remains of a settlement made by the people of Para, who came up the Madeira thus far, to seek for the cinnamon of the country, sarsaparilha and cacao, and tortoises, . . . animals which are not found above the falls. The Muras had cut off the settlers, and therefore, the place was thus desolate. Manoel Felix found sugar-canes growing which these unfortunate persons had planted, and was glad to meet with them, not merely as an indication that they were approaching a civilized country, but as a wholesome and refreshing food. Some few miles lower down he landed upon an open bank with Vicente Ferreira and an Indian lad, to keep pace along the shore with the canoe. They saw a plantation of bananas and *mamoens* at a little distance, and Manoel sent them forward to gather some of the fruit, in doing which, each of them disturbed a nest of wasps, and both were dreadfully stung. They had well nigh brought upon themselves more serious danger. There was a large house in sight, and a *gerau* also, which is a sort of frame or scaffold in a tree, as a place for watching game. Manoel made signal to the canoe; it was nightfall when they landed, but they could distinguish the recent marks of naked feet upon the bank; he thought there were some Christians near, and in their joy they fired off all their guns as a salute; immediately there was a rush in the thicket, as if a herd of swine had run off: and in the

morning they perceived the track of savages, whom they had thus unwittingly terrified, and thereby providentially been preserved. They learnt afterwards that a Missionary had been driven from hence, with the loss of an hundred of his people, by the Muras. Blessed, says Manoel, be Our Lord for this deliverance, and blessed also be Our Lady of the Conception, to whom this prodigy is owing, as well as all the others which we experienced, for we had her Image with us.

CHAP.
XXXVII.
1742.

Manoel Felix de Lima.
MS.

Distress for food.

The left side of the river in one place was full of tortoises, who were going on shore by thousands to lay their eggs. Manoel and his party were at this time suffering much from hunger; but by a strange ignorance they did not know that the tortoise is good food, and by a stranger stupidity, they appear not to have made the experiment. Some threescore were lying on their backs, and they supposed them to have tumbled over in that position, though the slightest consideration might have convinced them that this was impossible: it must have been done by the Indians, for there was an Indian hut in sight, and the people of Para¹⁵ at this time did not venture so far up the river, for fear of the Muras. In five days more they came to a *tapera*, or farm, in a fallow state, and here there was a Cross standing. And now, because they were in great distress for want of food, they brought out *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*, and spread a clean towel over a little box by way of altar, and said her Litany, and the *Salve Regina* and other prayers, and made their vows; and moreover, Manoel Felix promised thirty masses for the souls in Purgatory, if they should fall in with Christians before the end of the following day. The next morning they entered upon a

They reach a Jesuit settlement.

¹⁵ Manoel Felix says, that they kept tortoises at Para, and sold them for three *milreis* each; and that they made pots of butter (*potes de manteiga*) from their eggs.

CHAP. reach where the river was about four miles wide: at its termi-
 XXXVII. nation they saw a fire upon the shore. They fired their guns
 1742. when, as they supposed, they were near enough to be heard, . . . but
 they had mistaken the distance: as they approached nearer they
 heard the report of a musquet, at which certainly, says Manoel,
 my heart rejoiced. Here he found a Mission of the Jesuits,
 where F. Manoel Fernandez had collected the wreck of a former
 establishment, which had been broken up by the attacks of the
 Muras. The situation was unhealthy, and almost all the inha-
 bitants were diseased. Here the adventurers were hospitably
 entertained; and here leaving, not without regret, the canoe
 which, as Manoel Felix says, by the miracle of *N. Senhora da*
Conceiçam he had found in the river, they re-embarked in a
 larger vessel given them by the Jesuit, and proceeded to the *Aldea*
do Jacaré, and the *Aldea dos Baquazis*, both Jesuit Missions, be-
 low the last of which they entered the Orellana. The Madeira,
 when it approaches toward the end of its course, sends off one
 great branch, and several smaller ones forming as many islands;
 the straighter stream, at its mouth, is about eight hundred fathom
 in breadth, and the adjacent country low, swampy, and uninha-
 bitable, because of the inundations to which it is subject.

Manoel Fe-
lix de Lima.
MS.

Voyage up
the Madei-
ra. MS.

Former na-
vigation of
the Madei-
ra.

Juan Patri-
cio Fernan-
dez, p. 47.

The Madeira had been navigated before this time. It is said,
 that so early as the days of Nuflo de Chaves, when the first set-
 tlement of Santa Cruz was abandoned, a party of the more ad-
 venturous inhabitants went among the Moxo tribes, and em-
 barking in their country either upon the Ubay or the Mamore,
 followed the stream as boldly as Orellana, and with a like
 good fortune, till they reached the main sea. About twenty
 years before the present adventure, the Governor of Para, Joam
 da Gama da Maya received information from persons who
 traded with the natives upon the Madeira, that there were Eu-
 ropean settlements above the falls; but whether of the Portuguese

or Spaniards, was uncertain. Upon this he dispatched a party under Francisco de Mello Pacheco to explore the river. They ascended as far as the mouth of the Mamore, and there fell in with a Mestizo who guided them to *La Exaltacion*. Pacheco then ascertained that these settlements were made by the Jesuits from Peru; and after an uncourteous correspondence with the Governor of Santa Cruz, who forbade him to advance into the country, he returned without any satisfactory account even of what he had explored. That Reduction had also been visited by a party of runaways from Bahia, with a Priest in company, who frankly avowed that they had fled their own country in consequence of having committed certain acts, which rendered it impossible for them to continue in it with safety, and they requested permission to take refuge in Peru; but this was refused, and it is not known what became of the adventurers. A Carmelite, also, had reached *La Exaltacion*; he had ascended the river from the most advanced of the Para Missions on that side, which was afterwards destroyed by the Muras, and the purport of his coming was to ascertain the distance to the Spanish settlements, and to require that the Spaniards would keep on their own side of the river, and not form any establishments on the right bank, nor collect any Indians from thence, because all the country on that side belonged to the King of Portugal, the natives were his Indians, and his Missionaries were employed there. But Manoel Felix was the first man who performed the voyage from Mato Grosso to Para, and proved that a communication by water might be established: his expedition, therefore, was thought of much importance; and the Governor, Joam de Abreu Castello Branco, sent him to Lisbon to give an account of it. The news was carried to Mato Grosso by his companion Chaves, who enlisted at Para as a soldier, took the first opportunity of deserting and getting by way of Maranham to Goyaz, proceed-

CHAP.
XXXVII.
1742.

*Itens. MSS.
Voyage up
the Madei-
ra. MS.*

Itens. MSS.

Itens. MSS.

*Manoel Fe-
lix sent to
Lisbon.*

*Manoel Fe-
lix de Lima.
MS.*

CHAP.
XXXVII.

*Voyage up
the Madei-
ra. MSS.*

*His extra-
vagant de-
mands and
miserable
fate.*

ed from thence to Cuyaba, and finally to the country from which he had commenced the circle of his wanderings, where he had the good sense and the good fortune to settle upon a plantation on the Guapore.

Manoel Felix was less fortunate. He sailed for Lisbon with exaggerated notions of the service which he had performed, and in full expectation of receiving magnificent rewards. On his arrival he was put in confinement, and detained a week without cause or pretext, his two Negroes and his baggage being kept on board the whole time. He was then examined by the Ministers touching his discoveries; and his opinion, he says, was asked concerning the measures which ought to be taken. His advice was, that a fort should be erected, and a Portugueze settlement made at the mouth of the Mamore upon its right bank, another at the mouth of the Ubay, and a third at the mouth of the river upon which the Reduction of S. Miguel stood; he conceived that he had discovered these positions, and therefore, that they belonged to Portugal; and he appears to have been perfectly unconscious, that by the right of possession, as well as of discovery, they were vested in Spain. For himself, he required the appointment of *Guarda Mor* of all the country which he had thus added to the Portugueze dominions, a suitable grant of lands, and such other favours as his Majesty might be pleased to bestow. The Ministers observed to him, that the measures which he proposed would be acts of aggression toward Spain. They offered to ask the King for a recompense for his expences in the expedition; but he insisted upon claiming what he thought his due reward; and so strongly was he possessed with this notion, that he continued to haunt the court as a miserable suitor, till the whole of his substance was expended, and he was reduced to extreme poverty and wretchedness. In that condition, after sixteen years obstinate attendance, and in the

sixty-sixth year of his age, Manoel Felix found a melancholy solace in recording his services and his complaints, little thinking, that the very writing which then beguiled his hopeless hours, would one day find its way to the mountains of Cumberland, and that from that writing, the story of his adventures would be incorporated, by an Englishman, in the history of Brazil.

CHAP.
XXXVII.
1743.

The voyage of Manoel Felix was of importance, not only because it first opened a communication between Mato Grosso and Para; but also, because it first brought the Portugueze in contact with the Spaniards upon that frontier. His companions who left him at S. Maria Magdalena for La Exaltacion de Santa Cruz upon the Mamore, reached that place, and were as well received there by F. Leonardo de Baldivia, as they had been by his brethren in the other Reductions; but to their proposal for purchasing cattle the same answer was returned, and the same insurmountable difficulties in removing them were represented. They remained there eighteen days; and when they departed they gave some trifles to the Indians, but they could only prevail on the Jesuit to receive a piece of silk for the altar, while he liberally presented them with loaves of salt and of sugar, wax, soap, wine, wheaten bread, biscuit, rum, calico, and books of devotion, . . . in so flourishing a state were the Moxo Missions. They returned to S. Maria Magdalena, and ¹⁶ finding

*Return of
his compa-
nions from
Exaltacion.*

¹⁶ Such is the account which they gave to the Juiz Ordinario, upon their examination. It seems, however, very unlikely that they should have revisited that Mission, without being informed that Manoel Felix had been sent away by orders from the Governor, for the purpose of preventing all farther intercourse with the Portugueze. Upon considering this, and likewise, that they could not reasonably expect to find him there, because when they parted, his intention was to march over land and join them at La Exaltacion, I am inclined to suspect, that they did not touch at Magdalena on their return; but affirmed that they had done so, lest any reproach might attach to them for returning without their companions.

CHAP. that Manoel Felix had departed, they then determined to make
 xxxvii. their way back to Mato Grosso. In forty days they reached the
 1743. point from whence they had begun their voyage, and they were
 not long before they appeared at the Arrayal de S. Francisco
 Xavier. These adventurers were so well pleased with their visit
 to the Reductions, and thought so much profit might be derived
 from trading with the civilized Indians, that they persuaded
 some of their kinsmen and friends to embark with them in a
 second expedition, and set out again about two months after
 their return. They went in two parties, one under Francisco
 Leme, the other under Jose Barbosa de Sa.

*Their second
 expedition
 to the Mis-
 sions.*

The numerous Indian habitations which they had seen upon
 their former voyage were now forsaken; the landing places had
 been filled up, and the houses burnt by the natives themselves:
 for Antonio de Almeida, with whom the comrades of Manoel
 Felix had joined company, had made such havoc, and taken so
 many slaves, that these poor people thought it better to lay their
 own country waste, and fly into the interior, lest they should be
 assailed by the same enemies. Barbosa's party came first to S.
 Miguel. F. Gaspar received them with great coldness, and
 having merely enquired whether they wished to hear mass, or
 stood in need of any of the Sacraments, he then turned away
 and left them abruptly. They did not prolong their visit after
 such a reception; but to their great surprize, soon after they had
 re-entered the Guapore, they discovered a new establishment
 upon the right bank. There they found their old acquaintance
 F. Athanasio, who with as much¹⁷ courtesy as was compatible

¹⁷ "Tratandoos de ladroens, cosarios, bandoleiros e fugidos, mas tudo com modo de Padre da Companhia." This is a curious instance of that Jesuitical manner which has become proverbial.

with such a communication, informed them that they were a set of runaways, robbers, and pirates; that the Governor of S. Cruz had instructed all the Missionaries to be upon their guard, and draw out their Indians to oppose them, while he prepared forces to destroy the settlements in Mato Grosso, and erect forts for the purpose of excluding the Portugueze from the navigation of that river. Upon his proceeding to search the canoe, Barbosa thought it expedient to make his company produce their fire-arms; and the display of eight musquets in the hands of men who were ready enough to use them, prevented any violence which might else have been offered: for the establishment was so recently formed that it did not contain above an hundred and fifty Indians. F. Athanasio enquired carefully concerning the distance to Mato Grosso, and the state of the Portugueze settlements there, both as to population and means of defence: and he fairly told the adventurers, that they might pursue their voyage because he was not strong enough to prevent them; but that the other Missions would be able to effect what he could only desire. His assistant was a young Irishman, by name John Brand; and he, though a Jesuit also, seemed not to enter into the political feelings of his Superior, and wished to enjoy the company of these visitors as long as he could. Francisco de Leme arrived at this Mission, which was named after S. Rosa, four days after their departure; but none of his party were allowed to land. Barbosa, meantime, proceeded to S. Maria Magdalena, where F. Joseph Ruitter desired to know immediately what they wanted; for, he told them, they must be sent away on the morrow. They petitioned that they might tarry there two days, in order to confess; and to this he consented: but he said, that if they came thither in consequence of the good treatment which the first visitors experienced, they would find themselves greatly disappointed: that treatment was bestowed in Christian compassion,

CHAP.

XXXVII.

1743.

CHAP. upon persons who were supposed to have lost their way in a
 XXXVII. wild country ; had it been suspected that they came on purpose,
 1743. they would have been very differently received. Barbosa re-
 peated the old pretence of the cattle, saying falsely, that there
 were none in Mato Grosso, and they wanted to stock the coun-
 try ; this, he said, was the sole object for which he came, for he
 well knew that the Fathers were not traders, neither was he him-
 self one. He was told that this request could not be granted,
 and moreover, that what he wished to attempt was impractica-
 ble. During the two days of their abode the Portugueze were
 kept in one house, and their slaves in another ; and they were
 not permitted to go out for a moment, except when they went
 to church. Their fare was coarse and unceremonious, . . . maize
 cakes and boiled beef with a little salt to savour it, served upon
 the bare table ; and when they departed they were requested for
 the love of God never to return, but rather to prevent any of their
 countrymen from coming, seeing that the only end of such visits
 would be to create vexation and mischief. The persevering
 Portugueze were not yet satisfied, but would proceed to La
 Exaltacion also. Francisco de Leme fell in with them on the
 way : they were well received, and permitted to remain more
 than a week. But though the Jesuits here were induced by
 their own good nature to relax the rigour of their instructions
 thus far, they pronounced the same peremptory interdict of all
 future communication. All intercourse, they said, between the
 Spaniards of Peru and the Portugueze, was prohibited by the laws ;
 and that ¹⁸ prohibition the Royal Audience of Chuquisaca, and

¹⁸ The deponents, with true Portugueze pride, supposed that fear was the chief motive for this conduct, . . . the *muito medo que tem de que os Portuguezes lhe vam invadir as suas terras, botar fogos e destruir as missoens. Tem a cada Portu-*

the Governor of S. Cruz, had now ordered them to enforce. The poor Indians, who would gladly have had a regular intercourse established, and a better market opened, both for the supply of their wants, and the disposal of their produce, were much disappointed at this determination, and came in secret to purchase knives, needles, and axes, from their visitors. Their wishes, however, were of no effect; and the adventurers being now thoroughly convinced of the jealous, or hostile temper of the Spanish authorities, returned to Mato Grosso after an absence of nearly four months.

CHAP.
XXXVII.
1742.

Itens. MSS.

The Spaniards were more alarmed at the appearance of the Portuguese in the Ubay and the Mamore, because a party under Antonio Pinheiro de Faria, had recently found their way to the Chiquito Reductions also. Difficult as it was for the Spaniards to open a communication between those settlements and Paraguay, the Portuguese had scarcely broken ground in Mato Grosso before they made for themselves a way. There was no reason now to apprehend a repetition of such evils as the Guaraní Reductions had suffered in Guayra and the Tapé, from the Paulistas. The influence of the laws, and the spirit of a humaner age, had mitigated the ferocity of the Paulista character, while its activity and enterprize were unabated; and perhaps in these Missions, where the Indians were stimulated to individual industry by the prospect of individual advantage, the Jesuits might gladly have promoted an intercourse which would

The Spaniards push their settlements on the side of Mato Grosso.
Itens. MSS.

guez por hum leam, e a cada Negro por hum tigre. This fear of the Negroes is said to have arisen from their knowledge of an insurrection which had taken place in Minas Geraes. . . Not a single article of Portuguese manufacture was observed in any of these Missions, nor any thing which might be supposed to have come through the hands of that people. *Itens. MSS.*

CHAP. have been beneficial to their people, and desirable for them-
 xxxvii. selves. But the Government dreaded such adventurous neigh-
 1743. bours; and thinking to prevent the contraband trade and the
 encroachments which it feared, encroached itself upon the ter-
 ritory which Portugal had begun not only to claim, but to oc-
 cupy. Three Missions were hastily established on the right
 bank of the Guapore. That of S. Rosa, which Barbosa had vi-
 sited, was ill situated, a little below the mouth of the Ubay; the
 second was higher up, upon one of the rivers which rise in the
 Campos dos Parecis, and which, from this establishment, now
 bears the name of Rio de S. Simam Grande; the third was
 among the Mequens, still farther up the Guapore, and conse-
 quently nearer the settlements in Mato Grosso.

*Almeida
 Serra. Pa-
 triota. T. 2.
 No. 6. 53,
 56.*

*Portuguese
 in Ilha
 Grande on
 the Gua-
 pore.*

Before these encroachments could become matter of dispute between the two Crowns, the Spaniards were impeded in their course by a party of desperadoes who had absconded from Mato Grosso for debt, and established themselves upon an island, called Ilha Grande, in the Guapore, about forty miles long; but of such low land, that at the time of the freshes the greater part is inundated. There were twelve of these persons, who with the slaves and women belonging to them formed nine households, and were renewing, as far as their means permitted, the system of the old Paulistas. They had the same audacity, the same lawless and remorseless courage, and the same strong national feeling. They subsisted wholly by plunder, attacking all the villages of the natives round about, either openly or by surprise, and stripping them of every thing which they could carry off: the surplus of their spoil they bartered with the nearest back-settlers in Mato Grosso, for other necessaries, and for powder and ball to be used in other expeditions. Their prisoners were soon brought to act with them, serving also as guides and interpreters. By frequent incursions, they drove the tribes on

the left bank back upon the Mission of S. Nicholas, on the Rio Baures ; and on the right they prevented the Jesuits from extending their settlements, and made great havoc among the Mequens, a warlike people from whom the new Reductions were chiefly formed, and among the Abebas, Paivajaes, Urupunas, Trave-soens, and Pataquis, . . . tribes in a state of rudeness, but disposed to live peaceably, tractable, and not cannibals. As the Jesuits could not muster a force able to chastise these ruffians, they talked of applying to the Governor of S. Cruz for troops. But they seem also to have speculated upon the possibility of conciliating them, and inducing them to side with Spain, when their aid might become needful ; for they well knew, that whether the question concerning the boundary should be amicably adjusted or not, whenever a war should occur between the two nations in Europe, hostilities would certainly ensue upon the frontier of Mato Grosso and the Moxos. Therefore, though these ruffians had been excommunicated by the Vicar of Mato Grosso, to whose flock they belonged, the Jesuits, with more than their wonted skill in casuistry, discovered some plea for still admitting them to the rites and sacraments of the Church. It appears that the men themselves were not troubled with much anxiety about the matter ; for when F. Raimundo Laines came to celebrate mass upon their island, bringing with him his Cross, his portable Altar, and the rest of his apparatus, outlaws as they were, they made a formal protest against his performing the ceremony, lest it should prejudice the rights of the Crown of Portugal. There happened, however, to be a Portugueze visitor with them, and at his intercession the Father was permitted to go through the service ; but as soon as it was done, they took down the Cross which he had set up, and desired that he would never again set foot upon the island. Two other Portugueze of the same description were at this time in the service of the Missionaries, who received and

CHAP.
XXXVII.
1749.

*Voyage up
the Madei-
ra. MS.*

CHAP. entertained them, on condition that they should conduct expedi-
 XXXVII. tions in search of the fugitive Neophytes.

1749.

*Expedition
 from Para
 to Mato
 Grosso.*

The Portugueze Government had been less active than the Spanish, with regard to this country, perhaps, because it relied upon the known spirit and activity of the Brazilians; but the importance of the communication between Mato Grosso and Para, and the propriety of securing the dominion of the rivers, were not overlooked; and orders were given that the voyage should be performed from Para by a strong party, well provided with stores, means of defence, and instruments for laying down their course. The two Lemes, who had twice visited the Missions on the Mamore, were in this expedition; they had probably been sent from Mato Grosso, to act as guides in the upper part of the navigation. When about three weeks' voyage up the Madeira, they reached a deserted plantation of cacao, where one Antonio Correa, with five domestic Indians, had been murdered by the savages: here they were attacked by the Muras; and having repulsed them, they found on the following day an arrow stuck in the sand, which was a signal of defiance. But when the savages who had given this challenge, saw the superior force of the Portugueze, they made to the shore, sunk their canoes, and presently eluded pursuit. Their canoes are made of bark; and it is little inconvenience to these people that they are easily swamped, for they are expert swimmers, and easily recover them; at night they secure them from being stolen by sinking, and thus also the discovery of their own quarters is rendered more difficult. About a week afterwards they sent their large canoes back to one of the nearest Missions to wait their return, and began to build lighter ones, as better adapted for the increasing difficulties of the navigation, and for portage. While this business was going on, they were abundantly supplied with fish and tortoises; but they were fain to fortify themselves against

the Indians ; and having been harrassed by them during many days, found it expedient, as soon as the trunks of the trees were prepared, to remove to an island where they could finish the work without molestation.

CHAP.
XXXVII.
1749.

Voyage.
MS.

Toward the termination of its course, the Madeira passes through a low and most unhealthy country. In the *Aldea dos Abacaxis*, where the Jesuit F. Joam de S. Payo had once collected a thousand Indians, more than two thirds of the population had been cut off, partly indeed by the small pox and measles, but partly also by the more permanent evil of a near lake, which is regularly filled in the season of the floods, and during the remainder of the year stagnates and is dried up. A degree of civilization high as that of ancient Egypt, must be attained before such physical circumstances can be overcome. Other settlements had been abandoned, or removed, for similar causes ; and melancholy vestiges of meritorious industry appeared in lemon, orange, and other fruit trees of European or Asiatic extraction, growing wild and continuing to flourish, where man himself had not been able to take root. The curse of insects is usually superadded to such evils, . . . or rather it co-exists with them, as if for the purpose of preventing mankind from attempting to inhabit such situations till they shall be strong enough and wise enough to replenish the earth and subdue it. Part of the country through which they passed is called Carapanatuba, . . . the land of mosquitoes. But higher up the river, as the land rises, the country improves ; and the adventurers were delighted with the rich combinations of lake, island, and sylvan scenery, which it presented. Of all the streams which fall into the Madeira from the right, the Jamary is one of the largest ; it rises in the Serra dos Parecis, and was at that time the most known of all the rivers of Para, as being frequented for cacao. They who gathered it associated in companies for mutual defence, and

CHAP. usually went with a flotilla of four or five canoes. A settlement,
 XXXVII. called Trocano, had been formed a little above the mouth of the
 1749. river; its only remains now were the fruit tress, which bore tes-
 timony to the carefulness of the unfortunate settlers, and the fa-
 vourable nature of the soil and climate. A little way farther the
 navigators arrived at the first fall, and then entered upon the
 Cordillera. There is a portage here of about a third of a mile.
 The second and most formidable cataract is three leagues higher,
 where the whole river, being in that place nearly half a mile
 wide, makes a fall of about a hundred feet. Here there is a steep
 portage for nearly three quarters of a mile; and the canoes were
 so much opened by the carriage, that it was necessary to halt
 three days for repairing them. A substitute for hemp was found
 on the spot, in the inner rind of the *jacepo-caya*, and the sap of
 the *cumaa* was found better adapted for the seams when filled
 with this material, than pitch or tar would have been. Some of
 the other falls occasioned greater difficulty; and at the fifth, a
 portage of a mile in length cost them the labour of four days.
 From the entrance of the mountains upwards almost to the mouth
 of the Beni, there is a succession of falls and rapids. The Beni,
 which at its mouth is eight hundred *braças* wide, brings with it a
 body of water little inferior to that of the great river which it
 joins. Like the Mamore, it is turbid, and the navigators on their
 voyage clarified the water with alum to make it potable: but the
 mud is deposited in its long course, and the Madeira becomes
 clear before it divides itself and enters the Orellana. There are
 seven falls or rapids above the junction of the Beni, making in
 all nineteen. The party were more than an hundred in number:
 on some occasions the exertions of every individual had been
 required, and yet no accident had happened to any one person, . . .
 a good fortune which the most experienced adventurers in com-
 pany regarded with admiration.

Immediately above the last fall, they came to the first *Pantanal*; and here the stream appeared to be stagnant, partly because of its expansion over the low ground, partly because the fall made a natural dam. The next point was the mouth of the Mamore; the width of that river, at the junction, is five hundred *braças*, its depth seven; the Guapore is not so deep by about three feet, but it is the wider stream, and its waters are clear. The party were enjoined in their instructions to pass S. Rosa during the night, that they might not be seen by the Missionary; and this they effected: but the intention was frustrated by the obstinacy of their Chaplain. He requested leave to go and confess at the Reduction: this permission it was not in the Commander's power to grant, directly contrary as it would have been to the tenour of his orders: the Chaplain chose to consider the case as one in which the temporal authority had no right to interfere; so on the following night he stole away with one of the small canoes. It was thought necessary to reclaim this extraordinary deserter, and for that purpose the two Lemes were sent to the Mission: they were selected because they were known there; but as they were not men who could be entirely trusted, a third person of superior rank went with them in the character of their servant. But it proved that no precaution was necessary, and that there had been no cause for any jealousy as to the disposition of the Jesuits: for since the overtures for opening an intercourse with them had been so sternly rejected, a total change in the feelings of the two Courts toward each other had been produced by the accession of Ferdinand VI. to the Crown of Spain. This Prince had no affection for his ambitious step-mother, and the greatest fondness for his wife, a daughter of Portugal. Implacable hatred was then succeeded by cordial good will, and the alteration was felt in the centre of South America.

F. Athanasio had been obliged to remove his settlement from

CHAP. its original situation, because of a plague of ants, who destroyed
 XXXVII. all the young plants. It was now placed lower down the stream,
 1749. near to the skirts of the great Cordillera which approaches the
 river in that part; but neither was this site found convenient,
 and preparations were then making for a second removal nearer
 the mountains. There were none of the comforts and luxuries
 here, which had been found by the first adventurers at Magda-
 lena and Exaltacion. All the effects of the Indians consisted in
 their hammocs, and earthen vessels for dressing their maize: this
 they performed in various ways; but though the visitors may be
 supposed not to have been very nice in their palates, they found
 every preparation of this food insipid, and disgusting in appear-
 ance. The Indians complained that they were obliged to break
 up the ground with stone implements, for want of better tools;
 that they had neither fish-hooks, nor knives, and were almost
 as destitute of conveniences, as they were before they listened to
 the Jesuits, and for the hope of bettering their condition con-
 sented to forego their former manner of life. But this was owing
 to the infant and unsettled state of the Reduction: they had
 been so employed in the removal, and in clearing ground, that
 there had been as yet little time for weaving calico, by the sale
 of which, at S. Cruz de la Sierra, the wants whereof they com-
 plained were to be supplied. Both sexes wore the *tipoya*, . . with
 this difference, that the habit of the women came down to the
 feet, whereas that of the men fell only a little below the knee,
 and had its opening in front. The population amounted to about
 five hundred persons, of whom one hundred and fifty were ca-
 pable of bearing arms.

Voyage.
MS.

They touch
at S. Mi-
guel.

After a friendly reception here, the messengers returned with
 the Chaplain, who resumed his place in the flotilla, without
 either apology or reprimand for his culpable conduct. The
 party now began to experience some difficulty in procuring

food. The waters were rising: at such times the fish forsake the rivers and enter the lakes and *pantanaes*; when the inundation abates, great numbers are left in the flooded lands, and there become a prey for the birds, who know the season, and flock thither accordingly. The game also had retired to the rising ground, too far to be pursued; though by persons who know the country, and are prepared with the light canoes, called *ubas*, it may be found in great abundance upon such elevated spots as are above the floods. The first level country which they reached was on the western shore; on the eastern side were lakes, which were now widening, and mixed their waters with the *pantanaes*, formed at the mouths of the rivers which came from the Campos dos Parecis. The navigation might have been much shortened by leaving the river, and making across the line of waters: but for this, more local knowledge was required than their pilots possessed; neither could it be done in their large boats, because of the woods through which they must have passed. On the second day after they entered upon the champaign country, the eastern shore also became level, but covered with thick wood. They had now but a scanty stock of flour remaining, and no resource either from fishing or hunting; so they were compelled to look for a supply at S. Miguel. F. Gaspar was still living; but the Mission had been removed to the right bank of the Guapore, soon after the second visit of the Portugueze, because of some unusual sickness. The Indians were better lodged than those at S. Rosa, and their houses upon a larger scale, each holding three or four families; but they were not better furnished. However, the settlement was in a more flourishing state; it had large plantations of rice and maize, and cattle and poultry in abundance; and it carried on an active intercourse by land with the new establishment of S. Simon. Eight hundred of the baptized inhabitants were capable of bearing arms. They were well made,

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1749.

CHAP. and of a colour more approaching to the Portugueze than the
 XXXVII. Tupi complexion. Their dress was the same as that at S. Rosa;
 1749. but on holydays the women girdled the *tipoya* with a ribband, (a
 fashion which had probably originated from the bounty of Ma-
 noel Felix) and gathered it up a little in front, in order to expose
 the feet. The good old German welcomed them as hospitably
 as he had done his first guests, . . . happy, no doubt, that such hos-
 pitality was no longer forbidden by his superiors: he entertained
 them with music, gave them an ox, and allowed his people to
 trade. Fruit, maize, meat, and poultry, were plentiful; and two
 needles were the price of a hen. Here they laid in a supply
 which they supposed would suffice them till they reached the
 settlement upon Ilha Grande: . . . banditti as the settlers were, they
 were Portugueze, and their countrymen looked to them with
 confidence. The virtue of nationality, indeed, is one which the
 Portugueze possess in the highest degree.

*Misfortunes
 at Ilha
 Grande.*

But the voyage now became more painful. As the waters
 increased, they could find no piece of dry land on which to
 dress their food, or take their rest at night, and they were con-
 strained with great inconvenience to do both in the canoes.
 The Indians also fell sick, which was imputed to change of
 water, change of air and climate, and change of food: all hope
 of concluding the expedition depended upon them; a long and
 arduous way was still before them, and for their sake it was
 necessary to lessen the daily fatigue by making short stages,
 and when they reached the great river-island to remain there
 six days. During those days so many disasters occurred, that
 the Portugueze almost believed a malediction lay upon the
 place, and that they were visited with the displeasure of Heaven,
 for holding intercourse with its excommunicated inhabitants. A
 sergeant died on the day of their arrival of a fever, which carried
 him off in less than eight and forty hours. A Negro who went

hunting, . . for none of the Indians were now capable of any such exertion, . . was killed and eaten by a jaguar; and fifteen of these poor Indians, impatient of the distress which they endured, stole a canoe from the islanders, and set off on their return. It was learnt afterwards, that they arrived in safety at their own settlement, which was a Jesuit *Aldea* on the Xingu. Here, however, the party procured what little maize the settlers could supply, and they took from hence one of these people, who agreed for twenty-three *oitavas*, to guide them to the river Sarare, and support himself upon the way, but on condition that he should not be compelled to go farther. The stock which they had obtained was scanty, as might be expected from the habits of such people. In the course of a week they were reduced to half rations. The Indians, who bore their sufferings worse than either the Negroes or Europeans, were afflicted with agues; and when by good fortune an Anta¹⁹ was shot, or any

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1749.

¹⁹ Among the "small deer" which they were glad to meet with, was the Paca. An Indian, who held the rank of Major in the escort, pursued one of these little animals to its hole; and putting in his hand in hope of drawing it out, was bitten by a *Surucucu*, a deadly snake, which frequently nests in the burrows of the Paca, . . as if fond of associating with it. Actual cauteries were applied, and borne with great fortitude, but to no purpose: in the course of three hours the patient felt a great oppression, lost his speech, and appeared to be in the agonies of death. In this state, as there was no Venice-treacle to be had, they had recourse to *Bico de Acavan*, and *Unicornio de Inhuma*, . . the beaks of two birds, reduced to powder and given internally. The patient had much difficulty in swallowing this; but it is affirmed, that as soon as the cordial reached his stomach, the oppression was relieved, the lethargy passed away, and his spirits returned. The medicine was frequently repeated, and in five days he was perfectly recovered. "This fact," says the writer, "is mentioned for the benefit of future travellers, the remedy being always to be found in those parts; for the two birds, especially the *Inhuma*, are common upon the lakes. The same effect is produced either by the bill, or bones reduced to powder; and they

CHAP. birds, it was necessary to be careful that the invalids might not
 XXXVII. injure themselves by eating too much, . . a proof that want of suf-
 1749. ficient food was a main cause of the malady.

*Distress of
 the party.*

As they advanced, the inundation appeared like a boundless lake. The woods bore no fruit at this season, the waters contained no fish, and if a bird were seen, it was only now and then a solitary macaw, whose hoarse voice, says the journalist, seemed to complain of the general famine. Even when they came to large tracks of country, where the rice rose above the floods, they had only the tantalizing knowledge, that at a more favourable time their wants might have been abundantly supplied there by the wild harvest. They must have been bewildered here amid the lakes, woods, and *pantanaes*, had it not been for their guide from the island; his experience preserved them from that miserable fate; and as they advanced they sent their light canoes forward, to bring provisions from the nearest of the back-settlements, while they cut down some wild palms, and subsisted upon the cabbage. In ten days the canoes returned laden with maize, rice, beans, and fruit, from the plantation of Chaves, . . the comrade of Manoel Felix, who after all his adventures had been wise and fortunate enough to take to a settled life. He was established, with other farmers, upon a tract of level ground,

are found not only to cure the bites of various reptiles, but to be equally efficacious in expelling poisons which have been taken into the stomach." It is not specified in what vehicle the powder was taken; . . if it were in ardent spirits, this may have been the efficacious part of the dose. Manoel Felix, in the short *Tratado das Cobras*, which he has appended to the account of his voyage, relates a story of a Negro in Brazil who was bitten by a rattlesnake at a time when he was drunk with rum, and had a calabash of rum in his hand, to which probably he applied after the bite. He killed the snake, and lay down to sleep under a tree. When he awoke and saw the dead reptile lying by him, and recollected what had passed, he declared that rum was a cure for the bite of the rattlesnake.

extending from the river to the mountains, and above the reach of the floods: here they enjoyed the advantages of a good climate and a fertile soil; and the Chapada of S. Francisco Xavier, as what was then the chief settlement in Mato Grosso was called, was often supplied from hence. The party rested two days with Chaves to recruit their strength. A few hours after they had resumed their voyage they entered the Sarare. This river, which is full of islands, is two hundred *braças* wide at its mouth: there are *pantanaes* on both sides, and the water is covered with *accapi*, a floating weed, which must be cut away with hooks or hatchets, before any boat larger than a fishing canoe can pass. The navigation also is much impeded by trees which fall into the river, being undermined by the stream, or loosened by the inundations. In three days more they reached the port of Pescaria, having been nine kalendar months upon the voyage. The voyage down may be performed in forty-four days.

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1749.

Voyage.
MS.

*Intercourse
between Pa-
ra and Ma-
to Grosso.*

*Corografia
Brazilica.*
2. 262.

From that time the navigation between Mato Grosso and Para was frequented, notwithstanding the length, and difficulty, and danger of the way. It was found that Mato Grosso could be supplied at a cheaper rate with European goods from Para, than from the Rio, and that the voyage was far less perilous than that from S. Paulo, where two such enemies as the Guaycurus and the Payaguas infested the way. Other lines have been proposed instead of the Guapore and Madeira:.. by the Rio das Mortes, or the Araguay, into the Tocantins;.. or by the Xingu, which is the clearest of all those rivers that flow into the Orellana, and in magnitude little inferior to the Madeira;.. or by a course taken by Joam de Sousa e Azevedo, a man famous in Brazil for his discoveries. Two years before the expedition from Para, he embarked upon the Cuyaba and descended it into the Paraguay, ascended the Paraguay to the mouth of the Sipotuba (upon which the only bearded tribe of Indians in these

CHAP. parts is found), and navigated that river up to its sources: he
 XXXVII. then transported his canoes to the Sumidor, which in English
 1742. might be rendered the Mole, because it performs part of its way
 underground.

*Bento da
 Fonseca, in
 a letter pre-
 fixed to
 Berredo's
 Annaes do
 Maranham.*

The Sumidor carried him into the Arinos, the Arinos into the Tapajos; and by the same route he returned to Mato Grosso, with a cargo of goods in his canoes. But upon the Tapajos the impediments of falls and rapids, though not insuperable, are greater than on the Madeira; and therefore the route by the latter river is preferred, though it is longer by two hundred leagues. Boats carrying from one to two thousand *arrobas* can perform the voyage to Villa Bella, whereas neither the Xingu nor the Tapajos, in parts of their course, afford draught for such burden. But either of these latter rivers would in time of war have the advantage of being perfectly secure from the Spaniards.

*Almeida
 Serra. Pa-
 triota. T. 2.
 No. 1. 50—
 56.*

*Drought in
 Mato Gros-
 so.*

Mato Grosso and Cuyaba were now rapidly increasing in population and prosperity, notwithstanding a drought which is said to have lasted from 1744 to 1749, and to have been so excessive that the woods took fire, and the atmosphere on every side was filled with clouds of smoke. A great mortality ensued; and to add to the dismay of the people, at mid-day and under a bright sun, a sound like thunder was heard beneath their feet, and this was immediately followed by several shocks of an earthquake. Two years after this alarm, the great convulsion took place by which Lima was overthrown; and that shock, which produced such frightful effects along the coast of Peru, was distinctly felt in the centre of the South American continent. But Brazil as yet had suffered nothing from these visitations, which had been so peculiarly fatal in the mother country. The effects of the drought soon disappeared when the seasons resumed their ordinary course: the fountains which had been dried up, burst forth again; the vegetation speedily recovered;

*Sept. 24,
 1744.*

diseases ceased as soon as the prevailing cause was removed; and the places of the dead were presently supplied by new adventurers. In one year more than fifteen hundred persons passed from Goyaz to Mato Grosso, with droves of cattle and horses, . . . though twenty years before that time, there had neither been horse, nor cattle, nor Portuguese, in either of those countries. Great distress had at first been experienced for want of salt: it is recorded, that one Paulista sold a²⁰ handful to another for a pound of gold. This it was which made Manoel Felix and his companions notice the salt earth upon the Guapore as a hopeful indication. But about the time of his voyage, a salt lake was discovered near the river Jauru; . . . a discovery of more importance to the well being of the people, than that of the gold and diamonds, which had drawn them into this country. A certain Almeida was the first person who profited by it; and his name is preserved there in consequence. Two years before the expedition from Para, a surgeon from Mato Grosso carried a venture of this salt to Exaltacion, having understood, probably by means of the Indians, that the Mission was greatly in want of it. He was well received there, exchanged the salt to great advantage for dry goods, wax, and calico, and formed a sort of partnership with the Missionary, who gave him a list of the things which they wanted, and wished the exchange to be carried on at S. Rosa: but the Governor of S. Cruz interfered, and prevented the continuance of this traffic.

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Corografia
Brazilica.
t. 261.

Discovery
of salt.

Manoel Fe-
lix de Lima.
MS.

Almeida
Serra. Pa-
triot. T. 2.
No. 2. 52.

Voyage up
the Madei-
ra. MS.

²⁰ A small quantity finely sifted was made to suffice for curing a whole pig. They cut slices in the carcase, and carefully inserted it; then smoked the meat with a plant called the *aroeira*, which is thought to possess an antiseptic quality (At this time, when they lay fish upon the *moquim* to dry it, it is upon the boughs of this plant; and meat is packed upon it.) Both the colour and taste of bacon thus cured were good, and it would keep for many months.

CHAP. XXXVII. *Progress of the Portugueze from Para.*

The Portugueze meantime had not been less active in extending their settlements from Para, in other directions, up the rivers. If indeed it be considered how small a slip of land constitutes the kingdom of Portugal, . . . small as it is, how inadequately that land is peopled, . . . and that Portugal, partly for bigotry, partly for suspicion, and partly because of that pride which predominates in its national character, derived no assistance for her colonies from the redundant population and activity of other nations, . . . the Brazilians will perhaps be found to have made a greater and more rapid progress, in proportion to their means, than had ever been made by the colonists of any other nation; . . . so ignorantly and so falsely have the Portugueze, and more especially the American Portugueze, been accused of a listless and spiritless inactivity. They had established themselves so far up the Orellana, as to occasion many disputes with Spain concerning the boundary, and some far-sighted apprehensions for the security of Peru. They had made their way up the Rio Negro, and from thence by a chain of rivers and lakes, till they ascertained the extraordinary fact of a communication between the Orellana²¹ and Orinoco, by reaching in their canoes the Spanish Missions.

²¹ This was thought so contrary to all usual experience of the course of waters, that it scarcely obtained belief in Europe, till in our own days all doubt was removed by the testimony of Humboldt, from whose authority there could be no appeal. The doubt ought not to have existed; for the fact had been stated upon competent authority by the Jesuit F. Bento da Fonseca, in the year 1749, in a letter prefixed to Berredo's *Annaes do Maranhão*. Condamine also obtained the same information at the Missions on the Orellana. Gumilla (*T.* 1, *c.* 2.) argues at length to disprove it: he was a man of weak judgement, and reasoned only upon what he had seen of the one river, without recollecting that he knew nothing of the other, . . . that even upon his own side of the country, his observations had been limited, . . . and that one man's ignorance can weigh no-

At this time, there was not one hostile tribe upon the ²² banks of the Orellana, along the whole of its course: all had either submitted to the Missionaries, or retired into the interior, from their indefatigable pursuers. They, who being weary of the monotonous life which they led in the *Aldeas*, or of the labour which was exacted from them, returned to their former habits, did not feel themselves secure till they had retreated far into the country. Many did not rest till they came upon the French territory of Guiana, where they received every encouragement to settle: and it is to the credit of the Portuguese Missionaries, that the French Jesuits found them well instructed in the principles of their faith. The course of migration which the natives took in flying from the Portuguese, seems generally to have been from South to North. The Tupi tribes from Pernambuco fell back upon Maranham. The race of warlike women, for whose existence the evidence is too strong and coherent to be lightly disbelieved, had been heard of first in the centre of the continent, lastly as crossing the Orellana toward Guiana. And upon the higher part of the Orellana, Condamine found the lop-eared Indians who had disappeared from the Paraguay.

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Course of sa-
vage emi-
gration
from South
to North.

Condamine.
86.

P. Lombard.
Lett. Edifi-
cantes. T. 7.
334.

Vieyra.
Hist. do Fu-
turo, § 280.

thing against the knowledge of another. He lived to be undeceived: for Condamine tells us, that his letters to the Portuguese Commander and Chaplain on the Negro, went by the very communication, the existence of which he had denied.

²² There were however some places, Condamine says, where it would have been dangerous to pass the night on shore. A few years before his voyage, the daughter of a Spanish Governor, who attempted to return to Europe by this course, was surprized on shore by the savages, and murdered. The poor woman had probably chosen to take this route, notwithstanding all the difficulties and privations to which she must inevitably have been exposed, rather than run the risque of falling into the hands of the Buccaneers.

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XXXVII.

*State of
Para.**Condamine.
173.**Corografia.
Brazilica.
2. 299.**Inoculation
introduced.**Condamine.
181.**State of the
Aldeas.*

The City of Belem, or Para, as it is now generally called, bore evident marks of its prosperity. When Condamine arrived there from Quito, the year after the expedition of Manoel Felix, it seemed to him, he says, as if he had been transported to Europe, finding himself in a large town, with regular streets, chearful houses well built with stone, hewn as well as unhewn, and magnificent churches. During the thirty preceding years it had been almost wholly rebuilt, and the old dwellings replaced by larger, more commodious, and more substantial edifices. The climate, which the first settlers had found very injurious, was now so materially improved, by clearing the country and converting what had been close woodland into pasture, that it had become a healthier city than any of the southern capitals. The small pox indeed made great ravages there; it was observed to be more fatal to the newly-reduced Indians who were naked, than to those born among the Portugueze, or long domesticated, and therefore accustomed to clothing. Condamine thought that the disease could not so easily throw itself out through their indurated skin, and that their custom of rubbing themselves with various unctuous substances would obstruct the pores, and increase the difficulty, . . . a supposition which was strengthened by the fact, that the Negroes, who had no such custom, bore the disease better. About the year 1730, a Carmelite Missionary read of inoculation in a newspaper which reached him at his Mission near Para: half his Indians had died of this frightful malady; he inoculated all the rest, and did not lose one; and the example was followed by one of his brethren on the Rio Negro, with like success. These men deserve statues; . . . and yet Condamine has not preserved their names.

The Portugueze Missions upon the Orellana, were in a far more flourishing state than those of the Spaniards upon the same river. This was owing to their communication with Para; for

the Spaniards were not permitted to hold any intercourse with their more active neighbours: Quito therefore was their only market, itself wretchedly supplied with European commodities, and separated from the river settlements by long and mountainous ways. While, therefore, in the Spanish villages the churches, as well as dwellings, were mere hovels, constructed of stakes and reeds, and the people not only destitute of all comforts, but even of the decent conveniencies of life; in the *Aldeas* the churches and the missionaries' houses were built of masonry; the women wore shifts of Bretagne cloth; the Indians possessed property of their own, not living in community like the Guaranies; . . . and as they had chests with locks and keys for the security of their goods, it appears also that they had acquired some of the vices as well as the wants of an advanced society. Knives, needles, and scissars, were found in these Missions, more than two thousand miles up the river, and combs and looking-glasses, . . . things which are at once symptoms, and instruments of civilization. The principal article which they gave in exchange was cacao. In the Spanish villages they continued to use the Indian canoe, formed of the trunk of a single tree. The Portugueze converted this into a keel for their boats, built sides to it, which they fastened on with knee-timbers, made a small cabin at the poop, and constructed the helm so as not to interfere with it. Some of these boats were threescore feet in length, seven in width, and about three and a half deep. There were others large enough to require forty rowers. Most of them carried two masts, which were of great use in ascending the river, because easterly winds prevail there from October till May.

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XXXVII.

Condaminic.
88. 89.

All the *Aldeas* above the Rio Negro were upon the right bank, which lay higher than the opposite shore, and was not subject to the inundation. These were under the Carmelites, as were those also which had been formed upon the Rio Negro. Below

CHAP the mouth of the Negro the Missions of the Jesuits began.
 XXXVII. These Religioners received orders from the Governor, Luiz de
 Vasconcellos Lobo, to establish two *Aldeas* above this point, one
 on the right bank of the Orellana, between the eastern mouth of
 the Javari and the Carmelite *Aldea* of S. Pedro ; the other at the
 western mouth of the great river Jupura. The Carmelites were
 offended, more especially with regard to the settlement on the
 right bank, which they considered to be within their allotment ;
 and they presented a memorial, stating that they were near the
 spot, and could execute the Governor's orders more easily than
 the Jesuits. Their representations were disregarded. Among the
 savages whom the Jesuits collected at the new establishment
 were many who had deserted from the Carmelite Missions ; and
 this circumstance aggravated the ill will, which the preference
 given to a rival Order had naturally excited. The Carmelites
 reclaimed these persons as stray sheep belonging to their flock
 and fold ; but the Jesuits replied, that by the laws of the Kings
 of Portugal the Indians were free, and therefore had a full right
 to chuse their place of residence. Such reasoning was by no
 means satisfactory to the offended party ; and a troop of their
 Indians, under two white men, were sent by night to lay waste
 the plantations of the new settlement. It could not be doubted
 that this injury came from the Carmelites ; and one of their
 number, F. Joam de S. Jeronymo, is accused of having given the
 orders for it. In return, the Jesuits' people would have set fire
 to S. Pedro, and put their enemies to death ; but the Fathers
 had sufficient authority to restrain them, and no farther ill con-
 sequences ensued.

*Apologia da
 Companhia.
 MS. p 162.*

*Unpopularity of the
 Jesuits.*

The scandal however was notorious, and gave occasion for
 the people of Para to call this affair, the war between the Car-
 melites and Jesuits. The public odium against this latter body
 of men, the most active of all the Religious Orders, and in later

times far the most meritorious, had been lessened by the edict of Pedro II, which admitted other Religioners to share with them in the administration of the Indians. After that time there were no tumults excited against them in Maranham and Para; but complaints were still made that they were unnecessarily zealous for the liberty of the natives, and consulted their interest rather than the advantage of the Portugueze, to the great detriment of the State. The planters therefore still wished to eject them entirely, and turn over their *Aldeas* to the more accommodating Orders, with whose conduct they were satisfied. Not a fleet sailed for Lisbon without complaints from the two *Senados*, and from the inhabitants, that the State was ruined for want of slaves, and that the effect of the Jesuits' overscrupulous religion was, to deprive the people of bread. The Senate of Maranham even sent over a Deputy, to repeat the old accusations. Joam V. was by no means disposed to credit these often confuted calumnies; nevertheless, the *Dezembargador*, Francisco Duarte dos Santos, was empowered to enquire into the matter. This judge pronounced the charges to be most false; and it was only through the intercession of the Jesuits themselves that the calumniators escaped the punishment which the King gave orders to inflict upon them. No fear, indeed, of obloquy or of odium, seems ever to have deterred the Jesuits in Maranham from faithfully discharging their duty. They perseveringly represented to the Court, that the only remedy for the evils of the State was the total abolition of Indian slavery: . . . because of the tyranny of the Portugueze, the Indians, they said, were emigrating in great numbers into the Spanish territories; they were also emigrating toward the possessions of the French; but if slavery were abolished all these tribes would remain within the Portugueze limits, and become the children of the King, . . . the term by which the Indians always used to denote submission.

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XXXVII.

1734.

*Apologia da
Companhia.
MS.*

CHAP.

XXXVII.

*System of
the Aldeas.*

The system of the Jesuits in Maranham and Para differed essentially from that of their brethren in Paraguay, and in the heart of the continent. In Paraguay they had secured the land to themselves, and were enabled to legislate within the Forbidden District, according to their own notions of Christian polity; and in the Chiquito and Moxo Missions, though they had not adopted the principle of living in community, they were equally unrestrained. But in Maranham, the principle upon which they were compelled to model their institutions was that of rendering the Indians serviceable to the Portugueze settlers. Registers of the Indians in their *Aldeas* were kept at S. Luiz and at Para, containing the names of all who were capable of service from the age of thirteen to that of fifty. These registers were renewed every two years, and attested upon oath by the respective Missionaries; and from these lists the Governor allotted the poor Indians, who with impudent hypocrisy were called free, for terms of six months, and issued written orders to the Missionary to deliver so many Indians for the service of the Portugueze settler named in the dispatch. During the other half year the Indians might serve if they pleased, and there were many who preferred this service to the course of life in the *Aldeas*, which imposed upon them less labour, but more restraint.

*Apologia.
MS.*

At a proper season the *Mayoral*, by which Portugueze appellation the chief person of the *Aldea* was designated, went out with other Indians, to determine what part of the land belonging to the settlement should be cultivated for the ensuing year, . . . it being easier to open new soil than to fertilize that from which a crop had been taken. The ground was then apportioned among the Indians, to each according to the number of his family: but the Missionaries had great difficulty in inducing them to cultivate their portions, and were sometimes obliged to use compulsory means. When the produce was gathered in, the master of

every family was compelled to reserve an ample allowance for the whole household; otherwise, with that want of foresight by which savages are characterized, he would sell the whole; and in that case, the Missionaries must either have taken upon themselves the support of these persons, or allowed them in search of subsistence to go into the woods, from whence they would probably never return. Whatever they raised beyond this necessary provision was their own free property, and chapmen enough came to the *Aldeas* to receive it in exchange for tools and other European commodities: but so little were they supposed capable of transacting a bargain, that a Missionary, or some person by him appointed, was required by law to be present at all their sales. It was a common saying in Para, that an Indian had his heart in the woods and his body in the *Aldea*. If an Indian fled from his task-work, he usually came to the *Aldea* by night, and got away his family, and perhaps his kinsmen also. Sometimes it happened that a Missionary awoke in the morning, and found himself the only remaining person in the fold, his whole flock having run wild while he was asleep. Among the Guaranies, absolute power in the Jesuits, directed as it always was, to what was believed to be the interest of the people, produced the most absolute dependence of heart and will; so that the Neophytes often laid down their lives in defence of their teachers, with the zeal and alacrity of willing martyrs. But it was far otherwise here, where the Missionary had no power to protect his people, and was even made the unwilling instrument of consigning them to their task-masters during the term of servitude. When they were upon a river expedition, the boatmen would forsake them upon the first alarm, or the slightest displeasure.

The Kings of Spain allowed the Jesuits in their colonies an annual salary. This was not done by the Kings of Portugal;

*Apologia.
MS.*

*Manner in
which the
Aldeas were
supported.*

CHAP.
XXXVII.

and the Colleges in Maranham were too poor to support the expence of the Missions. Every Jesuit in the *Aldeas*, therefore, was allowed to employ five and twenty Indians, for the same time, and at the same rate of wages, as any other Portugueze, in collecting cacao, sarsaparilha, the indigenous spices, and other wild produce. There was a large canoe in each of their *Aldeas* for this service, twenty-eight in all. The white man who commanded in each canoe received a fifth of the adventure for his share; the four fifths defrayed the expences of the Mission in the expeditions for reducing Indians, in medicines, which were a considerable cost, and in Church ornaments, . . for the Churches were ambitiously adorned. As yet there was no money in Maranham, and therefore the Jesuits sent home produce to pay for what they wanted from Portugal; and upon this foundation the calumny was raised, which represented them as monopolizing the trade of Maranham and Para. These expeditions were of six months duration. The Carmelite *Aldeas* were near the cacao country, and so remote from Para and the other Portugueze towns, that few or none of their Indians were called upon for service: they could therefore employ as many of them as they thought proper in collecting produce. The Franciscans sent no canoes from their Missions, but furnished boatmen for one or two barks which were fitted out by their Superiors; and the Capuchins of S. Antonio supplied the Portugueze freely with Indians for such expeditions.

Apologia.
MS.

Exemptions
from servi-
tude.

According to law, the Indians, when brought from the *Sertam*, were not obliged to serve the Portugueze during the first two years, that they might have time to be well instructed in the faith, which it was said was the chief motive for reducing them, and also to make their own plantations. The law also allowed the Indians to stipulate, that they should not at any time be required to perform personal service, . . if it was not found possible

to persuade them to settle in the *Aldeas* upon any other terms. The Goajajaras insisted upon the stipulation, and it seems to have been faithfully observed. But when the Amanagos treated for the same conditions, the Jesuits hesitated at receiving them; because these people were far more numerous, and esteemed for their strength, stature, and comeliness, above any other tribe: the Missionaries therefore apprehended, that the laws would not be strong enough to protect them; and perhaps for that reason, were not sorry that the negociation was broken off in consequence of some wrongs having been offered to these high-spirited savages by the colonists on the Meary.

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Apologia.
MS.

By the laws of Pedro II, no Portugueze was permitted to dwell in the *Aldeas*, because of the ill effects which their conduct and their example would produce among the Neophytes. The penalty for a breach of this edict was, banishment for a noble, and stripes for one of inferior rank. Neither might any person go there for the purpose of hiring Indians, unless he were provided with a special license in writing from the Governor: this was never refused; and upon this business the Portugueze frequented the Missions, and paid half the stipulated wages in advance. So far, indeed, were the Jesuits from attempting to establish any system of exclusion here (however much they might have desired it had it been practicable), that their houses served as inns, where the Portugueze upon their expeditions were hospitably and gratuitously entertained. The inhabitants of the nearest plantations used to attend mass in the *Aldeas*; and the Jesuits boasted that their Indians, of both sexes, were as well dressed on such occasions as these white neighbours. They regularly prepared clothing for as many as they expected to collect in the interior; and it was not one of the least diffi-

Intercourse
of the Por-
tugueze with
the Aldeas.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Apologia.
MS.

Prevalence
of the Tupi
language.

Humboldt's
Travels.
English
translation,
vol. 3. p.
243—8.
Corografia
Brazilica.
2. 277.

Chain of
Missions
throughout
Brazil and
the adjoining
countries.

culties in their negotiations with the Indians, to make them consent to wear it. The same regard to decency was not always found in the plantations.

The enemies of the Jesuits reproached them, in Europe, for prohibiting the Portugueze language in their Missions. Malice has seldom been more stupid in its calumnies: for, desirable as it undoubtedly was to introduce an European and cultivated language in place of a barbarous one, it was found much easier to acquire the Tupi, than to communicate the Portugueze to the natives. Traders found the Tupi necessary upon their expeditions; the children learnt it from their Indian nurses, or their Indian mothers; and in the *Aldeas*, the Indians of various tribes easily acquired the general language, because, however radically different in its vocabulary, the construction and principles were analogous to their own; whereas the Portugueze, in all its characteristics, was entirely foreign to their habits of expression and of thought, and therefore infinitely difficult. The Tupi, for this reason, had so compleatly gained the ascendancy throughout Para, that it was used exclusively in the pulpits.

A chain of Missions had now been established in all parts of this great continent. Those of the Spaniards from Quito met those of the Portugueze from Para. The Missions on the Orinoco communicated with those of the Negro and the Orellana. The intercourse between the Moxo and the Madeira settlements was prevented by political considerations, not by distance, or any natural impediments. The Moxo Missions communicated with the Chiquito, the Chiquito with the Reductions in Paraguay, and from Paraguay the indefatigable Jesuits sent their labourers into the Chaco, and among the tribes who possessed the wide plains to the South and West of Buenos Ayres. Had they not been interrupted in their exemplary career, by measures equally

impolitic and iniquitous, it is possible, that ere this they might have compleated the conversion and civilization of all the native tribes; and probable, that they would have saved the Spanish colonies from the immediate horrors and barbarizing consequences of a civil war.

CHAP. XXXVII.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Effects of the Introduction of European cattle, the Portuguese

CHAP. XXXVII. A change, incontestably not less remarkable than that which in the course of the paper had brought about in one part of Brazil, was produced more gradually in other quarters. It had been introduced into the country by the first colonists; and new plants of the, both in the Indian and Oryzoid, had been introduced by their prodigious increase. During Yrela's government, Captain Juan de Salazar brought seven cows and one bull from Sebastian to Brazil, and drove them overland, probably by the same track which Cabessa de Yaca had taken, to the Parana, opposite the place where it receives the Mondai. There he constructed a raft for the cattle, and left a certain number to transport them by water to Assumpcion, while he proceeded to that city by land. The raft was several months upon the voyage; and the men who navigated it received one of the cows for its reward. Great a reward, this day, as a proverbial saying among the Spaniards of Paraguay, for any thing of great value; but though this was intended, the payment is now thought to have been ridiculously disproportioned to the service. It had probably a different meaning in

CHAP. XXXVII.

CHAP. XXXVII.

CHAP. XXXVII.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Effects of the Introduction of European cattle. The Equestrian Tribes.

CHAP. A change, meantime, not less remarkable than that which the
xxxviii. discovery of the mines had brought about in one part of Brazil, was produced more gradually in other quarters. New animals had been introduced into the country by the first colonists; and new habits of life, both in the Indian and Creole inhabitants, were induced by their prodigious increase.

First cattle introduced in Paraguay.

1556.

Azara. Quadrupedes du Paraguay. 2. 352.

During Yrala's government, Captain Juan de Salazar brought seven cows and one bull from Andalusia to Brazil, and drove them overland, probably by the same track which Cabeza de Vaca had taken, to the Parana, opposite the place where it receives the Mondai. There he constructed a raft for the cattle, and left a certain Gaeta to transport them by water to Assumption, while he proceeded to that city by land. The raft was several months upon the voyage; and the man who navigated it received one of the cows for his reward. Gaeta's cow serves, at this day, as a proverbial simile among the Spaniards of Paraguay for any thing of great value: but though this use implies that the payment is now thought to have been ridiculously disproportionate to the service, it had probably a different meaning in

its origin. When there were only seven cows in the country, nothing in Paraguay could have been so ¹ valuable as one of them. CHAP. XXXVIII.

In the year 1580, the first ² cargo of hides was shipped from

¹ Piedra-hita says, that the first cattle which were introduced into the Nuevo Reyno, sold for an excessive price, and these were twenty-five cows *con sus toros*. (p. 370.) Montoya brought the first cattle into Guayra from Paraguay, about the year 1612, . . an undertaking which the Spaniards thought utterly hopeless, because of the distance, and the nature of the intermediate country.

Lozano. 6. 17. § 17.

² Azara says, that the *second* founders of Buenos Ayres carried cattle there in 1580, and that some of these cattle became wild, and multiplied greatly in the country toward the Rio Negro. But the second foundation of Buenos Ayres was in 1546, (vol 1, p. 116.); and in the very year of the third foundation, the first cargo of hides was exported. A more remarkable oversight occurs in the same chapter of Azara's *Essais sur l'histoire naturelle des Quadrupedes de la Province du Paraguay*. He refers the origin of the wild cattle on the North shore of the Plata to some which he supposes to have been left there by the Spaniards from Paraguay, when they were driven away in 1552 from the city of S. Juan Bautista, which they had attempted to found opposite the site of Buenos Ayres: *Il est à croire que la hâte et le danger avec lesquels ils s'enfuirent, ne leur permirent pas d'enlever quelques Vaches, que sans doute ils avoient, et qu'ils abandonnerent. En l'année 1580, cinquante soldats partirent du Paraguay, et fonderent Buenos Ayres; et il est presumable, que parmi eux se trouvoient quelques-uns de ceux qui avoient été à Saint-Jean-Baptiste, ou de leur heretiers ou descendans qui, pour cela, avoient droit aux Troupeaux existans dans les champs de la Cité du meme nom, et qu'ils s'appellerent Actionnaires, pour se distinguer de ceux qui, ne descendant pas des fondateurs de Saint-Jean-Baptiste, n'avoient point un pareil droit.* (T. 2, p. 355.) He forgets that this attempt to establish themselves on the left bank, (perhaps upon the site of Colonia,) was four years, according to his own account, before the first cattle were brought into the country.

Long before this time they must have existed in Brazil: and the wild cattle unto which he alludes are more likely to have proceeded from the Captaincy of S. Vicente, than from Paraguay; on which side, indeed, the Parana and the Uruguay seem to have presented insuperable obstacles to their migration. . .

CHAP. Buenos Ayres for Spain; and about thirty years later, not less
 XXXVIII. than a million of cattle, it is said, were driven from the country
 about S. Fe into Peru, . . . so rapidly had they multiplied upon the
 endless plains of Tucuman and the Plata. Individuals soon
 numbered their stock by thousands and ten thousands, in a
 country where grazing farms were as large as an English parish,
 and the area of a single estate not unfrequently exceeded that of
 a county. There were many persons who possessed one hun-
 dred thousand head; and some of the Reductions had more than
 half a million, . . . a stock not too large, when more than forty
 beasts were slaughtered every day for the use of the inhabitants;
 great numbers were stolen, still more carried off by hostile In-
 dians, jaguars, and wild dogs, and a great proportion of the
 calves miserably destroyed by the fly, which, more than any
 other plague, may be called the curse of Paraguay. The wild
 cattle far exceeded in number those who were in this state of
 semi-domestication. Horses had multiplied with equal rapidity.
 The great increase of these animals, in a land where none of the
 same genus had existed before the discovery, altered even the
 physical features of the country. The bulbous plants and the
 numerous kinds of aloes (*pitás* or *caraguatas*) with which the
 plains were formerly overspread, disappeared; and in their place
 the ground was covered with fine pasturage, and with a species
 of creeping thistle³ hardy enough to endure the trampling by
 which the former herbage had been destroyed. The insect as

Dobrizhoffer,
 1. 246.

Azara,
 1. 101.

They would not take the water willingly, and are not compelled to do it without loss. Dobrizhoffer observes, (1. 262.) that, when large herds are driven across a river, there are always more bulls drowned than cows.

³ To explain this fact, which is so easily explicable, Azara has recourse to his favourite theory of the creation of new species.

well as the vegetable world was affected, and the indigenous animals of the country, birds, as well as beasts of prey, acquired new habits. CHAP. XXXVIII.

When the wild cattle spread into the Cordillera of Chili, the Indians of that country discovered them, and drove whole herds across the mountains into their own territory, where they were purchased by the Audience. Other tribes, to improve their means of subsistence, descended into the plains that they might be near this numerous game; and there they allied themselves with the hordes of the Pampas. The war which they carried on upon these innumerable cattle would not have produced any perceptible diminution, had not a far more destructive chase been kept up by the Spaniards of Tucuman and of La Plata, for the sake of the hides. This was so excessive that the animals became scarce, growing wilder as they were continually persecuted. The Indians, who from habit and necessity had become a beef-eating people, were now driven by want to attack the tame cattle in their *estancias*, or grazing farms; and for this cause they began a predatory war upon the Spaniards, compelling them in their turn to defend their lands and possessions against a hungry and adventurous enemy. The conquerors of America had been as much indebted to their horses as to their fire-arms; and from a foresight of the evils which would arise if the natives should become horsemen, it was forbidden to sell one of these animals to an Indian, on pain of death. The law soon became futile: horses, having once become wild, multiplied so rapidly that they herded together by thousands: the Indians were not slow in availing themselves of the opportunity which was thus afforded them; and when it was once understood that this noble creature was as docile to an Indian as to a Spanish rider, whole tribes became equestrian.

The natives become beef-eaters.

Asara. Quadrupes. des. 2. 354.

Herrera. 4. 3. 9.

The Mbayas obtain horses.

Among the most formidable of these tribes were the Mbayas,

CHAP. a name, of which the orthography expresses a mode of labial
 XXXVIII. pronunciation unknown in any European language. Their
 country in the Chaco afforded them protection when the Spaniards were a bold and enterprising people: great part of it was swamp, or subject to inundations; and during the dry season, the soil was so parched and cleft by the heat, that none but the natives could traverse it. When the Spaniards had lost that adventurous spirit which led them into the land, and were spending their strength in domestic factions, this nation crossed to the eastern side of the Paraguay, attacked the settlement of S. Maria de la Fe, and killing many of the Guarani inhabitants, compelled the rest to emigrate; then continuing their ravages eastward, they destroyed the Spanish town of Xeres, and established themselves on that side of the river. The Mbayas were the more to be feared, because, contrary to the custom of all the other natives, they made their attacks by night. Under the cover of darkness they attacked the town of Petun, or Ypane, as it was likewise called: they laid their long lances across the ditch by which it was surrounded, and crossed upon them as by a bridge; but perceiving that they were discovered, and that the inhabitants were prepared for defence, they retreated, and carried off with them some horses which they found pasturing on the plain. These were the first horses which came into their possession; . . . and the Romans did not profit more wisely by the Carthaginian galley which was driven upon their shores. They learnt the use of the animal, made it their first object to get possession of more, and presently became a nation of horsemen. In the ensuing year they compelled the settlers to desert Ypane, Guaranbire, and Atera; the fugitives removed toward Asumpcion, and the Mbayas were left undisputed masters of the province of Ytati, extending northward from the Jesuy, in latitude $24^{\circ} 7'$, to the Lake of Xarayas. Toward the South, they drove the inhabitants from Toba-

*Almanach
de Lima.*

1661.

Dobrizhofer, 2. 422.

*Azara. 2.
100—103.*

ty, and commenced a war in that direction, wherein they nearly extirpated the Spaniards from Paraguay: for the Spaniards were neither wary enough to escape their stratagems, nor courageous enough to cope with them in the field, nor swift enough to escape from them in flight. Every where about Asumpcion monumental crosses marked some spot where Christian blood had been shed by these tremendous enemies: and the inhabitants of that city, who never from the hour of its foundation had been masters of the opposite shore, were no longer safe on their own side of the river, and trembled even at their own doors.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Dobrisch-
fer. 1. 106.
Lozano. 5.
23. § 2.

They used the bow and arrow for hunting and fishing, not in war; their arms being the *macana*, and a spear of great length (from fifteen to twenty feet), pointed at both ends: it was secured to the wrist by a thong; and thus, when the savage had thrown it, which was often done with such force as to pierce an enemy through and through, he instantly recovered the weapon. They endeavoured in battle to frighten the Spaniards' horses; for which purpose some of them would alight, and with fantastic gesticulations display skins of the jaguar, in hope that the creatures might be rendered ungovernable by their instinctive fear at the sight and scent. If they could break the ranks, or provoke the Spaniards incautiously to expose themselves by firing a volley, they were then sure of compleat victory, .. so dreadful was their assault; and scarcely a man escaped from the rage with which they pursued their advantage. They gave no quarter, carried away the heads of the slain, and preserved the scalps as their proudest spoil. But if the Spaniards at first made some of their steadiest marksmen alight, and could shoot a single Mbaya, the rest would immediately quit the field, provided they were permitted to carry off the body of the dead: if the enemy attempted to harrass them when they were thus employed, or even to seize the horses from which they had alighted,

Their mode
of fighting.

CHAP. they would return with fresh impetuosity to the charge. Like
 xxxviii. the Arab, the Mbaya was passionately fond of his horse; he would on no account part with it, nor even lend it to another. They rode without any kind of saddle, but with a degree of skill and agility which they who exhibit feats of horsemanship in European theatres have never surpassed. If they were flying before the Spaniards, they never remained a moment in the same posture on the seat: sometimes they were extended upon the horse's back; sometimes at length along his side, and even under the belly, keeping the rein fastened to the great toe. These practices they acquired because they stood in great fear of fire-arms: against matchlocks they were found effectual; and trusting to this security in case of defeat, they learned to meet equal numbers upon equal terms. They had the wisdom generally to keep on the skirts of the woodland, where, being naked and case-hardened, it is said, they could glide through briars which were impervious to their pursuers. More than once they attempted to surprize Santa Fe; and had it not been their custom, when they had gained one advantage in an expedition, to return satisfied with the glory, Azara affirms that there would not at this day have been a single Spaniard in Paraguay, or Portuguese in Cuyaba. He knew the people of Paraguay, but he did not know the Brazilians; and perhaps the Spaniards owed their preservation in some degree to their braver and more adventurous neighbours.

Azara. 2.
 100—103.
 111—113.
Chomé.
Lett. Edifi-
antes. 8.
 223.

Alliance be-
tween the
Guaycurus
and Paya-
guas.

At the time when the Portuguese began to establish themselves in Cuyaba, the Guaycurus, who were the chief branch of the Mbaya nation, had entered into a strict alliance with the Payaguas; and such was their expertness at acquiring any new habits which increased their power, that they became an aquatic, as easily as they had become an equestrian people; and thus made themselves equally formidable upon the water and upon the

land. The weight of this alliance fell upon the Portuguese. Its first effect was the destruction of a flotilla from S. Paulo, of more than twenty canoes and above three hundred persons. The allied natives encountered them on the Paraguay, and two white men and three negroes were all who escaped. The report of the survivors excited great astonishment. So severe a loss had probably never before been sustained from the Indians in any single action since the discovery of Brazil. Formidable as they knew the Payaguas to be, they had never supposed them capable of bringing together such an armament: the alliance, which would have explained the mystery, was not suspected; but of the whole extent of the evil they received severe and repeated proofs. Five years after the first great loss, the *Ouvidor*, Antonio Alves Peixoto, departed for S. Paulo with the royal fifths, which that year amounted to sixty *arrobas* (about 80,000*l.*) in a fleet of thirty canoes. They had reached the Bahia de Ingaiba, a large bay formed where the Cuyaba joins the Paraguay; and there, as the men were carelessly taking their meal, and suffering the boats to glide with the stream, they were awakened from their security by the dreadful *huru* of the combined Indians. The Portuguese sold their lives dearly, and it is believed that more than four hundred of the natives perished in the action; but only seventeen of the Portuguese escaped, who got to shore by swimming, and concealed themselves in the woods. The people of Asumpcion, who were then at peace with the Payaguas, derived some profit from this deplorable event; . . . part of the gold was carried there, and disposed of as a thing of no value. One of the savages gave six pounds of gold for a pewter plate.

The Portuguese were not disposed to sit down tamely and bewail their loss. An expedition of six hundred men, in thirty war-canoes, and with fifty baggage boats, was fitted out to cruise for their enemies and give them battle. They came in sight of a

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

They fall upon the Portuguese. 1725. *Corografia Braz.* 1. 252.

Manoel Fe-lix. MS.

Cor. Braz. 1. 254.

The Portuguese fit out flotillas against them.

CHAP. ^{xxxviii.} flotilla at the mouth of the Embotatiu, or Mondego, as the Portuguese have named it, after the favourite river of their poets. The Indians defied them with whoops and gestures, but were too wise to engage an enemy who came to seek an action. Availing themselves therefore of the shape of their canoes, and their skill in managing them, they were presently far out of sight. The Portuguese followed perseveringly, and after many days came upon an Indian fleet suddenly at daybreak: their guns and musquets put them to flight; and pursuing them to one of their villages, called Tavatim, they destroyed all the canoes in the port. After this the flotillas passed safely for two succeeding years; but on the third, one which consisted of fifty canoes was intercepted, and very few of the people escaped. Upon this a more formidable armament was prepared, of thirty war canoes, seventy baggage boats, and two armed *balsas*. The Lieutenant General Manoel Rodriguez de Carvalho was appointed to the command.

1732. After a month's search he descried, just at the dawn of day, some fires in the bottom of a bay; and approaching as secretly as possible, came almost within musquet-shot of the Indians before he was perceived. A great carnage was made among them, and of the wounded and children who were not able to escape into the woods, about three hundred were taken, carried into captivity, and baptized.

Cor. Braz.
1. 256.

1736. The second year after this surprize, the water-caravan from S. Paulo, though of considerable force, was attacked by superior numbers. The continuance of war with the Portuguese seems to have given the river-savages a feeling of pride and honour, like that of their enemies, and to have made them careless of their own loss so they could win the victory. A battle of several hours ensued. The Portuguese commander, Pedro de Moraes, fell, . . . a man distinguished for his courage. Frey Antonio Nascentes also was killed, . . . a Franciscan, who was known by the appella-

tion of the Tyger: it may reasonably be inferred, from such a title, that the life and virtues of Frey Tigre, if faithfully recorded, would form as curious a chapter as any which is to be found in the Seraphic Chronicles. In this action a huge Mulatto, by name Manoel Rodriguez, but called Mandu-assu, or Big Manoel, distinguished himself by his uncommon activity and strength. He was in his canoe, with a wife of his own complexion, and his slaves: two boats attacked him, and he beat them both off, plying a pole with such force in the intervals while the virago was charging his musquet, that every stroke proved fatal to the savage upon whom it descended. He contributed more than any other individual to the victory which the Portugueze obtained, and was rewarded with a Captain's commission.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Cor. Braz.
1. 257.

But these losses did not dispirit the allied Indians. On one occasion, being disappointed in an attempt to intercept the annual caravan, they ascended the Cuyaba in pursuit of it, and killed some fishermen near the town. This alarmed the people: a meeting of the *Senado* was called, at which the *Ouvidor* and the chief persons of the place assisted; and the effect of a council held thus, while their fears were fresh, was a resolution to seek for peace. The alliance of the Guaycurus with the Payaguas was not suspected: they were believed to be friendly to both parties, and it was determined to solicit their mediation. Antonio de Medeiros was sent upon this embassy, with twelve canoes, half which were laden with presents, and with goods to be exchanged for horses with the savages. Medeiros took up his quarters upon an island near one of their villages; the Guaycuru Chief came with his people to the nearest shore; a conference was held, the presents were accepted, the mediation was promised, and it was agreed that on the following day the trade should begin. Unsuspicious of any treachery in these fair appearances, a great number of the Portugueze landed on the

The Portugueze seek for peace.

1743.

Treachery of the savages.

CHAP. morrow to transact the exchange: they were incautious enough
 XXXVIII. to go without arms, and they who remained in the boats saw
 the savages fall upon them: immediately they fired their cannon,
 and put the murderers to flight; but not before fifty of their
 comrades had been butchered. Here ended the vain hope of
 peace. But about this time roads were opened to Bahia and to
 the Rio; and owing to these communications, and to the inter-
 course which was soon established with Para, the route of Ca-
 mapuan was less frequented. They who still used it associated
 in strong bodies: their canoes were well armed, and manned
 with picked men; and a convoy usually accompanied them from
 Cuyaba to the Taquary, where they were met by another. The
 allied Indians, by this system, were frequently deterred from at-
 tacking them; and when they ventured upon battle, suffered severe
 defeat, or purchased an unimportant success with a heavy loss of
 lives. Such losses were not repaired among them as they were
 among the Portugueze: for savage life is always unfavourable to
 population; and among these savages, a flagitious custom had
 arisen, which was destroying them more rapidly than pestilence
 or war.

Cor. Braz.
 1. 260—2.

*Practice of
 abortion
 among the
 Mbayas and
 Guaycurus.*

This custom, which was not known when the Spaniards entered
 the country, was, that a woman never reared more than one child:
 it was not universal among the Mbayas and Guaycurus, but it
 was very general; for it had become the fashion. Azara once
 remonstrated with a woman who was then pregnant, upon the
 wickedness of such a practice. She replied, that an infant was
 a great incumbrance; that parturition injured a woman's figure,
 and rendered her less agreeable to the men; and moreover, that
 abortion was the easier thing of the two. He asked her how it was
 procured: upon which she coolly made answer, that he should
 see; then lay down upon her back, and in that posture was beaten
 by two old women till the effect was produced! It necessa-

rily happens, that some lose their lives in consequence of the crime; and others, who escape death, contract diseases which render life burthensome. Still it is the fashion; and they adhere to it obstinately. The Spaniards have offered to purchase the children whom they do not chuse to rear, if they will only suffer them to be born; and they have often endeavoured to induce a pregnant woman, by large gifts, to spare her unborn child: but it is averred that they have never succeeded in any one instance. This practice, in its consequence, has entirely destroyed that part of the Guaycurus, who were for so many years the most formidable enemies of the Spaniards of Asumpcion. When Azara left Paraguay in the year 1801, there remained only one individual of this stock, . . . a person remarkable in other respects as well as for being the last survivor of his nation: he was six feet seven inches in stature, beautifully proportioned in all his limbs, and altogether, it is said, one of the finest specimens of the human animal that had ever been seen. Being thus left alone, he had joined the Tobas, and adopted their dress and fashion of painting. But that branch of the Guaycurus with whom the Portugueze of Cuyaba were engaged in war, still exists: among them the women begin to rear their children after they reach the age of thirty; and they are a numerous people.

CHAP.
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Azara. 2.
114—116.

Cor. Braz.
1. 282.

Their fashions and habits.

The average stature of the Mbayas, is said to be five feet eight; they are well proportioned, well made, hale, and ⁴ long-lived.

⁴ In 1794, a Cacique called Nabidrigui, or Camba, who was six feet two, replied to one who enquired his age, that he did not know how old he was, but that when they began to build the Cathedral at Asumpcion, he was married and father of one child. That Cathedral was built in 1689, . . . he must, therefore, certainly have been at least one hundred and twenty years of age. He was half grey, and his sight a little weaker than that of other Indians; but he had neither lost a tooth nor a hair, and went to war like his countrymen. *Azara 2. 104.*

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But they disfigured themselves strangely, by eradicating the hair from the head, as well as from every part of the body; the reason which they assigned for this custom was, that they were not horses to have hairy skins, .. probably therefore it may have arisen since they became an equestrian people. The women of some hordes leave a stripe about an inch wide and an inch high from the forehead to the crown, like a bristled mane, or the ridge of a helmet; in others, like the men, they render the whole head bald. The hordes who wear any clothing, wear it only where it is not required for concealment, and are naked as to all purposes of decency. The Abipones, who are a chaste people, and in all things remarkably observant of decency, say, that the Mbayas resemble dogs in shamelessness; and the reproach is well founded: for jealousy is not known among the men, and the women are the most debauched of all the Indians. This may, doubtless, be partly occasioned by the obvious effects of gregarious domestication; but though many tribes lived in the same manner, there were none who were so thoroughly profligate and shameless. It is curious, that though the men were thus indifferent as to the conduct of their wives, they set some value upon them as their goods, and marked them upon the leg or breast with a hot iron, just as they did their horses. Their habitations were of the rudest kind, and had no other convenience than that of being easily removed. They were formed of mats about nine feet high, extended upon poles, and divided by stakes into three apartments; the middle of which was reserved for the Chief of the horde and his family: in this part all the weapons were deposited at night, and no other implements of any kind, that in case of an attack, all might know where to find arms without embarrassment. Hammocks were not used by them: they slept upon the ground, or sometimes upon a hide, and they covered themselves with a hide when the rain made way through the

Asara. 2.
135.
Dobrizhof-
fer. 2. 27.
Almeida
Serra. Pa-
trioti. T. 2.
N. 5. 39.

Lozano. 5.
23. § 7.

matting above. In the wet season they removed to the woods for shelter.

The Guaycuru branch of the Mbaya nation had degrees of rank among them, which depended partly upon age, and were curiously distinguished. The first was that of the boys, who were called *Nabbidagan*, or Blacks, because black was the only colour with which they were allowed to adorn themselves, and a coating of that colour was laid on every morning. Among these people, as indeed among most or perhaps all savages, children paid little respect and no obedience to their parents: but here a custom prevailed which in some degree served, and may perhaps have been designed, to correct those unruly habits which grow up where there is no domestic discipline. The Black, though he was not taught to honour his father and mother, was taught to honour and obey all other adults. They inured themselves to pain, with that proud spirit which is so easily excited in boyhood, and which ripens into courage: to pain indeed they were early accustomed; the first ceremony performed upon a new-born infant was that of boring the ears; . . . and they underwent in childhood the severe operation of slitting the under lip to admit the *barbote*, or mouth-piece. It was a bravado among them to pierce their arms with the sting of the ray; . . . children of three or four years would hold out their little arms and intreat others to pierce them, overpaid for the suffering by the delight of being called brave boys. At the age of fourteen the Black was promoted, allowed to paint himself red, and addressed by his elders by the title of *Figen*, which was a salutation of honour. He now wore a net upon his head, a girdle of horse or of human hair, and bracelets: that upon the left arm was never laid aside; it was a long string of horse-hair wound round and round, and serving various uses. It was a protection against the string of the bow; it formed a sheath or place for carrying their last and

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Their de-
grees of
rank.

CHAP. trusted weapon, the saw of palometa's teeth, with which they de-
 XXXVIII. capitated their enemies; and if they spared a prisoner, it served
 to tie his hands. The third degree, which was that of an ap-
 proved soldier, could not be taken before the age of twenty, and
 for this there was a formidable initiation. The aspirant passed
 the eve of the ceremony in adorning himself; his hair, which
 hitherto had been allowed to grow, in those hordes where any
 was left, was sheared to the fashion of the veterans, and matted
 down with a mixture of wax and oil over the forehead. He
 painted himself to what pattern he pleased, and with whatever
 colours; fastened upon his head a sort of red cap or coronet,
 and had his whole body elaborately ornamented with feathers,
 and little pieces of wood like quills, from which little balls of
 feathers were suspended. In this full dress he began before day-
 break to beat a sort of drum, .. an earthen vessel with a little
 water in it, and closely covered, was the instrument; at the same
 time he began to sing, and thus he continued drumming and
 singing till about four in the afternoon. Then he called upon
 the veterans, seven in number, whom he had chosen to officiate,
 and to each of whom he had given a sharp bone, and a sting of
 the ray-fish. With these each wounded him four or five times,
 while he stood without flinching, or betraying the slightest sense
 of pain. They then wetted his head and his whole body with
 the blood that ran from these wounds, .. and thus the initiation
 was compleated.

*Lozano. 5.
 23. § 4.
 11—13.*

*Female box-
 ing matches.*

The women had a ceremony of going round their huts in pro-
 cession, carrying their husbands' spears, and the scalps, bones,
 and weapons of the enemies whom they had slain, and celebrat-
 ing the exploits of their warriors. Afterwards, to show that they
 in their vocation were not inferior in spirit, they engaged with
 fists in battle-royal, and did not desist till they had bled plenti-
 fully from nose and mouth, nor sometimes till a few teeth had

been lost. The men, who decided their own quarrels always by a boxing-match, looked on, complimented their wives upon the courage which they displayed, and concluded the day by getting drunk, . . . a part of the entertainment in which the women did not participate, for they were not allowed to drink fermented liquors. Girls were prohibited from eating meat, or any fish above a certain size; after marriage they were restricted from nothing except beef, monkey, and capibari. A more curious custom than this was connected with marriage. The married and the single spoke different dialects, or forms of language, distinguished partly by the terminations of words, and so far therefore easily acquired; but in part the vocabulary also was different: . . . one of the many remarkable facts relating to language which are found in savage life. Azara says that all the South American languages were difficultly to be learnt, and still more difficultly to be spoken, because the natives articulate indistinctly, moving the lips but little, and speaking much in the throat and nose, whereby they produce sounds not to be denoted by any letters of the European alphabet. He knew only one Spaniard who could speak the Mbaya: but this was after the expulsion of the Jesuits, whose unweariable zeal enabled them to overcome all difficulties of this kind. F. Joseph Sanchez Labrador, by whose means a peace was made with this nation about the year 1760, and the Spaniards, more particularly those of Asumpcion, were delivered from the most tremendous enemy with whom they were ever engaged, settled among them, and formed a grammar of their tongue. The Mbaya and Guaycuru dialects were very different from each other; and besides this broad distinction, great varieties, both in the vocabulary and pronunciation, are found in every horde. Such differences are found in the provinces of civilized countries; much more are they to be expected in unwritten tongues, which, because they

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XXXVIII.

Azara. 2.
115.

*Different
language for
the married
and the sin-
gle.*

CHAP. are unwritten, are more liable to perpetual mutation. They have
 XXXVIII. many words in common with the Mocobis and the Abipones ;
 but from their structure Hervas judged them to be radically dif-
 ferent. Dobrizhoffer, who was conversant in all, thought the
 Mbaya softer than any of its cognate or connected languages.

*Azara. 2.5.
2. 106.*

*Hervas. 1.
2. § 31.*

*Dobrizhof-
fer. 2. 205.*

*Haughti-
ness of their
nation.*

They were regarded as peculiarly unconvertible, the common difficulty being increased by a notion which they had conceived, that baptism was mortal to all of their nation who received it. This notion, indeed, frequently prevailed among other Indians, because the Missionaries, as a consequence of their own superstition, were eager to baptize all who were at the point of death; and they who regarded it as an act of sorcery and expected to see the patient healed, when they perceived it fail as a remedy, in their disappointment supposed its effects to be fatal. It is also said, that among the Guaycurus, baptism, by reason of their many vices, was seldom performed till they were in the last extremity. Perhaps the haughtiness of the tribe was a stronger obstacle than any superstitious persuasion. They believed that the soul of a Guaycuru, armed with his bow and arrows, made the Land of the Departed tremble, and that the souls of all other people fled at his approach. The Abipones, who despised all other tribes, respected these, and acknowledged their own inferiority; but they attributed it to the greater skill of the Guaycuru conjurers. Their tradition of their own origin is, that in the beginning God created all other nations as numerous as they are at present, and divided the earth among them. Afterwards he created two Mbayas, male and female; and he commissioned the Caracara (*Falco Brasiliensis*) to tell them, he was very sorry that there was no part of the world left for their portion, and therefore he had only made two of them; but they were to wander about the inheritance of others, make eternal war upon all other people, kill the adult males, and in-

Techo. 38.

*Noticias de
Paraguay.
MSS.*

*Dobrizhof-
fer. 2. 471.*

crease their own numbers by adopting the women and children. Never, says Azara, were divine precepts more faithfully observed! The Guanas were the only tribe whom they exempted from their universal hostility, and the Guanas purchased this exemption by performing personal services to them as their masters and protectors. The poorest Mbaya had three or four slaves taken in war, who did for him every kind of work except hunting and fishing, for these were lordly pastimes. But this slavery was so easy, and the Mbayas, ferocious as they were in war, were so kind to those whom they had thus adopted, that none of the captives wished to leave their state of servitude; not even Spanish women, it is said, who were adults at the time of their capture, and had even left children in their husbands' house. If however this, as Azara asserts, be generally true, it proves that the women must have been far from happy in their former state, or that they were devoid of all natural affection, and all principles of duty.

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See vol. 2,
p. 376.

Azara. 2.
108.

Their funerals.

Romero had collected some of this nation, and baptized the daughter of Pauru, one of their Chiefs, when she was expiring. Now that you have done this after your fashion, said the father, I will bury her after ours. But the Jesuit replied, that she had been made a child of God, and must therefore be buried in the Church; and this being considered as an honour, the Chief consented. An old woman who was very much grieved at perceiving that none of the usual sacrifices were performed upon this occasion, took one of her countrymen aside, and intreated him to knock her on the head, that she might go and serve the Damsel in the Land of the Departed. The Savage performed this request without hesitation, and then the whole horde requested Romero to inter the body with that of the Neophyte. The Jesuit said this was impossible: . . . Pauru's daughter was received among the Angels, where she needed no such attendant; and as for the old woman, she was gone to a very different place, and a very

CHAP. different society, among whom she would be punished for her
 XXXVIII. unbelief. He was permitted to act as he pleased ; but it required
 } great vigilance to prevent them from stealing the damsel's body,
 } that they might deposit it with the remains of this faithful and
 } voluntary victim.

*Noticias de
 Paraguay.
 MSS.*

They held, that the souls of evil persons transmigrated into wild beasts, and acquired powers of mischief proportionate to the wickedness of their human disposition. A Jesuit being about to baptize an old sorceress at her death, the people flocked about him, beseeching him not to make her a Christian, for if he should bury her according to the custom in such cases, in the Church, she would turn into a jaguar, and destroy all about her. It was better, they said, to carry her carcase to some remote and solitary place, lest she should do more havoc when dead than she had done while living. They interred the dead with all his weapons, ornaments, and goods of every kind, and slew several of his horses on the grave. If the death happened at some distance from the burial place of the horde, they wrapt the body in a mat, and hung it in a tree for some three months, in which time it became dry as parchment; then they removed it to the cemetery. During the mourning, which was from three to four months, the women and slaves of the deceased abstained from meat, and kept an unbroken silence.

Techo. 38.

*Azara. 2.
 117—119.*

*The Leng-
 guar.*

While the Mbayas, not content with infesting Tucuman and possessing the Chaco, crossed the river and attacked the Spaniards of Paraguay from the West and North, they were not the only enemies by whom these degenerate people were assailed in that direction. One formidable nation, which in its turn inflicted upon them some of the calamities which their fathers had so unsparingly brought upon the natives of the land, were the Jaadgé, as they called themselves:.. by the Spaniards they were called Lenguar, because of their mouth-piece, which resembled the end

of the tongue, protruded through artificial lips. They possessed the country between the Paraguay and the Pilcomayo, from the twenty second degree to the junction of these great rivers. The Chiquitos are said to have considered them as a kindred nation; but no affinity could be traced in their language, either to the Chiquitos, or to any other people, nor did they understand any speech but their own. As they had no kindred with other tribes, so had they no friends or allies among them; they were incessantly at war with all. Neither did they ever seek for Missionaries, which at some time or other was done by every other people, nor ever relax in their hostility against the Spaniards, who were indeed commonly known among all the nations of the Chaco by the name of the Enemies. They were a finely proportioned race, but they disfigured themselves by elongating the ears, as well as by the hideous mouth-bit. It is one of the shallow remarks of the Abbé Raynal, concerning the American Indians, that the manners of all these tribes must have been the same, or distinguished only by shades of difference, which the conquerors would be too dull to discriminate; . . . this remark alone would show how little he had read, and how little he had thought on the subject. The most singular custom of the Lenguas related to sickness and death. When any one appeared to be near his end, they dragged him by the legs out of his hut, lest he should die there, and haled him some fifty paces off; made a hole there for the sake of decent cleanliness, laid him on his back, kindled a fire on one side, placed a pot of water on the other, and left him to expire. Nothing more was given him: frequently they came to look at him from a distance, . . . not to administer assistance, not to perform any office of human charity, not to express any sense of human sympathy, . . . but to see whether he had breathed his last. As soon as that was ascertained, some hired persons, or more usually some old women, wrapt up the body with all that had belonged

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Hervas, l. 3.
§ 33.

Juan Patri-
cio Fernan-
dez. 422.

T. 4. p. 122.

CHAP. to it, dragged it as far as they were able for weariness, then scratch-
 ed a shallow grave, and heaped the mould over it in haste. The
 XXXVIII. relations mourned for three days, but the name of the deceased
 was never again pronounced; and because they believed that
 Death, when he was among them, had learnt the names of all
 whom he left alive, that he might look for them another time, every
 one in the tribe took a new name, hoping that when Death re-
 turned and did not recognize these appellations, he would proceed
 farther upon a vain search. These people, who were once among
 the most formidable nations of the interior, and a sore scourge
 to the Spaniards, have perished by their own accursed customs.
 Like the Mbayas, they fell into the practice of rearing only one
 child in a family; and in the year 1794, fourteen males and
 eight females were all that remained of the race. Two of these
 were settled with a Spaniard; the others had joined company
 with other savages, so that the Lenguas have disappeared from
 the earth. Thus it is with savages; . . . through sin they have
 originally lapsed into the savage state; and they who reject
 civilization when it is placed within their reach, if they escape
 from other agents of destruction, perish by the devices of their
 own hearts, to which they are abandoned.

Asara. 2.
 142—154.

The Calcha-
quis.

On this side also were the fierce tribes comprehended under
 the general name of Calchaquis, from the country they inhabit-
 ed, . . . a long valley between mountains, which afforded them safe
 places of retreat. Their language was a dialect of the Quichua,
 and their origin has been variously referred to some Peruvians
 flying from the despotism of the Incas; to those who escaped
 from Almagro on his miserable expedition into Chili; and to
 the adherents of the last princes of the Inca blood. Early writers,
 fond of theory, and looking every where for the lost tribes of
 Israel, supposed these people to be of Jewish origin, because
 names were found among them resembling David and Solomon;

because it was their custom, that a survivor should raise up seed to his deceased brother ; and because their garments, which were long enough to reach the ground, were gathered up with a girdle. This garment was made of vicuna wool, and was girt about them with great dexterity, when they wished to have their limbs at full liberty, for labour or for battle. They wore their hair long, and divided into tresses ; their arms were covered to the elbow with silver or copper plates, worn on the one as a guard against the bow-string, and on the other for uniformity, or ornament. Wives were dressed in only one colour, maidens in many ; and no sexual intercourse was tolerated till the youth had undergone certain religious ceremonies. Other vestiges of a civilization from which they had degraded, were found among them. They had little idols wrought in copper, which they carried about them as their most precious things : and amid the internal disputes in which their strength was consumed, they frequently listened to the mediation of the women, .. for barbarous as they were, says Techo, they easily granted any thing at the request of those who bore and suckled them. The Sun was the chief object of their worship : they also worshipped Thunder and Lightning, and erected to their honour huts as temples, upon which wands were placed adorned with feathers and sprinkled with vicuna blood. The earthly objects to which a religious reverence was shown were certain trees, which were trimmed with feathers ; and the stones which were heaped over the graves of their ancestors. Old feuds were often revived in their cups, and in the frays which ensued it was a whimsical point of honour never to shrink from a blow, nor to ward it off. The bow was the weapon which they then used for striking, .. a clumsy substitute for a club, and therefore perhaps prescribed for such occasions as less dangerous. At their banquets, the Priest consecrated to the Sun the skull of a hind, stuck with arrows, and

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prayed for a good harvest: the person to whom he delivered it was to be master of the next revels. All the friends and kinsmen of a sick man repaired to his hut, and continued there drinking as long as his disease lasted. They planted arrows in the ground round the place where he lay, that Death might be deterred from approaching: they buried with him his dogs, his horses, and his weapons, and abundance of garments which were presented as funeral offerings; and they burnt the house in which he died, as being a place to which Death knew the way, and might be likely to return. They interred him with his eyes open, that he might see his way to the other world. The mourning was continued a whole year, during which the mourners painted themselves black. It was their notion, that death was not in the course of nature, but was always the effect of some malignant interference: . . . they were not the only people by whom this extraordinary notion was entertained; and it necessarily produced heart-burnings, enmity, and hatred. Souls, they thought, were converted into stars, which were bright in proportion to the rank of the deceased, and to the brave actions which they had performed. These people behaved with the utmost intrepidity against the Spaniards, whom they detested with their whole hearts: the women, who in other wars were so often the ministers of peace, would, if they saw their husbands give way before these execrated enemies, drive them back to the battle with fire-brands; and rather than be made prisoners, they would rush upon the swords of their oppressors, or throw themselves from the precipices. The invaders had formed their country into a province, which they called by the name of Nueva Inglaterra, Philip II having just at that time married the bloody Mary: and in farther honour of the marriage, one of the four cities which they founded was called London. These settlements were all destroyed, and the Calchaquis long baffled

both the power of the Spaniards and the zeal of the Jesuits. At length a great and persevering effort was made from Tucuman, with the assistance of a Guarani force from the Reductions, and they were subdued. The small pox followed, and completed their destruction. The miserable remnant of the tribe was transported to the river Carcarañal; and when the Jesuits were expelled, only twenty were left. But the country from whence they were driven was speedily occupied by a more formidable race of ruder savages, the Mocabis, Tobas, and Abipones, . . . kindred equestrian tribes. They themselves, perhaps, have now nearly disappeared from the land which was the scene of their exploits; but the Abipones have been in one thing fortunate above all other savages, . . . for the history of their manners and fortunes by Martin Dobrizhoffer, a German Jesuit, who devoted the prime of his years to the task of converting them, and in old age, after the extinction of his Order, found consolation in recording the knowledge which he had so painfully acquired, and the labours which had so miserably been frustrated, is of all books relating to savage life the most curious, and in every respect the most interesting.

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The Mocabis, Tobas, and Abipones.

Jolis. 428. Hervas. 1. 4. § 62. Lozano. 3. 17. § 5—8. Dobrizhoffer. 3. 12.

The dialects of these three tribes, are as much alike as Spanish and Portuguese, which differ less in their vocabulary, and more in their grammar, than Scotch and English. Their articulation partook so much of singing, that Dobrizhoffer says, the pronunciation of a syllable, unless it were taught orally, might best be expressed to a stranger by the help of musical notation. The language⁵ is at once singularly rude and complicated. If they

Language of the Abipones.

Dobrizhoffer. 2. 165.

⁵ Barzena used to say, that they who studied the languages of the Rio Bermejo would think those of Peru only an A B C in comparison with them, even though the difficult Pesquin were included among the Peruvian, . . . *pues para*

CHAP. XXXVIII. have any simple numerals, (which is doubtful) they do not get beyond two: for three, they say two and one; four, is the emu's foot, which has four claws; for five, they name a certain skin which has five spots; from thence up to the score, the fingers and toes supply the want of words; any number beyond these natural digits, is many, or innumerable. Instead of enquiring how many horses were brought home, the question would be, What space did the troop occupy? and the reply, This open place, .. from yonder trees to the river; .. or some such reference to visible objects. The Moon serves to denote a month; the blossom of the carob-tree, a year; an egg is called the hen's work. They have neither the personal nor the possessive verb. This is language in its rudest state: yet their synonymes are said to have been numerous, their distinctive words remarkably nice, and they delighted in diminutives of endearment. It was a point of pride among them, not to adopt any word from the Spaniards, as the Guaranies did: therefore they invented new words to

Dobrizhoffer, 2.
172—3.

Do. 2.
183—4.

congeminar un verbo con otro, era forzoso saber mas que las concordancias de Laurencio Valla. (Lozano, 1, 20. 5.) According to Lozano, Barzena, among his other labours of this kind, composed a grammar, a catechism, and certain sermons upon the principal mysteries of the faith, in the Abipone tongue. But Dobrizhoffer, who is better authority, affirms that Joseph Briguei, a German Jesuit, formed the first vocabulary and grammar. Dobrizhoffer studied under him two years, and made a vocabulary himself, upon the plan of the well known Janna Linguarum of Comenius, the Moravian Bishop. (2. 197.)

Dobrizhoffer gives some specimens of the copiousness and difficulty of the language: *Lalaglet* simply means a wound; if it be inflicted by the teeth either of man or beast, then it is *Naagek*; by a knife or sword, *Nicharhek*; by a lance, *Noarek*; by an arrow, *Nainek*. *Roelakitapegeta*, they are fighting; *Nahamreta*, they are fighting with spears; *Natenetapegeta*, they are fighting with arrows; *Nemarketapegeta*, they are fighting with fists; *Ycherikaleretaa*, they are fighting only with words; *Nejerenta*, two women are fighting about their husbands.

denote new objects, or expressed them by some circumlocution. Thus, they called a Church by the apt name of an Image House: for a musquet, with less propriety, they used the same appellation as for a bow; and they called gunpowder the flour of the musquet. The word *Loakal* signified an image, a shadow, the echo, and the soul.

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Dobrizhoffer. 2. 191.

This language, rude as it was, was rendered still more so, by a custom which subjected it to continual alteration. Such was the desire of these tribes to rid themselves as far as possible of all remembrance of the dead, that when any person died, every word in the language which bore any relation to his name was abolished; the old women assembled to invent others in their stead; and new words circulated as fast through every horde in the nation, and were adopted as solicitously, as new fashions in England. Hence their language was in the most barbarous imaginable state; for these new words were formed by mere caprice, without rule, reason, or analogy; and as proper names there, as every where, were derived from natural objects, it was the substantives, . . . the roots of speech, . . . the main beams and foundations of language, which were thus altered. During one year the word for the jaguar was changed three times. Another cause of difficulty was, that the nobles and the plebeians, that is to say, they who were not of pure Abipone blood, used different forms of speech, by which they were as much distinguished as the different ranks in Europe are by their dress. And this was not, as might be supposed, because the lower classes spake a corrupt dialect, for both spake with equal correctness; but there was an aristocratic and a plebeian syntax. It is worthy of remark, that neither the Abipones nor the Guaranies have any word in their language to express thanks; and Dobrizhoffer suspects that the same deficiency exists among all other tribes. If any thing be given them when they ask for it (and they are

Its capricious mutations.

Dobrizhoffer. 2. 199. 200. 477.

Do. 3. 395.

CHAP. invincible askers), This is it, is the reply : or if they mean ot be particularly civil, the phrase is, How useful it will be to me.

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Their wor-
ship and
their jug-
glers.

The object of their worship was called Aharaigichi, or Keebet; the Jesuits supposed this to be the Devil; but the Abipones did not consider him as a malignant being, nor was their adoration founded upon fear. They called him their Grandfather, and fancied that he was to be seen in the Pleiades: when those stars disappeared they believed that he was sick, and were alarmed lest he should die; therefore, the re-appearance was a cause of great exultation, and the people went out with sound of pipe and horn, and cries of joy, to congratulate him on his recovery and return, ..an event which they never failed to celebrate by a drinking feast. While this was going on, a female juggler danced round them, shaking a *maraca*, with which she rubbed the legs of the warriors, telling them in their Grandfather's name it would make them swift in the chace and in the pursuit. Keebet was the name of the juggler here, as well as of the divinity. These rogues (like others of the same fraternity in Africa) pretended to have the power of transforming themselves into jaguars; and when one of them threatened to make this metamorphosis, the whole horde was in consternation. The boldest hunters of the jaguar would then take flight; they were not afraid, they said, of a beast which they could see and attack, but they dared not stand in the way of an invisible one. There were more female than male Keebets. When an expedition was to be undertaken, they were desired to consult their Grandfather; and accordingly they assembled in a tent for that purpose. One of the oldest witches presided, beating two huge drums, which were in fourths, and singing to this dismal music in a deep doleful tone; the rest stood round and howled in concert, and jumped incessantly and tossed about their arms, some shaking the *maraca*, others beating a tambour in a higher key. At day-break they issued

Dobrizhof-
fer. 2. 76—
8.

Do. 2. 79.
80. 87.

out and gave their responses. Different parties were employed in different tents upon the same service : it often happened that their answers did not agree; and then they fought about it like wild beasts, literally with tooth and nail. To ascertain the point, one of them was then ordered to raise the spirit of a dead person. A crowd assembled in the tent, where the witch retired behind a skin which was extended like a curtain. After various incantations and commands, she pretended that the Spirit was come in obedience to her adjurations ; questions were then asked in one voice and answered in another, and no one doubted but that all this was real.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Dobrizhofer. 2. 83.

Every natural calamity, or portentous appearance, was attributed to witchcraft, . . storms and meteors, rain or drought, sickness and death. Like the Calchaquis, they would not believe that death was in the order of nature, but maintained, that were it not for war and witchcraft, . . if they could get rid of all witches, and of the Spaniards with their fire-arms, . . they should live for ever. It would appear almost incredible that such an opinion should have prevailed among any people however ignorant and superstitious, if we did not know that a doctrine not very dissimilar, and equally extravagant, has been seriously maintained in our own days, by Philosophers, as they called themselves, of the newest school. The extreme longevity of the Abipones, and the vigour of their old age, may have occasioned the notion, and must certainly have strengthened it. A man who only attained to fourscore was bewailed as having been cut off in the flower of his years. The women, as is usual every where, were generally the longer lived : they frequently outlived a century. The absence of all anxiety, and the frequent change of air, were two causes of this length of life : early chastity was not less certainly a third, . . for they were eminently a chaste people. The men seldom married before the age of thirty, nor the

Their superstition and longevity.

Dobrizhofer. 2. 86. 92—3.

Do. 2. 51—2. Do. 2.45.

CHAP. women before twenty. It was observed also, that the eque-
 XXXVIII. trian tribes were strikingly distinguished from all others by their
 } greater health, strength, stature, and longevity.

*Customs at
 marriage.*

A wife was to be purchased from her parents. It happened not unfrequently, that the maiden would refuse the husband who bargained for her, and run away. When the marriage was accepted, the ceremony was not without some beauty. Eight maidens carried a cloak of their finest texture, like a canopy, over the bride, while she walked to her husband's tent silently, with downcast looks; having been lovingly received there, she returned in the same manner to her parents, and carried the few utensils which were required for their rude establishment, and the light loom in a second and third procession; after which she went back to her paternal tent, ..for mothers would not be separated from their daughters, till a child was born, or till they were assured that the husband would treat his wife kindly: then they had their separate household; but till then the son-in-law was part of his wife's family. The term of lactation was three years: and this gave rise to the frequent crime of preventing the birth, or murdering the babe, ..for during this time no connubial intercourse was permitted, and women had recourse to these abominable means lest their husbands should put them away, and take other wives. A practice which tended so rapidly and surely to destroy the wicked people among whom it prevailed, could not possibly have been of long continuance. At the end of the sixteenth century the Abipones were a populous nation. The first Jesuits who visited them, found more than eight thousand inhabitants in one of their settlements. They had not at that time obtained the horse, and their habits were less migratory. A century and half afterwards, the whole nation did not exceed five thousand persons: and to this deadly custom the depopulation was traced; ..for those who had been converted

*Dobrizhof-
 fer. 2. 217.*

*Infanticide
 and abor-
 tion.*

*Dobrizhof-
 fer. 2. 54.*

*Lozano. 1.
 18. § 25.*

were increasing in numbers, notwithstanding the unfavourable effect which was always produced upon the health of new converts, by the great and sudden change in their habits of life. Contrary to the practice of most nations among whom infanticide is suffered, girls were preserved here rather than boys, because the suitor always purchased his wife, and because the condition of women was not unhappy among the Abipones. A boy's earliest plaything was the bow and arrow: with this he learnt to shoot flies, insects, and small birds, and thus became an expert archer. They also accustomed themselves from childhood to endure pain, and were proud to show the scars of voluntary wounds.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.
Dobrizhoffer. 2.
106-9.

Do. 2. 107.

Do. 2. 56.
48.

Few nations ever regarded death with so much horror, resembling the Lenguas both in this, and in the unfeeling treatment of the sufferers. The moment it was thought that any one was about to die, the old women drove out all other persons from the tent, lest the spectacle of death might make them afraid of it in battle. All the famous witches flocked to the patient, rattled their *maracas*, and lamented over him, while one of the party beat a huge drum close at his head. They covered him with a hide, and from time to time one of these wretches lifted it to see if he were dead: if there were any signs of life, she wetted the face with cold water, then covered it to hide the sight of dissolution, and stifle its sounds. As soon as the sufferer had expired the matrons of the horde assembled, and went in procession, striking *maracas*, and beating certain earthen drums covered with doe-skin. The first business was a strange and horrible act of superstition, to revenge the deceased upon the person who had occasioned his death by witchcraft: for this purpose they cut out the heart and tongue of the corpse, boiled them, and gave them to the dogs, in full faith that if this were done it would infallibly destroy the guilty person: nor was this

Their dread
of death.

CHAP. strange fancy in the slightest degree shaken by the plain and
 XXXVIII. obvious fact, that no person was ever known to be in any way
 Funeral cus- affected by the ceremony. After this had been performed they
 toms. drest the body, swathed it in a skin which they fastened round
 with straps, and bound up the head. Each family had its own
 place of burial in the woods, and at some distance from their
 usual haunts, . . out of sight, that it might be out of mind. The
 grave was not deep, lest the earth should lie heavy upon the
 dead; and it was covered with thorns as a defence against the
 jaguars, who prefer carrion to any other food. What became
 of the *Loakal* they knew not, but they feared it, and believed
 that the echo was its voice, till Dobrizhoffer relieved them from
 this imagination, by explaining the echo so as to make them
 perfectly comprehend its nature. An earthen pot was placed
 upon the grave, that if the Spirit should want water, a vessel
 might be at hand: they suspended a garment from the nearest
 tree, that he might find clothing if he should rise; and fixed his
 spear in the ground beside, that it might be ready either for
 hunting or for war. They killed at the grave the horses, dogs,
 and domestic animals of any kind which had belonged to the
 deceased; they burnt all his instruments; they pulled down his
 dwelling, and erased all vestiges of it, that nothing might be
 left to remind them of the departed. It was a crime ever to
 utter his name; if it were necessary to allude to him, they called
 him the man who now is not.

*Dobrizhof-
fer. 2.
289—296.*

*Their
mourning.*

Like the Greeks of the Homeric age, they held it the greatest
 of all evils to be unburied; and therefore they delighted in mak-
 ing flutes and trumpets of their enemies' bones, and drinking-
 cups of their skulls. Hence the Greeks themselves were not
 more solicitous about bringing off the bodies of their dead.
 They were desirous also of being interred among their ancestors:
 for this reason, if any person died far away, they dissected the

bones, brought them home in a skin, and buried them with the accustomed forms: and knowing the way to the family place of burial by marks cut in the trees, and by unerring tradition, however distant it might be, they would with infinite labour bear the bones of their kinsmen and lay them in the same sacred spot. The thought of a dungeon was not so dreadful to them, as that of interment in a church, or church-yard: they made this a main objection to the religion of the Missionaries; and many would not submit to be baptized, unless it were promised that they should be buried in the woods under the open sky. A lamentation for the dead was made during nine days, by all the matrons of the horde:.. they had their faces spotted, their long hair loose, the breast and shoulders bare, and a skin hanging at the back; and in this trim they went through the public place, one by one, leaping like frogs, and throwing out their arms as they leaped: some rattled the *maraca*, and after three or four of these performers came one with a tambour. Suddenly they ceased their wailing, and all at once screamed to the highest pitch of the human voice,.. a horrid yell, which was intended to denounce vengeance upon the author of the death. The evening rites were held within a hut, and none but bidden guests were allowed to be present: the presiding Keebet then directed the ceremony, which consisted in mournfully howling to the clatter of *maracas*, and the sound of two immense drums, which she beat as leader of the band. On the ninth night the witch exhorted them to lay aside sorrow, and be merry once more; and then a chearful tone was set up. Only the women were concerned in these rites; the men, accustomed to such outcries from their infancy, slept through them, like ⁶ jackdaws in

CHAP.
XXXVIII.*Dobrizhoffer. 2.*
213. 297.*Do. 3.*
149. 336.*Do. 305—7.*

⁶ *Scilicet ut columbæ turrium incolæ æris campani tinnitu quantocunque nil*

CHAP. a belfrey. If the person for whom this mourning was made,
 XXXVIII. died at a distance, the bones were kept in a tent during the nine
 days. When the remains of seven warriors whom the Spaniards
 had slain, were brought home, the bones were put together, and
 the skeletons dressed and fixed upright, with a hat upon each
 skull, while the customary lamentation lasted. The widow,
 during her widowhood, wore a hood of black and red, shaped
 like that of the Capuchines, and covering both the shoulders and
 breast: her hair was shorn. A widower also was shorn, and
 received from the presiding Keebet a net for his head, which he
 wore till the hair had grown again. It is remarkable, that al-
 though so many precautions were enacted to prevent the recol-
 lection of the dead, yet whenever the thought of a deceased
 friend came upon a woman, she was allowed to unbind her hair,
 and collect her acquaintance to assist her in making a lamenta-
 tion. On these occasions they ran about the public place, filling
 the air with their cries; and few nights passed without some such
 disturbance, for the women seemed to delight in exercising their
 privilege.

Dobrizhoffer. 3. 312.

Do. 302.

Do. 308.

Mode of travelling.

When an Abipone was about to mount his horse, he held the reins in his right hand, leant with the left on his long spear, and vaulted into the seat. An iron bit was considered a valuable possession; its place was commonly supplied by horn: the saddle was of crude cow's hide stuffed with rushes: stirrups were seldom used, and spurs never; and though the rider carried a whip of thongs, he excited the horse rather by the sound than the smart. The women rode astride; and this practice is

terrentur, sic Abipones a pueris feminarum planctibus assueti ad nocturnos strepitus dudum obsurduere. In Dobrizhoffer's country, therefore, it appears that pigeons build in the church towers, as jackdaws in ours.

said to have made them subject to long, difficult, and dangerous parturition. When they travelled the wife carried her husband's bow and quiver, her loom, her stock of cotton, all the chattels of the tent, and the mats which were to compose the tent when it should again be set up: she had also their leathern boat, and her child and her puppies swinging on each side in leathern bags. Besides these things she carried an instrument of all work, in shape resembling a *macana*, which served for digging roots, striking down fruit from the trees, breaking boughs for fuel, and if need were, for braining an enemy upon the way. All this, says Dobrizhoffer, though it might seem a load for a camel, is not sufficient; but two or three women or girls will get upon the same beast, not for want of horses, all having plenty, but for the pleasure of gossipping; if the animal resented this intolerable cargo and kicked them off, they were used to falling, and presently mounted again amid the laughter of their companions. Thus they travelled, carrying with them dogs out of number, who hunted as they went. If no game could be found, they set fire to the grass, and thus forced the lurking animals to start. In default of any other food, the plains abounded with rabbits. At night they pitched their stakes, and covered them with matting, which was doubled, or trebled, as the wind and weather might require: a trench was dug along the side of the tent, to provide against sudden showers; and they slept upon the ground. The horses were turned loose, and with them a mare carrying a bell, at the sound of which, should they be scattered by wild beasts during the night, they return when the danger is over: a few were shackled, to prevent their straying far from the encampment, in case they should be needed upon any sudden alarm.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Dobrizhoffer.
fer. 3. 120.

Do. 125—7.

Their spears were planted at night in the ground before the tent: the number of spears indicated the number of warriors

Their weapons.

CHAP. within; and by making a show of weapons in this manner, the
 XXXVIII. Missionary who laboured with most success among them often
 deluded his enemies, and saved himself from an attack. These
 weapons were from fifteen to twenty feet long, made of a wood
 peculiar to their country, which they called *netergo*; it is exceed-
 ingly hard, and of a purple colour when newly cut: they straight-
 ened the shaft by means of fire, and pointed it at both ends,
 formerly with wood or bone, but in later times with iron, which
 they kept beautifully polished, and greased it before battle that
 it might slide into the body the more glibly. Their bows were
 of the same wood, straight as a staff when unstrung, and tall as
 the archer himself; the strings were made of fox-gut, or of the
 fibres of a certain palm; the arrows were headed with wood, or
 bone, or iron; the iron were the least dangerous, the bone the
 most so, because they always broke in the wound: before they
 went to battle they selected the best⁷ arrows for especial service.
 They used also the three-balled thong, which was found so for-
 midable a weapon by the first Spaniards on the shores of the
 Plata. They had no shields, though in their own wars some
 of them wore a leathern cuirass which was proof against arrows,
 but not against the spear or the musquet: this armour impeded
 their agility so much, that many did not chuse to be encum-
 bered with it. Sometimes the head of a warrior was ornamented
 with the wing of a large bird; all, indeed, except those of the
 most acknowledged courage, strove to make themselves terrible
 in appearance; .. for this purpose one warrior wore upon his
 head the skin of a stag with the horns, and another put the beak

⁷ Dobrizhoffer observes that a similar practice is alluded to by the prophet
 Isaiah, xlix. 2. *posuit me sicut sagittam electam; in pharetrâ suâ abscondit me*: this
 appears a more probable interpretation than that of our version.

of a toucan over his nose. They used all kinds of noisy instruments in war; the most sonorous was a trumpet made of an armadillo's tail fastened to the end of a reed. In battle they were incessantly in motion; for it was absurd, they said, to stand still, like the Spaniards, and be shot at. The best security against them therefore was to present a musquet, but never to discharge it; as long as they supposed it to be loaded the bearer was perfectly safe from any attack at close quarters, for they were not so ambitious of victory as they were solicitous to escape death.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

*Dobrizhof-
fer. 397—
431.*

*Distinctions
of rank.*

The Chiefs were called *Hocheri*; and when any person was admitted to this rank, he took a new name, which always ended in *in*, that termination being proper to the nobles. Birth made a distinction, but was not of itself a sufficient qualification. They who were elected, being noble by descent also, were called *Nelareykate*, a word which they used for captain: they who were chosen leaders for their courage and conduct, without any hereditary claim, were denominated *Yapochi*, which signifies courageous. The probation was not severe; something was put upon the aspirant's tongue, and he fasted and kept silence for three days, during which time the women came to the door of his tent, and lamented over his ancestors. On the fourth morning, being splendidly apparelled after their fashion, he was set upon a horse which was adorned with plumes, and burthened with bells and trappings: he then galloped as fast as he could in a northerly direction, with a long train following him, and presently galloped back: the old Keebet who was mistress of the ceremonies received him as he alighted; the noblest of the women took his spear; the rest surrounded him and greeted him by a sound made with the lips in sharp percussion, and the mistress addressed him in a short harangue. He galloped afterwards to the South and East and West in the same manner,

Do. 3. 140.

CHAP. XXXVIII. and the same forms were repeated. The inauguration was then performed; . . first the Keebet sheared and shaved a line from the forehead to the occiput, three fingers broad; secondly, she harangued him upon the honour of the *Hocheri* order; and lastly, proclaimed his new and noble name. The ceremony was concluded by a drinking feast. There were *Hocheri* women also, whose names ended in *en*, and it was not lawful for any person to assume these noble terminations. But the dialect which the nobles used, might be sported with by others without offence. Some of the most distinguished warriors refused this rank, because they did not chuse to change the fashion of their mother tongue. No Abipone ever pronounced his own name; and what is more remarkable, many women never had any name.

*Dobrizhoffer. 2. 494.
—8.*

*Ceremonies
at the birth
of a chief.*

When a son was born to the Chief, all the young maidens of the horde went out with palm branches, and beat the roof and sides of the hut in which the boy lay, in token that he was to be the scourge of their enemies. A sort of Saturnalia for the women ensued: the stoutest of the sex was decorated with emu plumes, and armed with a leathern club; all the girls followed her: she went into every hut and beat the men out, and the girls pursued them, lashing them with palm branches. During eight days there was wrestling and dancing by the children; but the boys and girls performed separately, and in different places, . . for the Abipones never permitted any thing which could lead to improper familiarity between the sexes. The championness also wrestled with the strongest competitor who could be found among her fellows: but the men sate drinking the while, and did not condescend to behold such sports.

Do. 2. 234.

*Industry of
the women.*

The women were as impatient of idleness as the men were of labour. They sheared the sheep, spun the wool, and wove it; the loom was made of reeds and little pieces of wood, so light

and small that it might easily be removed on horseback. They were skilful weavers, and produced patterns as variegated as those of a Turkey carpet. They were the potters also: the vessels were turned by hand, and baked in the open air, by a fire which was heaped round them: they were first stained red, then varnished with a kind of gum. They prepared otter skins also, which served for blankets as well as cloaks: these they stretched so as to let them dry without wrinkling; they checquered them with lines of red paint, and sewed them into cloaks so nicely that the keenest eye could not detect the seams: this they did by using a fine thorn as an awl, and passing threads through it which were made from the *caraquata*. The old women tattooed the young till their skins were covered with pattern, and they encouraged them under the painful operation by telling them how beautiful it would make them, and that they would never get husbands unless they were thus ornamented. Though they prepared the drink, they were never permitted to taste any other beverage than water: had they been allowed to join in the drinking parties, it is said that the whole nation would long since have been extirpated, . . . so dreadfully did they quarrel and fight in their drunkenness; but the women, and the youth who had not yet been admitted to the privileges of manhood, interfered and prevented the worst consequences. Young women listened eagerly to the Missionaries, because the religion which they taught forbade polygamy and capricious divorce: old men also approved their doctrine, because it recommended peaceful habits, and promoted security; but young men disliked it, because they were fond of war; and it was virulently opposed by the old women, who were obstinate in retaining superstitions that rendered them objects of fear, and therefore of respect.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

*Dobrizhof-
fer. 2. 139.*

Do. 2. 34.

Do. 2. 490.

Do. 2. 158.

*Deliberate
madness.*

Their ordinary garments were woollen; but whenever the

CHAP. South wind blew they immediately put on warm cloaks of otter
 XXXVIII. skins, . . . for they thought it folly to suffer any discomfort from
 weather which they had the power of avoiding, though they
 made a display of enduring self-inflicted pain. When an Abi-
 pone was very hot, he said his blood was angry, and would
 thrust a knife into his leg to bleed himself; for like animals, they
 soon recovered from simple wounds, and at their feasts they used
 to prick themselves for a bravado in every part of the body, with
 a bundle of thorns, or with some of the small sharp bones of the
 crocodile. They were subject to an affection which they called
Nakaiketergehes, and ascribed to witchcraft; . . . but it is manifestly
 that sort of deliberate madness which may be cured by the cer-
 tainty of punishment. The person who felt a disposition to this
 frenzy, set off at sun-set full speed to the burial place, returned
 at night, and, if he could find weapons, fell without mercy upon
 all whom he met. Arms, therefore, were carefully hidden as
 soon as it was known that one had been seized with the symp-
 toms; but the supposed madman, or energumen, was suffered
 to do what he pleased with a cane, and he usually got rid of his
 mischievous propensity to muscular exertion, by beating the
 roofs and sides of every tent, no person within daring to make
 the slightest movement: if however he could get weapons, then
 the danger as well as the alarm became general. A Chief,
 named Alaykin, effectually put a stop to the disease, by pro-
 claiming that the first person that was seized with it should be
 put to death, and all the witches also at the same time.

*Dobrizh-
 fer. 2. 57.
 48.*

*Do. 2. 249.
 —253.*

*Notions res-
 pecting food.*

Do. 3. 155.

Do. 2. 60.

It was a general opinion among the Indians, that their cou-
 rage was influenced by the quality of their meat, . . . and this may
 have been one of the causes of cannibalism. For this reason,
 none of them would eat mutton; and the equestrian tribes pre-
 ferred the jaguar to any other food: when one of these beasts
 was killed, a portion was given to every person in the horde,

and they liquefied the fat and drank it. Upon the same principle they ate the wild boar, but held the flesh of the tame animal for an abomination: travelling bags were made of the skin, and combs of the bristles; the women, as usual, being the artificers. They were voracious eaters, and ate at all times. They delighted in honey, and used a singular means for protecting the teeth from being injured by its daily and almost hourly use. The old women masticated tobacco leaves, and worked them up in the hand into a mass, with the salt ashes of a plant which the Spaniards call *la vidriera*. The boys always carried a horn full of this composition suspended from their dress, and from time to time took a small portion into the mouth; it was offered by one to another, as snuff-takers present their boxes; and the use of this filthy composition is said to be the cause why the Abipones usually preserved all their teeth perfectly sound till death. They never lay down to sleep without leaving a free entrance for the air into their tents; and they accustomed themselves to the water from their infancy. Nevertheless they stood in need of ferry-boats, which were rudely made, each of a single hide; the legs and the neck were cut off, and the four sides turned up and fastened with straps, so that the shape was that of a square tub: in this precarious vehicle the passengers sate upon some saddles, or other packages, which served as ballast; through one of the sides a thong was passed, which a swimmer held either in his teeth, or with one hand: if the river were wide, or the current strong, so as to make him distrust his strength, he held by a horse's tail with the other. One of these ⁸ boats would

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Dobrizhoffer.
1. 302.

*Tobacco used
for the teeth.*

Do. 1. 462.

Do. 2. 66.

*Leathern
boats.*

⁸ The smugglers in the Plata used to make hide-boats, but of a larger size, sewing many skins together, and smearing them well with pitch or tallow. They preferred them to any other kind of boat, because they could so easily take them out of the water and conceal them. *Dobrizhoffer.* 2. 130.

CHAP. remain many hours in the water, without imbibing much moisture: if it were so soaked by continual rain as to lose its shape, they stuffed it out at the bottom with wood, which rendered it buoyant. Often, after plundering the Spanish country, they swam the river below Corrientes, and drove their prey across, passing from island to island. In order to get the beasts into the water, they made a narrowing inclosure, like a funnel, to the shore, being there so contracted that not more than two or three could enter abreast, some cattle which had been trained to such passages always going first. The Abipones, some swimming, others in boats, kept by the side of the drove, and directed their course; if a beast were caught in a whirlpool, or suffered the stream to carry him down, one of the men would fearlessly bestride him, catch hold of the horns, and kicking with both feet, compel him to make fresh exertions. Sometimes they towed them by the horns. The terrified beasts were ready, as soon as they reached the land, to attack whatever stood in their way.

XXXVIII.

Dobrizhoffer. 2. 108.

Do. 2. 132.

Their success against the Spaniards.

The Abipones became an equestrian people in the early part of the seventeenth century. In an evil hour for the Spaniards, they took possession of the country from whence the Calchaquis had been exterminated. Before that time the road between Santiago del Estero and Santa Fe, and from thence to Cordoba, was so secure that women might travel without apprehension. There were farms and settlements the whole way: now, says Dobrizhoffer, all that remain are a few ruins and monumental names in the wilderness; this is Don Gil's, this Dona Lorenza's, this the Widow's, here the Three Crosses, here the Graves, melancholy appellations, in a desert, where not a human habitation is to be seen for four hundred miles, such had been the devastation committed by the Abipones, and their kindred tribes the Tobas and Mocobios. The area of the country which they possessed was about equal to that of England and Wales; they

Do. 3. 12.

had not, nor ever had, any permanent residence, village or hut, yet was there scarcely a place which they frequented in all their territory without its specific name, taken from accident or local circumstances. It was not their numbers which made them formidable. Barreda, who commanded at Santiago, and was the ablest officer ever opposed to them, used to say, that if the whole nation were cut off except ten men, still every place in Paraguay would be always in danger, such was the tremendous rapidity of their movements, and the ubiquity of their attacks. Nothing stopt them in their purpose: whether the country were inundated, or parched like a desert, it was alike passable to them, and alike impassable to their enemies.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

*Dobrizhof-
fer. 2. 13.*

*Southern
equestrian
tribes.*

While the Abipones, the Tobas, and Mocobios, were revenging the wrongs of their forefathers; and the Mbayas, not contented with infesting Tucuman and possessing the Chaco, crossed the river, and attacked the Spaniards of Paraguay from the West and from the North; this unhappy province was assailed on the South by the Charruas, Minoanes, Costeros, Yaros, and Bohanes, different hordes of one nation, sometimes denominated from its most formidable tribe, the Quenoas, by whom the two latter have been exterminated. About the end of the seventeenth century, a body of the Yaros were reduced by the Jesuits, and settled in the town of S. Andre; but they forsook it and returned to the woods: being followed and asked the reason why they had departed, they said, we do not chuse to have any such God as yours, who can see and know every thing that we do in secret; and we are determined to enjoy our old liberty of thinking and doing as we please. When they became equestrians, they perceived the tremendous power which they had acquired; and made full use of it. They possessed the country between the Uruguay, the Plata, and the sea; and committed such havoc in the districts of Corrientes, S. Fe, and afterwards of

*Dobrizhof-
fer. 1. 143.*

Azara. 2. 7.

*Dobrizhof-
fer. 1. 145.*

CHAP. XXXVIII. Azara. 2. 21. Montevideo, as is said to be almost incredible ; . . . insomuch that they are believed to have given the Spaniards more trouble, and to have shed more Spanish blood, than the armies of Montezuma and his successor, or of the Incas. Few people have ever enjoyed such physical advantages. Their mean stature is about an inch above that of the Spaniards ; and Azara, who had the best opportunities both of observation and information, affirms, that beyond all doubt they can see as far again as any European ; that their hearing also is proportionally quicker ; that their teeth continue perfectly white to the extremest old age, and are never either lost or loosened by natural decay ; that they never become bald, and are but half grey at fourscore. The habits of migratory life are certainly conducive in a high degree to health and vigour : the country which they possess is open and dry, a circumstance which is not less favourable to the animal œconomy ; and the fact that they subsist wholly upon animal food may stagger those physiologists who attribute the greater part of our diseases to this diet. Some of these tribes live upon horse flesh, the greater part upon beef ; and it is remarkable, that their meals are not social ; every one eats when he likes. They dress their meat by spitting it on a stake, which is fastened in the ground before a fire till one side is done. The men seem indifferent with regard to clothing ; some wear the skin of a jaguar, turning the fur inwards in winter ; and some the *poncho*, if they can get one ; otherwise they go naked : the women wear the *poncho*, or a sleeveless cotton garment. Their clothing is never washed, nor do they ever wash themselves, except when they bathe for pleasure in hot weather, and thus become clean as an accidental consequence of their amusement. They never cut their hair, which is thick, long, coarse, black, and glossy ; women suffer it to flow loose ; men more conveniently fasten it in a knot upon the top of the head, and crest it

Dobrizhof-
fer. 3. 182.
Azara. 2.
14.

with white feathers placed upright. The men alone use the mouth-piece, which is never taken out, even when they sleep; and it is observed by Azara, that they uniformly sleep upon their backs, like all wild Indians. Those who live near the Spanish settlements on the north bank of the Plata, wear leggings of a fashion suitable to their barbarous way of life, being merely the skins flayed from the legs of horses and oxen, and transferred to their own. Branches of trees fastened together with thongs, or four stakes with mats wrought coarsely of flags, for the sides, and a roof of the same loose materials, serve for their huts; and the possession of those animals from which civilized man derives so many of his comforts, has only made these savages forget the few arts which they formerly exercised. Instead of the hammoc, a hide stretched upon four stakes, serves for their incommodious and unclean bed. Round some of their huts they raise a sort of wall for ornament, of the heads of cattle piled one upon another with the horns projecting; and the air is infected, not only with their stench, but with the swarms which are bred in them.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Azara. 2. 9—13.

Second Missionary Voyage.

Charlevoix. 2. 207.

Second Missionary Voyage.

Their mourning customs.

Merciless as they are to their male enemies, they spare women and children, and adopt them; and even among these people whose manners are so loathsome, the freedom of savage life is said to fascinate those who have been thus introduced among them. An extraordinary custom respecting children prevails among the Minuanes. . . As soon as a child is weaned, the parents give it to one of their near married kinsmen, and regard it no longer as their own: the children, therefore, mourn for their foster parents, not their natural ones. Mourning among them is more than mere ceremony. The daughters and sisters of the deceased wound themselves with his knife or his spear, and, like the Polynesians in like circumstances, cut off a finger joint; this is done for any near relation, and they who live long enough to

Azara. 2. 33.

Noticias de Paraguay. MSS.

CHAP. lose more than ten kinsmen, begin upon the toes after all the
 XXXVIII. fingers have been shortened. The men undergo a more painful
 custom upon the death of their fathers:..they hide themselves
 two days in their cabins, quite naked, and take no other food
 than partridge and partridge eggs, and of these sparingly. On
 the third day an Indian comes with a bundle of splinters formed
 of a reed about four inches wide, and pierces the flesh of the
 arm with them, beginning at the wrist, and fixing them at
 inch distances up to the shoulder. In this horrible state the
 mourner goes out, naked, with a sharp stake in his hand, either
 into the woods, or to some elevated ground, without any dread
 of wild beasts, .. for it is believed that they stand in fear of him at
 such times; and he digs a pit, and burying himself therein
 breast-high, passes the night there. Meantime, a mourning
 cabin has been prepared for him, which he enters in the morn-
 ing, and abides there two days, fasting. The children afterwards
 place water, partridges, and partridge eggs, within his reach, and
 immediately run away, without speaking: at the end of ten or
 twelve days the mourning is completed. This ceremony is not
 compulsory; but every man goes through it, because it is the
 custom, and he who should fail to observe it would be despised.
 They bury upon a rising ground: the weapons and all the goods
 of the dead are deposited with him in the earth, and his fa-
 vourite horse is sometimes killed upon the grave.

P. Sepp.
Lett. Edif.
 9. 369.
Azara. 1.
 17.

They use short arrows and a short bow, as fitter for horsemen.
 Their spears are about eleven feet long; iron heads for them are
 procured from the Portugueze when they are at peace with that
 people, and from the same quarter they obtain bridles. The
 Spaniards have repeatedly made great efforts to destroy them,
 and have sometimes sent more than a thousand men against an
 enemy who perhaps never brought half that number into the
 field. To pour a general volley upon them would ensure the

destruction of troops who should thus expend their fire, .. so fierce and irresistible would be their instant attack : the Spaniards therefore used to keep their ranks, and discharge a few shot one after another. These natives have often suffered severely in such hostilities ; but had they ever pursued their own advantages as they might have done, the territory of Colonia and Montevideo would never have been disputed between the Spaniards and Portugueze.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Azara. 2.
14—21.

The tribes who had learnt to use horses were never in want of those animals. At that time, an extent of open pasture equal to the whole area of Great Britain, was full of wild cattle of all kinds, and horses herded together in thousands and ten thousands. Falkner, the English Jesuit, upon one of his missionary journies, was surrounded by them during a fortnight ; thick troops sometimes passed by him in full speed for two or three hours together, and it was with much difficulty that he and the Indians in his company preserved themselves from being run over and trampled to death. They are easily captured : .. a piece of ground is burnt ; when the new grass springs up they are attracted to it by the richness of the pasture, and the hunters are ready to drive them into a decoy. Mares which are kept for breeding are sometimes lamed, to prevent them from running wild. The wild horses will surround the tame ones, caress them, and lead them away, as if they were acting rationally, and delighted in bringing them to the liberty which they themselves enjoyed ; and it is found that the tame horses, if they have associated a little while with their free fellow creatures, rebel fiercely after-

Wild horses,
how numer-
ous.

Falkner. p.
39.

Dobrizhoff-
fer. 1. 231.

Do. 1. 393.
Azara. 1.
373.

⁹ The Spaniards had also an odd custom, of shearing the tails and manes of their breeding mares, upon a notion that they fattened the better for it. But no person, not even a slave, would ride a beast that had been docked.

Dobrizhoffèr. 1. 362.

CHAP. wards against the bit and the saddle. Great numbers perish
 XXXVIII. miserably in their wild state, and it is said that the greater part
 of the colts never grow up. The fly attacks them as soon as
 they are foaled, so that thousands are devoured by maggots: the
 jaguars take a large share, and many are trodden to death by
 the horses in their drove. Great numbers die during seasons of
 drought; they rush at such times into the lakes and marshes,
 where many plunge into the mud and are lost, and others are
 trampled down by those who from behind press on with the
 same painful and raging impulse. Azara, more than once, saw
 the carcasses of many thousands which had thus been destroyed;
 and their skeletons are found on the edge of empty lakes, and
 in the dry channels of the rivers. They are of so little value that
 very many are killed merely for their fat, which is used in pre-
 paring deer skin: and the people go nowhere on ¹⁰ foot.

*Dobrizhof-
fer. l. 252.*

*Azara. l.
375.
Dobrizhof-
fer. l. 252.*

¹⁰ The horses are not so strong as ours, which are fed upon more stimulating food. Even for a short journey, a led horse is always taken to relieve the other; and when the Guaranies were in the king's armies, each man took four. But this must not be imputed to any humanity in the people, which, however we may flatter ourselves by the name, is perhaps the rarest virtue to be found in brute man. They are never shod. It is often necessary to ride them for days and days through the flooded country: when they reach dry ground their feet are so miserably soaked that they cannot move, and they die for want of food, .. foot-fouled. They are liable to another dreadful evil. There is usually a soft skin under the saddle, and a sheep skin, or carpet, laid upon it; these trappings necessarily heat the horse; a chill is apt to ensue when they are taken off; the back swells, the tumour suppurates, the flies, which are the curse of man and beast, oviposit in the wound, and in no very long time the poor animal is devoured alive. It is said that more horses are eaten by these loathsome insects than by the wild beasts. The only remedy is to pick them out when they first appear, lay chewed tobacco in the wound, which prevents them from breeding there, and keep the cicatrix covered with grease. There is a sort of vulture also which fixes upon the wound, and performs rude surgery with its beak, cleaning it,

The great and general degradation, both of the Indians and Spaniards, has justly been attributed to the abundance of kine and horses. The pastoral life is necessarily unfavourable to civilization; but nowhere has it been found so compleatly to debase

CHAP.
XXXVIII.
Manners of
the Spanish
herdsmen.

and thus leaving it in a state for healing, if man be at hand to protect it afterwards; otherwise they enlarge it for other worms to breed in, . . . even then mercifully employed, because they expedite a miserable death.

Dobrizhoffer. 256. 267—9.

White and chesnut horses are far more common than bay or black; but these latter are esteemed the hardiest. The pie-bald are thought vicious. Much attention is paid to their paces. There are the Amblers, which are sometimes called *Astereones*, because the Asturians used to be famous for breaking horses to this pace. These, it is said, are born to the step, . . . probably if the dam had it, certainly if the sire also: otherwise they are taught it by having the fore and hind feet linked together by straps of the length of the step desired, or by tying a muffled stone on the fore part of the hind feet, so that it shall hit the fore legs if the animal moves at any other rate. At this easy pace, which it is said would not spill water from a full cup in the rider's hand, they will perform eight miles in the hour; but it is not safe out of a beaten track. The *Trotones*, or trotters, are safer; and the *Passitrottes*, or *Marchadores*, who may be called Shufflers, their pace being between the walk and the trot, are preferred to either for a journey.

Dobrizhoffer. 1. 253.

The horses of the country, however, are not so highly esteemed as those from Chili. In the year 1808, a black Chilese horse would sometimes sell at Buenos Ayres for a thousand dollars. They are very beautiful and very docile. Very good *amblers* of the country were to be had at the same time, at prices from twenty to a hundred and fifty, . . . horses which would go from six to ten miles an hour in the easiest possible manner: a good trotter might be purchased for twenty. At any *estancia* a few leagues from the city, you might probably take your choice of the horses for a silk handkerchief, and be very likely to get an excellent one. The creole never takes the trouble of keeping up a horse for his own riding. When he wants one he goes into his *corral*, nooses one, and if he proves refractory ties his legs, then saddles and bridles him, and mounts; some one then cuts the cord, and away they go. He rides him two or three days without giving him any thing to eat, and when the beast can go no longer, turns him loose, and supplies himself with another in the same way! *Voyage to the Plata.* MS.

CHAP. and brutalize man as in the grazing countries of South America.
 xxxviii. The number of tame cattle in Paraguay and La Plata was estimated by Azara at the close of the last century, at twelve million kine, and three million of horses. Such tame cattle would justly be deemed wild in Europe. A cow will not suffer herself to be milked unless her legs are tied, and her calf standing beside her.

In Dobrizhoffer's time about eighty thousand mules were annually driven from Paraguay to Peru; and from this trade all the silver was drawn, which was used either in Churches or private houses. An unbroken mule of two years old, was worth three crowns in Paraguay, and fourteen in Peru. Many thousand also were employed in the Caa-tea trade, and perished in great numbers, because of the badness of the roads, and of cruel usage. They breed always from the mare, not the she ass. Herds of breeding mares and asses are always near each other; and when a mare has foaled, the colt is immediately killed, skinned, and a newly dropt male ass clothed in the skin. It is said that the mare at first drives him away, seeing his ears; but at length trusts the scent rather than the sight, and suffers him to suck. Further artifices are afterwards practised: I know not whether any real advantage is gained by thus perverting the order of nature and breaking its laws; but if the end be justifiable, such means are not, and no benefit which man may derive can be commensurate to the deprivation of his own moral nature which they must necessarily induce. The males must be castrated. This animal, in a certain sense, may be said to be of man's making. The body is to his purpose, hardy, and patient of labour; but there is a perverseness of nature, the cause of which is doubtless to be found in its constitution. . . *Ni mula ni mulato*, is a proverb, . . . but the analogy does not hold, and the latter part of the adage is wholly unwarrantable. A few men conduct droves of many thousands; great losses however sometimes happen through the startlish temper of this creature. In one instance, a garment hung out to dry and caught up in the air by a puff of wind, frightened a drove so that two thousand were lost.

Dobrizhoffer. 270—5

In the Classical Journal (No. xi, p. 34) are some remarks upon Genesis xxxvi. 24, in favour of reading mules, instead of warm springs. If the writer be (as he appears to me) right in his opinion, the text would prove that the mule was originally an accident, and not a preconceived creature of man's imagination.

There is, therefore, very little use made either of milk or cheese, and of butter almost none: beef dripping supplies its use. The average extent of an *estancia*, or grazing estate, in Paraguay, is from sixteen to twenty square miles; and this would be thought small in the province of Buenos Ayres. In the midst of such a domain the herdsmen have their huts, . . . so that there is no neighbourhood, no natural growth of villages, no possible improvement. Many details of savage life have been given in these volumes; . . . a picture must now be presented of a state of society which is, if possible, more loathsome, and more disgraceful to poor human nature. Every *estancia* has its *Capataz*, or master-herdsman, and an inferior herdsman for every thousand head. The *Capataz* is generally a married man: the others are lads, unless they are negroes, men of colour, or runaway Indians from some Christian settlement; these are usually married, and their wives and daughters are at the service of those who are not. The women who are called Spaniards are in the same state of bestial immorality; . . . the whole family commonly sleep in one room; and it is affirmed by Azara, that scarcely a girl among them remains undebauched by the time she is eight years old.

CHAP. XXXVIII.
Dobrizhof-fer. 1. 243.

Azara. 1. 293.

Their furniture and food.

The usual furniture consists of a water-barrel, a horn for drinking, some wooden spits, and a copper chocolate pot for boiling water to make the Paraguay-tea. If they have no such vessel, and wish to make broth for a sick person, they put meat and water in a horn, and heap embers round it. The skulls of kine and horses serve for seats, if they do not sit upon the ground; and a hide is generally the only bed, . . . which sometimes, but very rarely, is laid upon a rude bedstead. They ridicule Europeans for eating pulse and greens, which they say are horses' diet, . . . for these wretches are merely carnivorous. Like the savages, they roast their meat upon a skewer fixed upright in the ground, and eat it without salt, each when he is hungry, not at

CHAP. any stated hour, nor in social meals: after eating they scrape
 XXXVIII. their mouths with the back of the knife, and wipe their fingers
 either upon their legs or their boots. They eat only the ribs,
 the inner part of the thigh, and the abdominal muscles; all the
 rest they leave to rot about their houses, which are surrounded
 with bones and carcasses. The carrion attracts the flesh-birds,
 who are incessantly screaming over their prey: it infects the air,
 and breeds a plague of flies and beetles, . . . which is not however
 punishment sufficient to work any amendment in these most
 beastly of all savages.

Asara. l.
297.

*Their em-
ployments.*

Once in a week the men ride round the *estancia*, making a
 great noise and followed by their dogs, and drive the cattle into
 a circle, where they are kept a little while and then released; this
 is done to prevent them from straying, and keep them in some
 degree of subjection. The horses are driven into a pen. During
 the rest of the week they have no other business than to break in
 a few of the horses, or castrate others: the far greater part of
 their time, therefore, is passed in idleness. The *Capataz* dresses
 like a Spaniard, with a *poncho*. The others generally have no
 shirt, never either jacket or breeches, . . . drawers and the *poncho*
 suffice, . . . but all have hats. The herdsmen wear for boots the skin
 of a colt or calf, stript off whole, the bend at the joint serving
 for the heel! They seldom shave, and when the operation is
 performed it is with a knife. The women go bare-footed, and
 are abominably filthy; the usual dress is a shift without sleeves
 tied round the middle; nothing else is worn, and one such gar-
 ment commonly constitutes the whole wardrobe of the wearer:
 she goes to the water side, strips herself, washes it, dries it in the
 sun, and then puts it on again. The wife of the *Capataz* is
 rather better dressed. The men have usually no second suit; if
 they are caught in the rain, they strip themselves and put their
 clothes under the skin which covers the saddle; for they say

Asara. l.
300.

the skin gets dry again presently, which their clothes would not.

A boy is scarcely a week old before his father or brother takes him on horseback, and rides with him till he begins to cry: he is frequently thus mounted till he is able to sit an old and quiet beast. From his earliest childhood he is taught also to kill cattle; and this is the whole education which he receives. He grows up without restraint, without laws, without principles, without any participation of the comforts, or sense of the decencies of life; . . . without hearing the sound of a church bell. His sport is to butcher animals, wild or tame; he is habituated to the sight of blood and carcasses, and to the work of death, and thus his heart is hardened. Murders are very frequent, and are committed with perfect coolness. The bye-standers never interfere, and would think themselves dishonoured were they in any way to contribute toward bringing the criminal to justice, if any justice pursued him.

Some of the head herdsmen sell the few things which are accounted necessaries among them, but especially spirits: the *pulperia*, as it is called, then becomes a rallying place; . . . and here one solitary and singular mark of civilization is found; . . . a guitarre is always kept here, and they sing to it the *yarabays*, or Peruvian songs: the tunes are melancholy and monotonous, and the subject is uniformly the complaints of pining lovers. The performer is treated with liquor. They have no liking for wine; this is because they can scarcely feel it; . . . the sense of taste appertains not to men in so brutal a condition. Even at the *pulperia* they continue on horseback, these places having none of those comforts by which in other countries the lower orders are seduced into drunkenness. Every thing is done on horseback. If they fish, they throw the net and draw it on horseback: they draw water from the well on horseback: they

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Their children, how bred up.

Asava. 1.
301. 307.

Drinking houses.

CHAP. prepare the smallest quantity of mortar by riding upon it back-
 XXXVIII. wards and forwards; and they who are within reach of a church
 usually hear mass on horseback at the door. Gambling, how-
 ever, makes them dismount: they are passionately addicted to
 cards, and sit at their game in the eastern fashion, upon their
 heels, holding the bridle under their feet, and generally with
 their knife stuck in the ground beside them, for use upon any
 foul play, which they are equally ready to practise and to
 suspect. A fellow who has nothing more to lose will stake his
 shirt, if he happen to have one, and it be better than his anta-
 gonist's; and if he be unsuccessful he puts on the older and
 filthier rag in exchange.

Azara. l.
305-7.

State of re-
ligion.

The little sense of religion which existed among them was chiefly kept up by the Jesuits, two of whom went out every half year to itinerate among the Christian population. They pitched their tent in a convenient spot, erected a portable altar, performed mass every day as long as they were stationary, preached, baptized, married, administered the wafer, and went through the main business for which they were attended, . . . that of settling the scores of conscience, and giving a discharge for all crimes. But since these instructors, such as they were, have been withdrawn, the herdsmen christen their children themselves, or leave them unbaptized till they are married, when the ceremony may no longer be delayed. They seldom or never go to mass, the places of worship being so few and distant; but they are all solicitous to be buried in consecrated ground, and the relations and friends in this instance faithfully perform the desire of the deceased. They lay the body in the field and cover it with stones, till it is reduced to a skeleton; or they reduce it to this state at once by cutting off the flesh: the flesh they bury, or perhaps cast away with other offal; and they carry the bones to receive Christian burial. But if the distance be

Peramas
Aguilii Vi-
ta. § 39, 40.

not above some eighty miles, they then dress the corpse in its wonted apparel, set it on horseback, keep it upright by tying it between two sticks in the form of St. Andrew's Cross, and thus carry it to the place of interment, .. as the Cid was carried from Valencia.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Azara. l.
295.

But even these butcherly herdsmen were not the worst part of the population. In such a country a horse, a knife, and a throwing-line, were all that a man required who chose to run loose and feed upon wild cattle, or tame, as might suit his convenience. There were many such wretches, who lived like savages, in such huts as the Charruas; but being runaways from society, they retained more of its wants than the herdsmen, and therefore supplied themselves with such articles as they needed from the southern Captaincies of Brazil, in exchange for horses which they stole. Almost all of them were robbers, and it was their practice to carry away ¹¹ women by force.

Freebooters.

Azara. l.
311.

The people near the Plata held agriculture in contempt, saying that it was not necessary in a country like theirs, where they could live upon meat alone. But in Paraguay more than half the inhabitants were agriculturalists, and almost all the converted Indians. Yet even there no man would become a cultivator if he had means of becoming a grazier, nor would any

*State of the
agricultural
population.*

¹¹ Azara had apprehended many of these ruffians, and recovered the women. He speaks of one Spanish woman, young and handsome, who had lived ten years among them. A fellow, by name Cuenca, had originally stolen her: she said he was the first man in the world, and that his mother must certainly have died in bringing him forth, that there might be nobody like him; and she never named him without tears. He had been killed, and she had passed from him to his murderer, and so in succession to a third and a fourth, each winning her by murdering her last possessor! Yet the woman was exceedingly loth to leave this horrible way of life, and return to her relations!

CHAP. persons engage as agricultural labourers, if they could get employment as herdsmen. This is a remarkable instance of the force of prejudice, and the prevalence of idle and vicious habits; for the husbandman enjoyed comforts to which the herdsman was a stranger, and was raised above him in manners, morals, decency, in whatever is connected with civilization, or leads to it, .. in every thing except public estimation. His table was served with roots, fruits, pulse, and greens as well as meat; he had some knowledge of cookery, which is one of the civilizing arts; and partook, in consequence, the cheerfulness of a social meal. Agriculture produced neighbourhood also. The house was in the middle of the farm, and the farm no larger than was wanted. The habitations were thatched cottages built of mud, small and low, and wretchedly furnished. There was once a time when Buenos Ayres received corn from Paraguay; but things have so degenerated, that it is said the ground never returns more than a fourfold increase: it seems marvellous therefore that the cultivation of wheat should not have been wholly abandoned. The practice of never changing the seed is assigned as a cause for this; .. it is better accounted for by the miserable implements which are used in their husbandry, and the more miserable laziness of the husbandmen. Throughout Paraguay, a pointed stake serves for a plough, which every one manages after his own fashion; and there are no other pickaxes than a large bone, either of a horse or cow, fastened to a handle! At the beginning of the seventeenth century, wines were cultivated about Asumpcion to a great extent, and with great success, so that wine was exported to Buenos Ayres: there are now only a few stocks trained on trellices for the sake of the fruit. The people attempt to excuse themselves for the decay of this important branch of husbandry by ascribing it to the ravages of beasts and insects, .. forgetful that beasts and insects must

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Azara. 1.
287.

Do. 1. 139.

Do. 1. 154.

equally have existed in the time of their forefathers, when the vineyards flourished. The true causes are to be found in their own rooted idleness, and in the fact, that, like Indians and Negroes, losing the finer powers of taste as they become brutified, they prefer ardent spirits to wine.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Azara. 1.
141.

Schools.

There is usually a schoolmaster in agricultural districts, to whom the scholars repair daily, sometimes from a distance of six or eight miles, taking with them some boiled mandioc roots as their only food. The words Parish and Townlet, in that country, are not to be understood as implying any concentrated population. Where the Church stands there is only the Priest's house, a Farrier's perhaps, a shop for drapery and grocery, and the *pulperia*, or Dram-shop. If any of the parishioners have houses there, they are used only for Sundays and holydays. A *Curandero*, or medical practitioner, attends upon all days when mass is performed; he is provided with an assortment of three or four simples, and takes his seat at the Church-door, to examine, not the sick themselves, but their urine, which is sent for his inspection in a joint of one of the large canes. He takes it without asking any questions concerning the state of the patient, pours a little into the palm of his hand, looks at it toward the light, and tosses it into the air; he repeats this, in order to be accurate in the experiment, examines whether it falls in large or small drops, decides from this circumstance whether the disease be hot or cold, and gives one of his herbs accordingly to be taken in infusion. Urine has been sent an hundred and twenty miles to one of these men, who has prescribed without making the slightest inquiry into the nature or symptoms of the patient's malady. Some few *Curanderos*, who possess a copy of the Jesuit Asperger's prescriptions, or have read the work of Madame Fouquet, think it necessary to see their patients. But in the parishes within the government of Buenos Ayres the schoolmaster and the

Medical
practice.

See vol. 2,
p. 338.

CHAP. *Curandero* are not always found, and the sick either put them-
 xxxviii.

selves under the care of some old woman, or trust themselves to the course of nature. Among the ancient Cantabrians and Lusitanians, it was a custom to place a sick person beside the public way, in the hope that some one might pass who had seen or experienced a similar disease, and knew what remedies had been efficacious: in these provinces, where the people are in a worse state of mind and manners than their forefathers were before the Christian era, the population is too scattered, and travelling too unfrequent, for this practice to be observed; but if a stranger happen to come where there is any one suffering under any kind of disease, they ask his ¹² advice, and follow it whatever it may be.

Azara. 2.
 287—290.

State of the
towns.

Almanach
de Lima.

The towns in the interior afford no means of improvement to the rural population, and no examples. The people of S. Cruz de la Sierra had receded so far from civilization, that no manual trades were exercised there, but every one from necessity was his own carpenter, smith, mason, and currier. Money was scarcely known in Paraguay: even at Asumpcion the public officers received their salaries in produce. Such a people were preserved from falling entirely into a savage state by nothing but the civil and ecclesiastical establishments which were main-

¹² An old man consulted Azara upon a pain in the head. Azara advised him, in jest, to wash his feet and to cut his nails; observing, that as they had probably never been cut before, he might be benefited by the operation. The old man was so satisfied that this prescription had been the means of curing him, that some time afterwards he wrote to entreat that Azara would prescribe for his son also; and the account which he gave of his disease was, that some supposed it to be a hernia, and others a malignant fever! A custom like that of the Cantabrians and Lusitanians (not an irrational one) prevailed also among the Babylonians, and is mentioned by Herodotus.

tained there in consequence of their dependance upon Spain. CHAP. XXXVIII.
 No part of South America had so many men of noble family among its conquerors as Paraguay; no part of the New World, Florida perhaps excepted, so much deceived their hopes, and nowhere has so thorough a degeneracy taken place. *Techo.* Something must be ascribed to the situation of the capital, which, before any other settlement was made, was fixed in the very heart of the country: . . . they fancied, says Raynal, that they were establishing themselves near the source of riches; but their avidity for gold was greater than their foresight. *T. 4, p. 124.* The houses at Asumpcion are built of brick or stone, and roofed with tiles, . . . bearing thus far in their exterior some appearances of a civilized place; but none of them have more than a ground floor: glass is unknown; chimnies are not in use; and even the churches and convents differ little in their exterior from ordinary habitations. The streets are crooked, and cut into ravines by the rain; even the very stones are so worn by the same operation of nature, that walking is both troublesome and painful. Grass grows in the only market place. Retrograding in every thing, the Spaniards of Paraguay have almost forgotten the Spanish language. Threescore years ago all the lower classes, and the women of the higher ones, spoke Guarani as their native tongue: at that time most of them could speak Spanish also; but being familiar with the two, they mingled one with the other, and corrupted both. *Guarani more spoken than Spanish.* At the close of the century, Guarani had become the prevalent language for both sexes throughout Paraguay, and Spanish was understood by the higher ranks only. The great mixture of Indian blood has caused this. The first settlers were all males: the first generation of Creoles therefore acquired Guarani at the breast; and as the intermixture has been continued by a licentiousness of manners after the necessity ceased, and the great proportion of slaves and nurses has

CHAP.
XXXVIII.

Dobrizhoffer. 1. 60.
Azara. 2.
106.
Do. 2. 277.

Smoking.

Dobrizhoffer. 2. 136.

been of the same race, the native language¹³ has unavoidably prevailed. It is otherwise in the Government of Buenos Ayres; for at the beginning the natives were less numerous in that part of the country; the influx of Spaniards had been greater and more constant; there too they had had female colonists, . . . and it is the mothers who give the mother tongue.

Language is not the only thing in which these people, calling themselves Spaniards, have approximated to their ancestors on the savage side. Throughout Paraguay, but more especially at Corrientes and Assumpcion, the women during the hot season throw off so much of their cloathing, that the exposure¹⁴ which is thus made of their persons has been repeatedly reprobated from the pulpit. All the women are said to smoke, . . . a practice into which many men of contemplative minds have fallen, because it is not unfavourable to thoughtfulness; but to which people in the savage and barbarous grades of society addict themselves, because it at once indulges their love of sensation and of indolence. Perhaps in so marshy a country it may be defended as

¹³ Azara says that the Paulistas also have forgotten their fathers' tongue, and only speak the Tupi; but he is certainly mistaken. The influx of *Fo-rasteiros* into their Captaincy had been greater, during a whole century, than it was in Buenos Ayres and the surrounding country.

¹⁴ I am not certain that Dobrizhoffer's words do not imply total nudity! Speaking of the decency of the Abipones, he says, *Ne paucorum quidem mensium infantulam nudam patiuntur. Hanc honestatis curam gens Hispani Paraguariae, praserim in Assumptionis et Corrientes urbibus ut imitaretur, saepe nequidquam optavimus. Adultiores etiam feminae immanem solis aestum causantes, rejectis vestibus, verecundia quoties publico in foro obliviscuntur!* 2. 136.

The thermometer is generally as high as 85° in summer, and has sometimes reached 100°. In winter it is thought very cold if it falls to 45°. But in 1786 and 1789, which were remarkably severe seasons, there was ice. *Azara.* 1. 32.

contributing to the preservation of health : but Azara says, that notwithstanding its marshiness there is not a healthier part of the world than Paraguay, though the prevailing atmosphere is so laden with moisture, that it destroys all furniture.

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Azara. 1.
35. 39.

Education.

The Creole infant is delivered at its birth to a mulatta, negress, or Indian nurse, and left to her entirely for six or seven years, during all which time the child can see nothing which ought to be imitated. The son of the lowest Spanish sailor would think himself degraded in America by any kind of labour. They chose to be Religioners, Priests, Lawyers, or *Negociants*, to use their own word, which sounds as largely for the huckster as the merchant. He who wished to obtain a wife must aspire to this title, which also rendered him eligible to honorary offices. A broken negociant usually took up the practice of medicine, and butchered and poisoned with impunity. Yet there were many who thought that trade was too troublesome. Such of them as visited Europe returned cursing every thing which they had seen there, because in Europe they had no rank to give them any adventitious claims to respect, and were estimated at their proper level; and because they considered any country as miserable in which men must work for their bread. Therefore such arts and trades only as were indispensable were exercised among them, and those only by men of colour, or by some new-comeling from Europe, who had not been long enough in the country to contract its contagious pride and laziness, and learn how to live without labour. There existed among all the Spaniards a compleat feeling of equality, which is the natural growth of colonies. Pride of family was effectually destroyed by the mixture of blood; and letters of nobility were not solicited, because they would have conferred no consequence. This feeling was so strong, that no white man would serve another; and the Viceroy himself could not get a Spanish coachman, or a Spanish

CHAP. lacquey. The lowest Spaniard must be called *Capitan*: “ You
 XXXVIII. can get no service performed, nor a draught of water,” says
 Dobrizhoffer, “ nor a civil answer, if you neglect to address
 him by this title.” In the towns on the Plata, the women even
 disliked to spin; though in other places this was their employment.
 The women of Corrientes were honourably distinguished as be-
 ing by far the most industrious and ingenious in the whole
 country, notwithstanding that they bore the palm for beauty.

Azara. 2.
276. 283.
289.

Dobrizhof-
fer. 1. 127.
Do. 1. 10.

Decay of
military
spirit.

The liberal education of Paraguay and the Plata was confined to the Latin Grammar, the Philosophy of Aristotle, and the Theology of Aquinas, as far as they were understood by the teacher, and a little canon law. In this point it is true indeed that they had little cause to envy the mother country; but they had no vernacular literature, nor knowledge of any kind which might correct or compensate for the errors and deficiencies of this miserable system; and all the redeeming virtues of the Spanish character were wanting, . . . the high-mindedness, the heroic sense of honour, the proud nationality, the invincible fortitude, the strength of feeling and of principle, which have resisted three centuries of oppression and misrule; which still command the respect and admiration of other countries, and which will yet restore to Spain her rank among the nations. But the total disappearance of that military spirit by which their fathers were so eminently distinguished, is the strongest proof of the complete degeneracy of these Creoles; and it is the more remarkable, inasmuch as it was not produced by any of those causes which in other instances have destroyed the martial character, and induced national pusillanimity and weakness. Nor did it arise merely because discipline had almost ceased to exist, in consequence of the scattered state of the population; the degeneracy was in the individuals. Satisfied if their mere animal wants were easily supplied, and seeking for no other excitements

than those of gambling and drunkenness, they had sunk into a state of life which can neither properly be called barbarous nor savage, but which is worse than either. The knowledge of perpetual insecurity and danger could not rouse them to any combined system of defence, any active exertion, nor even to such precautions as it might have been supposed the common instinct of self-preservation would have taught them. For quarrels they were always ready with the knife; but the savage is not an enemy who comes within knife-reach till his antagonist is disabled, and with any better weapons they were almost wholly unprovided. A cane, or a stick, whether crooked or straight they cared not, with a piece of a rusty sword, or the blade of an old knife fastened at the end, served them for a lance. The richer classes were the only persons who had musquets, and of the musquets which they possessed few were serviceable, and fewer still were the men who knew how to use them when they were. If government at any time delivered out arms, the people soon suffered the musquets to be spoiled for want of care; and they ruined the bayonets by using them for ¹⁵ knives and choppers. In the hour of danger therefore they had as little confidence in their weapons as in their skill. Endurance was the only military virtue which they retained. The soldiers rode barelegged in their winter expeditions, carrying their boots suspended from the saddle; and to prevent the ill consequences of having the feet soaked with wet, they applied chewed tobacco leaves to them at night. Smoaking was thought almost necessary for the support of life at such times. The Paraguay tea was their other chief comfort, and

¹⁵ The original bayonet consisted of a two-edged blade fixed in a wooden handle, and which was thrust into the muzzle of the musquet, when in use.

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Dobrichofer. 2. 398.
448.
Do. 3.
260. 255.

*Defenceless
state of the
people.*

the place and manner of preparing it at night were not a little curious : . . . instead of providing themselves with hammocks, like the Brazilians, they frequently roosted in the trees ; and making as it were a hearth upon the boughs with that hard crust of which the termites build their nests, they kindled a fire upon it to boil the water for their favourite beverage.

What could be expected from the efforts of such a people against the equestrian tribes, . . . against enemies who were always on the alert, swift, wily, wary, indefatigable, insatiate of blood and of vengeance ! If they raised forces for an expedition, they knew not where to find men who never exposed themselves to danger if they could avoid it, and who could always baffle the Spaniards by retiring into a country where they were unable to follow the pursuit. Nor were the savages the less to be dreaded because they were so solicitous of preserving their own lives, for they were ready at any moment to fall upon their enemies whenever it could be done to advantage, and were upon the watch for every opportunity : but the Spaniards, who had acquired so many habits from the rude race with which they had so long been conversant, had caught their pusillanimity with regard to death, without learning those qualities which made the savage so terrible a foe. The Spanish Commanders possessed so little authority themselves, and were so little supported by public feeling, that if an officer lost only two or three of his men in an expedition, the widows would insult him on his return, and probably attack him in the street with stones. Considering the insubordination of the Spaniards, and their utter improvidence, it seems wonderful that a single settlement in Paraguay should have escaped destruction. There was not a place which had either wall, moat, palisade, or fortifications of any kind. Wooden watch-posts, indeed, were erected for a considerable distance along the shore, above and below Asump-

cion, and men were stationed with a single gun in each, to give the alarm. This was a compulsory duty, which fell wholly upon the lower classes; and it was more burthensome to the individuals than useful to the community. The trade between Paraguay, La Plata, Tucuman, and Peru, was well nigh annihilated. It was almost certain destruction for travellers to attempt the journey. Even the military escort which guarded the treasure from Potosi to Buenos Ayres, was sometimes overpowered and cut off, though the treasure itself was regarded by the conquerors with perfect indifference. But the Spaniards were base enough to profit greedily by the plunder when they could, . . . and happy was the town which could make its separate peace with the savages, and purchase their booty, giving them, among other things, iron ¹⁶ in exchange, to be employed against their own countrymen in another quarter. Whole settlements were destroyed by the Tobas, the Mocobios, and the Abipones. *Ravages of the equestrian tribes.* Salta was protected by its situation, being almost surrounded with water. This city, which had once been the seat of government, and still held the second rank in Tucuman, had flourished exceedingly because of the trade which was transacted there between Buenos Ayres and Peru, and the great transit of mules toward the Andes. Its trade was now reduced to nothing, its territory ravaged, and the pitiable inhabitants so panic-stricken that they could determine upon no better means of defence than taking another tutelary Saint, and associating St. Francisco Xavier as their Patron, with St. Philip and St. James: a holiday was set apart for him by reason of his new office, and the soldiers also took him for their protector! At Santa Fe it was

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¹⁶ This was indeed a thriving trade. An Abipon once gave a bag containing two thousand dollars, part of the convoy from Peru, for a red cloak.

CHAP. found necessary to enact that no man should come to Church
 xxxviii. without a musquet. Here the savages frequently came into
 the streets, and butchered the inhabitants while they were following processions, singing *misereres*, and carrying crucifixes, instead of bearing arms and using them. The market-place was often reddened with blood; and the town would have been abandoned if the inhabitants had not succeeded in making a separate peace, and thus contributed to the evils which were inflicted upon other places. At Corrientes, dead bodies were brought into the town in carts, and heaped up, like piles of wood, at the Church-door: seventy were carried in in one day; so that it was not possible to prepare separate graves; . . . a common trench was dug, and one service performed for all. The Indian villages which the Franciscans had established upon the Parana were all destroyed, except S. Lucia, a little settlement containing about ten families only: the Missionary there had surrounded it with a wall, and mounting a gun in a little watch-box upon the top of his house, he gave the people notice to take shelter, by firing it, and made the savages keep at a respectful distance, . . . so easily were they deterred from attacking any place where there was the appearance of resistance. In this track of country the marks of devastation long continued visible, . . . ruined walls, European fruits growing in what was again become a wilderness, and monumental crosses indicating the places where thirty or forty had been buried in one grave.

*Peramas de
 Trodecem.
 §267—273.
 Dobrizhof-
 fer. 3. 17—
 41.*

*People of
 Santiago del
 Estero.*

The only Spaniards who manfully made war against these enemies, were the people of Santiago del Estero, originally the capital and episcopal seat of Tucuman. They provided themselves for their expeditions with the meal of a species of maize mixed with honey or sugar; a little of this they stirred up with water in a horn, which was the only furniture of their camp-kitchen, and they required no other meat or drink: the mix-

ture¹⁷ was taken cold, and thus there was no need of fire, which might have betrayed them by the smoke. Their horses were as hardy as themselves; having little pasture because of cold winters, hot summers, long droughts, and a sandy soil, they used to browse upon the trees like goats. They were the best as well as the hardest in the country, because children used to mount them before they were a year old, and thus tame them and break them in at the same time. These people alone inflicted more loss than all the other Spaniards of La Plata, Paraguay, and Tucuman, on the Mocobios, Tobas, and Abipones, and were more dreaded by them. They were as good horsemen as the savages themselves, as hardy, and as little¹⁸ civilized in their habits of life; and their skill in detecting the track of an enemy was such, that the other Spaniards called them conjurors

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¹⁷ Falkner describes a similar preparation in use among the same people, but made from a species of *Alfarroba*, which grows in the woods about Santiago, and is the best food which they ever give their horses. They pound the pods, and press the glutinous mass which is thus composed, into cakes or square boxes; it is called *patay* and esteemed medicinal as well as wholesome. If it be infused twelve hours in cold water, it ferments, and makes a strong drink. (*Falkner. p. 31.*) For this reason the Jesuits would not introduce the *Alfarroba* into their settlements, useful as it would have been, lest the Guaranies should contract habits of drunkenness. (*Dobrizhoffer. 1. 402.*) They chose to deprive themselves of a tree which produced food both for man and beast, and a beverage believed to be remarkably conducive to health, rather than incur this danger. It is not strange that they should have distrusted the efficacy of their moral precepts; but this fact seems to shew that they did not rely even upon their discipline, severe and vigilant as it was.

¹⁸ They went annually to collect wild honey, hunted upon the way, lived upon the venison, and brought home the honey in bags made of the skins of the beasts which they had killed. On the way out they chopt the palm trees as they went, and when they came back found in the wounded trunks the large fat grubs of the *carculio palmaram*, which were esteemed a dainty.

CHAP. and St. Antonios, as if it were scarcely possible for mere human
 XXXVIII. sense to have attained to such unerring sagacity. Few of them
 had musquets; their weapon was an ill-made lance, but it was
 well used, with a brave will and a vigorous arm.

*Falkner. 30.
 Dobrizhoffer. 2. 256.
 3. 48. 51.*

*The Jesuits
 pacify the
 Abipones.*

The Santiagans, as to their courage and activity, were the Paulistas of Spanish America. They resembled the Paulistas also in the worst part of their character, for they had consumed the Indians in their vicinity by oppression and cruel usage, and the few who survived among them in servitude, were in a state of filth and wretchedness which the Jesuits regarded with astonishment, when they compared it with the comforts that existed in the Reductions. But, unlike the Paulistas, they were few in number; they did not extend themselves, they never possessed the spirit of discovery, and they had not discovered the secret of increasing their own strength by making the Indians serve with them as soldiers as well as slaves. They effectually protected their own immediate district, and sometimes made successful expeditions beyond it: but these exertions were too limited and too unfrequent to afford any relief to Paraguay. That country owed its deliverance to the Jesuits. By their means, a peace was made first with the Mocobios, then with the Abipones, and the whole of the latter nation consented to put themselves under the direction of spiritual teachers, and submit to habits of settled life. A beginning was made to this good work by F. Joseph Brigniel, and by Dobrizhoffer, a man who was contented to employ, in labouring among these savages, under every imaginable circumstance of discomfort and discouragement, talents which would have raised him to distinction in the most enlightened parts of Europe. In spite of the parsimony, and the repeated errors of the Government, they succeeded so far that Paraguay was delivered from its most destructive enemies; and the civilization of this extraordinary people, a people

capable of the greatest virtues, would have gradually been accomplished, if the schemes and labours of the Jesuits had not been first interrupted, and finally frustrated, by the unforeseen consequences of a political arrangement between the Courts of Lisbon and Madrid.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

History of Brazil. The War of the Great Waterfall. The Treaty of Madrid.

The information between the royal families of Spain and Portugal had not produced the slightest mitigation in those laws of copyright and patent which Philip V. and Isabel I. were by and by, checked against the Portuguese; but the effects were prevented when Ferdinand VI. succeeded to his father's throne. Many state establishments have seldom, or never, united in favour two persons so warmly united to each other as the kings of Austria and the Portuguese Infante, D. John, the fifth. He was a valiant man and a hypocrite; for the latter. The only fault was that he was extremely subject to violent fits of anger; the passion which arose from a deep and painful conviction of his inferiority for talents, and the sense of his own inferiority for the royal situation in which he was placed. He was renowned among his subjects as a man of humane, amiable, and conscientious, and devout heart and tranquil mind. The Queen had never any professions to make; and the tranquillity of her youthful years was not less for she became extremely ill under the