

CHAPTER XXIII.

*The Jesuits invited into Paraguay. They establish Reductions in Guayra, and on the Parana and Uruguay. The Portugueze of S. Paulo attack them, and they are obliged to retire to the country between the two rivers.*

While the northern provinces were engaged in this long struggle against the Dutch, the Jesuits established that dominion in Paraguay, of which the rise, progress, and overthrow are inseparably connected with the history of Brazil.

A few years after the third foundation of Buenos Ayres, D. Francisco Victoria, first Bishop of Tucuman, seeing the lamentable state of religion in his diocese, wrote to the two Provincials of the Company in Brazil and in Peru, requesting they would send some of their order to his assistance: the Bishop was a Dominican, and this application shows how highly the Jesuits were at that time esteemed. From Peru the fathers Francisco Angulo and Alonso Barsena were sent with Juan de Villegas, a lay brother: they came from Potosi, and were received at Salta (which had then recently been founded) with incredible joy, say their historians, as though they had been angels from heaven: for although the Spaniards were corrupted by plenty, and by the abundance of slaves and women whom they had at command, they nevertheless regretted the want of that outward religion, the observance

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*The bishop of Tucuman invites Jesuits from Brasil and Peru.*

CHAP. of which was so easily made compatible with every kind of vice.  
 XXIII. At Santiago de Estero, which was then the capital and episcopal  
 1586. city, triumphal arches were erected, the way was strewn with  
 flowers, the Governor with the soldiers and chief inhabitants  
 went out in procession to meet them, and a solemn thanksgiving  
 was celebrated, at which the bishop chaunted the Te Deum.  
 Anchieta was provincial of Brazil when the application arrived  
 there: he deputed five of his flock upon this mission; Leonardo  
 Arminio, an Italian, was the superior; the others were the fa-  
 thers Juan Salonio, Thomas Filds, a Scotchman, Estevam de  
 Grao, and Manoel de Ortega, both Portugueze. After falling  
 into the hands of some English sea-rovers on the way, and ex-  
 perienicing, after the manner of Jesuits, many miraculous inter-  
 positions in their favour, they landed at Buenos Ayres, and  
 crossed the plains to Cordoba, where they met the brethren from  
 Peru, of whose coming they had had no previous intimation.  
 Arminio immediately perceived that this province might more  
 easily be supplied from Peru than from Brazil; and though  
 Spain and Portugal were under one sovereign, yet as a distinc-  
 tion was still made between the Spanish and Portugueze con-  
 quests, he thought some offence might be taken if members of  
 the two provinces, being responsible to different governments,  
 were to act together. He and Grao therefore returned to Bra-  
 zil, but he left the others, who differed from him in opinion.  
 Ortega remained at Cordoba with Barsena, and the other two  
 accompanied Angulo to Santiago.

*Techo, p.  
 19—20.  
 Charlevoix,  
 T. 1, 172.*

*The Portu-  
 gueze Je-  
 suits invited  
 to Assump-  
 tion.*

It is especially the duty of an historian at this time to relate the good and the evil of the Jesuits with strict impartiality, neither detracting from their virtues, nor concealing their impostures. They relate that Barsena and Ortega, while preaching among the Indians, marrying them by hundreds, and baptizing them by thousands, were at length in such want of food that

they were reduced to a daily allowance of twelve grains of maize. Barsena, being the elder and weaker, was almost dying of inanition, when, after saying his prayers one night, he ordered Ortega to depart at midnight, and go purchase provisions at the house of a Spaniard two hundred miles off. Impossibility is no impediment in these cases; Ortega borrowed a horse, which, as soon as he bestrode it, set off like an arrow from a bow: mountains and plains he crossed with the same portentous speed, and in less than eleven hours performed the journey. The Spaniard immediately sent a servant with a party of Indians and a convoy of stores: Ortega meantime returned as fast as he came; the convoy, which was well mounted, and made all the speed it could, was twelve days upon the road; and it is but reasonable to suppose that another miracle was wrought to support Barsena while they were upon the way, for otherwise the former would have been useless. Shortly afterwards the Brazilian Jesuits were sent to some tribes upon the Rio Vermejo, of the Toconoté race, and Barsena, who composed a grammar of that language, and was the only one of the party who could speak it, went with them; but he fell sick, and was obliged to return to Santiago, and the Portugueze had then no means of conversing with the people whom they were sent to convert. When they were at Buenos Ayres, D. Alonso Guerra, the bishop of Assumpcion, was in that city holding a visitation, and had endeavoured to persuade them to accompany him to Paraguay, where their knowledge of the Tupi tongue would enable them to be usefully employed among the Guarani tribes. Finding themselves unprofitable servants in their present situation, they obtained leave from F. Angulo, under whose orders they had been placed, and went to Assumpcion, where they were received with every mark of distinction and joy.

F. Luis de Rolanos, a Franciscan, and a disciple of St. Fran-

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*Charlevoix,*  
1, 178.  
*Techo,* 1, 1,  
c. 30, there  
quoted.

*Hervas, Tr.*  
1, c. 2, § 3.

*Charlevoix,*  
1, 180.

1588.

CHAP. cisco Solano, had converted some of the Guaranies, and com-  
 XXIII. posed a catechism in their language. He had been recalled on  
 1588. account of age and infirmities, and no person had succeeded to  
 his labours; but those labours prepared a way for the Company.  
 Salonio remained at Asumpcion, while Ortega and Filds went  
 down the Paraguay, and entered the province of Guayra. They  
 spent some months in reconnoitring the country, and then re-  
 turning to the capital, informed Salonio that they had seen two  
 hundred thousand Indians, who appeared proper subjects for  
 the Kingdom of Heaven. A pestilence was at this time raging  
 in Asumpcion and the adjacent country: pestilences, says Char-  
 levoix, are the harvests of the ministers of God; he hints that  
 the Jesuits were favoured on this occasion with supernatural  
 celerity in passing from one place to another, and affirms that  
 they baptized six thousand Indians at the point of death. The  
 zeal and the intrepid charity with which they sought out the  
 infected, and ministered to the dying, confirmed the good repute  
 which they had obtained. A chapel and a dwelling-house were  
 built for them at Villarica, being their first establishment in Para-  
 guay, and three years afterward the magistrates and people of  
 Asumpcion applied to the King, to the General of the Compa-  
 ny, and to the Provincial in Peru, for permission to found a  
 Jesuit College in their city. Without waiting for a reply, the  
 result of which was not doubted, they purchased from the pub-  
 lic funds ground for the building; F. Juan Romero arriving with  
 a few brethren from Peru as Superior of the Mission, accepted  
 it with reference to the pleasure of the King and the General;  
 and the wealthiest of the inhabitants, women as well as men,  
 vied with each other in working at the foundations. In the  
 fervour of their zeal they spared no costs, and when Romero  
 would have persuaded them to proceed upon a scale of less  
 expence, they made answer that they were working for Christ,

*A Jesuit  
 college  
 founded  
 there.*

1590.

1593.

*Charlevoix,  
 3, 177-97.*

and consequently it was not possible to do too much. Six years afterwards a college was founded at Cordoba.

Ortega and Filds continued many years in Guayra, itinerating among the savages. In one of these excursions the former was caught by a sudden flood between two rivers: both overflowed, and presently the whole plain had the appearance of one boundless lake. The missionary and the party of Neophytes who accompanied him were used to inconveniences of this kind, and thought to escape, as heretofore, with marching mid-deep in water: but the flood continued to rise, and compelled them to take to the trees for safety. The storm increased, the rain continued, and the inundation augmented; and among the beasts and reptiles whom the waters had surprized, one of the huge American serpents approached the tree upon which Ortega and his catechist had taken refuge, and coiling round one of the branches, began to ascend, while they fully expected to be devoured, having neither means of escape nor of defence: the branch by which he sought to lift himself broke under his weight, and the monster swam off. But though they were thus delivered from this danger, their situation was truly dreadful: two days passed, and in the middle of the second night one of the Indians came swimming towards the tree by the lightning's light, and called to Ortega, telling him that six of his companions were at the point of death; they who had not yet been baptized intreated him to baptize them, and those who had received that sacrament requested absolution ere they died. The Jesuit fastened his catechist to the bough by which he held, then let himself down into the water, and swam to perform these offices; he had scarcely completed them before five of these poor people dropt and sunk: and when he got back to his own tree the water had reached the neck of his catechist, whom he had now to untie, and help him to gain a higher branch. The flood, however,

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*Adventure  
of Ortega.*

*Charlevoix,  
1, 202-4.*

CHAP. now began to abate. Ortega, in swimming among the thorny  
 XXIII. boughs received a wound in his leg, which was never thoroughly  
 1600. healed during the two and twenty years that he survived this  
 dreadful adventure.

*Delibera-  
 tions con-  
 cerning iti-  
 nerancy.*

At the commencement of the seventeenth century father Es-  
 teban Paez was sent from Europe as Visitor, to inspect the state  
 of the Company in Peru and its dependences, of which the  
 Plata, then including Paraguay, was one. He convened all the  
 Jesuits of Tucuman and of the Plata to meet him at Salta, and  
 deliberate upon forming some system on which to proceed in  
 the conversion of the natives. Accordingly they all assembled,  
 and Paez laid before them his objections to the itinerating  
 course which had been hitherto pursued. There could be little  
 reliance, he said, upon conversions thus cursorily made, and  
 upon converts who having been imperfectly instructed were  
 presently left to themselves. The instability of such things was  
 proved by the example of Solano: he had run through Tucuman  
 and great part of the Chaco; he had baptized multitudes, and  
 yet, though he was still living, scarcely did a trace remain of all  
 his labours. The word was like the good seed; it sufficed not  
 for the sower to scatter it, and then go his way, leaving it to  
 chance; the seed that was sown must carefully be watched until  
 the harvest. This opinion was too reasonable to be controvert-  
 ed. The missionaries nevertheless represented, that in what  
 they had hitherto done they had acted in obedience to the  
 Bishops and Vicars General, in whose jurisdiction they were  
 placed: that their labours had not been useless, for they had  
 acquired a knowledge of the country, and of the character of  
 the different tribes: that God had his purposes in these cursory  
 expeditions: that apostolical men were sometimes inspired to  
 pass rapidly from one province to another, like those flying clouds  
 to which they were likened by the prophet Isaiah: that they

entirely agreed with him as to the propriety of laying the foundation for something durable, and in some places indeed had made establishments; but that itinerancy ought not to be given up, having been ordained in the course of providence for the salvation of many predestined souls, which oftentimes depended upon this means; a truth exemplified in the labours of S. Francisco Solano, which God had authorized by so many miracles. In this view of the subject the visitor could not differ from his brethren; and as the best means of facilitating the work in which they were engaged, he proposed, that the whole country east of the Paraguay and north of the Plata should be left to the Jesuits of Brazil, for the obvious reasons that it was within their reach, and that they were already masters of the general language spoken throughout those provinces: Tucuman and the Chaco were to receive their missionaries from Peru. This project was so well approved in Tucuman that many towns wrote to the General of the Company, offering to establish colleges. But a different spirit was manifested at Asumpcion. There was already in that city a party hostile to these new missionaries; when they saw them all depart to the Council at Salta they exultingly observed, that establishments in so poor a country as Paraguay were not to the taste of the Jesuits, who found more attractions in the vicinity of Peru. If zeal for souls was their ruling motive, why did they leave a province where there was abundance of work, and where they had been willingly received? But when it was said that their place was to be supplied by brethren from Brazil, this they affirmed must be a mere evasion: for could it be supposed either that the Council of the Indies would suffer Portuguese missionaries to form establishments in a Castilian province, or that the Government of Portugal would undertake to supply with spiritual succours a country which did not belong to it?

Charlevoix,  
1, 200-8.

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1602.

*Ortega  
thrown into  
the Inquisi-  
tion at Li-  
ma.*

While the Visitor was reflecting upon this material objection, which he seems at first to have overlooked, Ortega was summoned from Salta to deliver himself up to the Inquisition at Lima.

Upon his arrival there he was cast into prison, and according to the custom of that tribunal, left in confinement without the slightest intimation of the charge against him. After he had remained five months, his superiors were so far successful in interfering for him that he was delivered over to their custody, on condition that they should produce him when required, and that he should neither be permitted to officiate at mass, nor go out of the college, nor see any person from without. In this disgraceful confinement he continued two years, when an inhabitant of Villarica, who in revenge for some real or imaginary offence had accused him of having divulged things revealed to him in confession, declared on his death-bed that the accusation had been malicious. The Inquisition then pronounced with due form that Ortega was innocent. Such an example might have taught the Jesuits the iniquity of a tribunal under whose proceedings it is impossible for any person to prove his innocence; and the innocent, even if at last absolved, suffer in the process a severer punishment than the guilty would have deserved.

*Charlevoix,  
I, 209.*

*Attempt to  
dispossess  
the Jesuits  
of their  
college at  
Asumpcion.*

Though the Visitor had summoned all the Jesuits of Paraguay to meet him at the Council, Filds was left at Asumpcion: his age and infirmities made him unequal to the fatigue of the journey, and he remained in possession of their premises. It was perhaps foreseen that this might be an important service. Certain members of another order, who wished to establish themselves there, had cast a covetous eye upon their neighbours' house, and presuming upon the rumour that the Company would not return, they proposed to Filds that he should sell the property. The old father resisted their importunities, referring them always to his superior Romero. Had Filds died, these other

religioners would easily have obtained permission to occupy the vacant ground, and it would afterwards have been difficult to dispossess them. Romero perceived the danger, and was well pleased when he received instructions at the same time from Aquaviva the General, and from the Provincial of Peru, to send Lorenzana back to Asumpcion, with one companion. Their friends in that city had written to the General, complaining of the Visitor for having summoned away the missionaries. The Bishop of Asumpcion also wrote to Romero, requesting him to send them back as soon as possible, otherwise, he said, he would apply to the General, and, if necessary, to the Catholic King, and to his Holiness himself. This Bishop happened to be nephew of Loyola, and was therefore particularly induced to regard the Jesuits with favour.

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Charlevoix,  
1, 214.

F. Giuseppe Cataldino, an Italian, was the man chosen to accompany Lorenzana, and destined with him to lay the foundation of one of the most remarkable institutions recorded in history. Their boat was wrecked in ascending the Paraguay, and they were in danger of perishing by hunger on its uninhabited shores, when the Bishop, on his way to Buenos Ayres, providentially relieved them, and gave them one of his own boats, well supplied, to perform the remainder of the voyage. They were joyfully received at Asumpcion. Hitherto the only opposition which they had experienced there had arisen from the envy of other orders; but ere long they provoked a more dangerous hostility. In Paraguay, as in other parts of the Spanish Indies, it was the practice to dispose of the natives in what were called *Encomiendas*; the word implying that they were put under the protection of the *Encomendero*, or Lord; but such protection differed only in the name from slavery. This system necessarily grew out of the position, that the New World and all therein belonged to the King of Spain, by virtue of the Pope's grant; the

The Encomienda system.

CHAP. Spaniards therefore were fully convinced that they had a clear  
 XXIII. right to conquer these countries, and dispose of the inhabitants  
 1602. as they pleased. A feudal principle was thus naturally adopted,  
 and the conqueror who received a grant of land, took with it the  
 inhabitants, as the human stock of his domain. There were,  
 however, two kinds of *Encomiendas*. If the natives had resisted,  
 and were actually conquered, they were then called *Yanaconas*,  
 the appellation given to a race of slaves or helots in Peru. Ac-  
 cording to the intentions of the Council of the Indies, these per-  
 sons should rather have been serfs than slaves: the *Encomen-  
 dero* fed and clothed them, and was forbidden either to sell or  
 banish them, or in any way use them ill: they were his labour-  
 ers, giving their work for their maintenance; and there was a  
 condition that he should have them taught some handicraft  
 trade, and see that they were instructed in christianity. If the  
 Indians had voluntarily submitted themselves, they were called  
*Mitayos*, a word also of Peruvian growth, signifying task-men.  
 A settlement was then made, and municipal officers chosen  
 among the natives, according to the forms of a Spanish town.  
 But these settlements were also given to *Encomenderos*; here,  
 however, only the men between the ages of eighteen and fifty  
 were bound to labour, and only during two months in the year;  
 the women, the *Curacas*, or chiefs, with their eldest sons, and  
 the municipal officers, being exempt. Such *Encomiendas* were  
 of course less coveted than those in which the natives were *Ya-  
 naconas*. In either case they were granted for two lives, after  
 which the Indians were to become as free as the Spaniards  
 themselves, excepting only that they were subject to the capita-  
 tion tax. In the course of two lives it was thought they would  
 be educated sufficiently to be capable of this advancement.  
 Thus the Spanish Government reasoned in endeavouring to re-  
 gulate a merciless system which it had in vain attempted to sup-

*Acosta De  
 Proc. Ind.  
 Sal. l. 3,  
 c. 11.  
 Solorzano,  
 l. 3.  
 Techo, p.  
 28.  
 Azara, t. 2,  
 c. 12.*

press<sup>4</sup>. The regulations were good and the reasoning was specious ; but the system upon which the Spanish legislators speculated as a means of civilization was established by the Spanish conquerors as a means of oppression ; in the spirit of avarice and cruelty it had been founded, and in defiance of all regulations in that same spirit it was pursued.

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1602.

Force may sometimes be the only means of civilization ; the Romans succeeded in using it ; the Spaniards failed in the end, but they inflicted all the evils of the process. It happened that at this time some Indians who were suffering under this system rose and massacred the Spaniards who resided among them : the commanding officer at Asumpcion set out with a troop of soldiers to chastise them ; on the way he thought it more profitable to turn aside, and fall upon some unoffending and unsuspecting allies, a great number of whom he brought home in triumph and sold for slaves. Lorenzana cried aloud against this iniquity ; he remonstrated with the commander first, declared to the purchasers that they could not without committing a grievous sin detain men who had been thus wrongfully enslaved ; and finding all private representations ineffectual, he threatened the offenders

*The Jesuits  
oppose the  
practice of  
enslaving  
the natives,  
and thereby  
render them-  
selves unpo-  
pular.*

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<sup>4</sup> Azara (*T. 2, C. 12,*) ascribes the invention of this system to Yrala, who, he says, devised it as a means of extending the Spanish conquests without any expence to the government. If any person can be said to have invented it, it is Columbus himself ; it began under him, and he cannot be acquitted of having authorized it. And it was established in the Islands, on the Spanish Main, in Mexico, and in Peru, before Yrala entered Paraguay. Azara also attributes to Yrala the modifications which limited the term of these grants to two lives, and provided for the instruction and emancipation of the natives. "*De sorte que, selon moi,*" he says, "*il etoit impossible de mieux combiner l'aggrandissement des conquestes et la civilization et la liberte des Indiens, avec la recompense due aux particulieres qui faisaient tout a leurs depens.*" But whatever merit there may be in the theory is due to the Spanish Government. The conquerors, with perhaps the single exception of Cortes, cared for nothing but enriching themselves.

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from the pulpit with the vengeance of heaven, if they did not restore these injured Indians to liberty. The Treasurer of the Cathedral upon this commanded him to be silent, and leave the church: Lorenzana immediately obeyed, without discovering the slightest emotion of anger. It is said that this moderation affected the Treasurer so much, that he went into the pulpit, and with a loud voice confessed his fault, for having insulted a good man who was in the discharge of his duty; that this confession, proceeding perhaps merely from fear, did not disarm offended heaven; that he fell from that moment into a state of mental agitation, which speedily terminated in convulsions, frenzy, and death; and that this event contributed more to the deliverance of the prisoners than all the preacher's eloquence had done. In ecclesiastical history it is often impossible to unravel truth from falsehood, so intricately is the machinery woven into the web of the narration. The sudden illness and death of the Treasurer would naturally be deemed miraculous by the Jesuits and by those who admired their principles and conduct, and might for a time impress others; but they themselves say, that though this affair appeared at first to terminate in their advantage, it left a feeling of dislike towards them, which from that time continued to ferment in the public mind.

*Charlevoix,*  
1, 216.

1608:  
*They be-  
come unpo-  
pular in  
Tucuman.*

Diego de Torres was now appointed Provincial of Chili and Paraguay, the two countries being united into one Jesuit-province. He set out from Peru with fifteen brethren, part of whom he sent to Chili, and conducted the others to Tucuman. About the same time eight brethren landed at Buenos Ayres; they had been selected by the General of the Order, and sent out at the King's expence. Buenos Ayres was now a flourishing port; for though foreign vessels were forbidden to put in there, they found their way under various pretexts, and had established a gainful contraband trade. But the savages, who had waged such fierce and successful war against the first inva-

ders of their territory, were still active and formidable enemies. Since the third foundation of the city, not less than two thousand persons had perished by their hands, and they still kept the inhabitants in fear. Some had been subjugated, but they had then been enslaved, and therefore only waited for opportunity to take vengeance upon their oppressors. The Jesuits were expected eagerly, because it was hoped that they would convert and so conciliate the subjected tribes. But it was too late; . . the wrong had been done; there was no disposition to redress it, and it was in vain to preach christianity to men who were oppressed and enslaved by the professors of christianity. This the Jesuits perceived, and declared that the first step must be to lighten the yoke of the Indians. The people of Buenos Ayres would not listen to this, and Torres, by preaching the same language in Tucuman, provoked such enmity, that at Cordoba and Santiago the Spaniards withheld all alms from the Company, with the avowed intention of starving them out of their newly-established colleges. They were come, they said, to trouble quiet consciences with groundless scruples: under the mask of an extravagant humanity they concealed interested views of ambition, and had no other end in depriving the settlers of the services of the Indians than that of monopolizing it for themselves. In consequence of this popular dislike the Jesuits were obliged to abandon Santiago, and remove to S. Miguel, where they were well received.

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Techo, 25.  
Charlevoix,  
1, 216-22.

Torres was now summoned to Asumpcion by the Bishop and the Governor, in consequence of an edict which they had received from Madrid, expressing the King's absolute will that the Indians of Paraguay should be subdued by the sword of the spirit alone, unless they made war upon the Spaniards and thereby rendered offensive measures justifiable and necessary; otherwise he would have none but missionaries employed to reduce them, for he wanted no subjects by compulsion, nor did he

*They obtain powers from Madrid to act among the natives upon their own system.*

CHAP. seek to deprive the people of these countries of their liberty, but  
 XXIII. to reclaim them from their savage and dissolute way of life, to  
 1609. make them know and adore the true God, and render them  
 happy here and hereafter. The Court of Spain was sincere in  
 these professions ; few governments have had heavier crimes to  
 answer for ; their zeal has been literally a burning and consum-  
 ing fire ; but the whole tenor of their laws respecting the Indians  
 bears witness to its sincerity, and in this instance to its benevo-  
 lence. Torres was consulted how to carry these intentions into  
 effect. The Guarani catechism which Rolaños had composed  
 was examined by a committee of theologians, and of persons  
 best skilled in the Guarani tongue, and having been approved by  
 both, was ordered to be exclusively used wherever that tongue  
 was spoken. This was all which had yet been done, except the  
 transitory conversion of those whom Rolaños had instructed, and  
 Ortega and Filds after him ; when Cataldino and F. Simon  
 Maceta, who was also an Italian, were commissioned to execute  
 the King's intentions, the Governor and the Bishop giving them  
 full powers to collect their converts into townships, to govern  
 them independently of any town or fortress, to build churches,  
 and in the King's name to resist all who might attempt under  
 any pretext to subject these new christians to the burden of per-  
 sonal service.

*Charlevoix,*  
 1, 224—6.

*Settlement  
 in Guayra.*

Guayra was the scene to which these missionaries were des-  
 tined. Under this name a large track of country was compre-  
 hended, of which the Uruguay formed the southern and the  
 Parana the western boundary ; eastward it extended to the then  
 undefined borders of Brazil, and terminated on the north in  
 trackless woods and marshes. About the middle of the sixteenth  
 century some of its tribes solicited aid of Yrala against the Por-  
 tugueze, and more immediately against the Tupis, who found it  
 a gainful sport to procure slaves for the southern captaincies.  
 Yrala upon this hastened to occupy the country for the crown

of Castille, and named it after a Cacique by whom he was well received. Accustomed as he had been to wars of this kind, he found little difficulty in intimidating the Brazilian savages, and making them supplicate for peace; but in exploring a way back by water he lost above a hundred of his flotilla with great part of their crew, among the rapids, and taking then to the woods, through which they had to open a way with the axe, many more of his people perished. Upon his return from this disastrous expedition he sent Vergara to form a settlement on the Parana, high up, toward Brazil, which might serve as an inland port for ships from Spain, a project which did not appear unreasonable at a time when vessels from the mother country proceeded as far as Asumpcion. Vergara, paying little regard to this part of his instructions, fixed the site of his new town above the Great Falls, and named it Ontiveros, after the place of his birth; but Ciudad Real being founded soon after, three leagues higher up, where the Pequeri falls into the Parana, Ontiveros was then abandoned. About twenty years afterwards another settlement was founded by Melgarejo, and called Villa Rica. The people of these towns imagined at one time that they were about to become rich beyond all former adventurers; those coloured crystals which are found encased in stone, and said to explode like natural granades, are common in this province; the Spaniards persuaded themselves that they were precious stones of the greatest value, mutinied under a turbulent Englishman whose name was Nicholas Colman, and determined to set out for Spain with their treasures. The insurrection was quelled, and the heaviest punishment which the revolters endured was that of being undeceived. Ciudad Real and Villa Rica were high-sounding but fallacious appellations. Melgarejo was more distinguished by his crimes than his abilities: he divided the natives among the settlers; this system, as usual, produced an

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*Argentina,*  
MS.  
*Techo, p.*  
30.

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*The Jesuits  
enter Guay-  
ra, and  
found the  
first Reduc-  
tion.*

inevitable depopulation, the evil of which recoiled upon the oppressors, and left them in distress and poverty.

There were at this time but two priests in the whole province; the one a vagabond friar, who having lost the habit of his order, disgraced the clerical gown which he wore in its stead; the other so ignorant a fellow, that it was doubtful whether he possessed sufficient knowledge to render the sacraments valid which he administered. Here, therefore, as throughout the whole of this vast diocese, except in the capital, there scarcely existed the shadow of religion. Crucifixes indeed and beads were to be found, but in most places there were no forms of worship observed, and manners were in that state of depravity which characterizes all colonies wherein slavery prevails, and all countries wherein the observances of religion are utterly neglected. The people at Ciudad Real and at Villa Rica welcomed the two missionaries; little as they felt of religion, or thought of its essentials, they were glad of an opportunity of solemnizing marriages which till then had only been civil contracts, of clearing off long sin-scores, securing a right to salvation for their children, and obtaining for themselves, in case of death, the regular passports to the kingdom of heaven. But when they understood what system the Jesuits were authorized to pursue, they regarded them with evil eyes. It availed not to represent that their own interests would be best promoted by measures of humanity, that the present course produced a rapid depopulation, and that the only means of remedying this was to make civilization and conversion go hand in hand. The Spaniards turned a deaf ear to all reasonings, refused to supply them with guides, and when a chief of the tribes among whom they had resolved to make their first essay came to Villa Rica to guide them himself, they put him in irons, and threw him into prison. The fathers obtained his release by their firmness, and began their journey under his guid-

ance. They travelled by land to the Paranapané, embarked upon that river, and proceeded between the tall cedar-forests upon its shores to the spot where it receives the Pirapé. Here they found about two hundred families, whom Ortega and Filds had baptized, and with them they formed the first of those settlements to which the general appellation of Reductions was now first given. This they called Loretto, . . . a name which their successors admired, as being peculiarly appropriate for the cradle of the Christian Republic of the Guaranies.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1610.

*Teeho, 31.  
Charlevoix,  
1, 226-9i*

Having formed this first establishment, they itinerated among the hordes for some fourscore leagues around, endeavouring to persuade them of the advantages which they would enjoy if they consented to gather together, and live under the new system. A man from Ciudad Real accompanied them as a volunteer interpreter: they noticed with some surprize that his baggage gradually diminished till all was gone, and that his apparel then disappeared piece by piece, so that at length he had no other clothing than a wrapper round the loins. Upon enquiring the cause of this he replied, "You fathers preach in your fashion, and I preach in mine. You have the gift of the word, which God has not given me, and I endeavour to supply it by works. I have distributed all that I had among the principal Indians of the country, in hope that when this liberality has gained the chiefs, it may be easier to win the rest." He concluded by requesting leave to return home, now that he had given away all, and was no longer necessary, they themselves being now sufficiently conversant in the Guarani tongue. He had not long taken his leave before it was discovered that his real business had been to purchase slaves, a whole herd of whom he bore away with him. The Jesuits could not without difficulty clear themselves from the suspicion of having been partners in this traffic.

*Artifices of  
a slave-  
dealer.*

*Charlevoix,  
1, 229.*

Loretto soon became so populous that a second Reduction *Miracles.*

CHAP. was formed about six miles distant, and named <sup>5</sup> St. Ignatius,  
 XXIII. in due honour of the Patriarch of the Society. Two others were  
 1610. founded shortly afterwards, and the views of Cataldino and Ma-  
 ceta expanding with their conquests, they began to see what  
 might be effected with the means which Providence had placed  
 in their hands, and conceived the idea of a Christian Republic,  
 upon their own ideal of Christian perfection. Miracles, says a  
 Jesuit historian, were necessary for their success, and he who  
 inspired the plan was not sparing of them. This history must  
 not be stript of its machinery, for if the miracles were laid aside  
 and the facts alone related, the Jesuits themselves would not be  
 fairly represented. Of those tales, as of all such, many may be  
 humanly explained, in others the only alternative is between  
 miracle and falsehood: the Protestant will not hesitate which  
 solution to prefer; the Catholic who may will have advanced one  
 step towards reformation. The first of these divine interpositions  
 are said to have been examples of terror: the instance which is  
 recorded marks the spirit of the Order and of their Church.  
 The Cacique of the Loretto Reduction had been one of the  
 earliest converts, and his sincerity was not doubted, because he

Charlevoix.

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<sup>5</sup> Azara (*T. 2, p. 225,*) says this was the first settlement, and that it was made by force, with the help of the inhabitants of Yaguaron, and of many detachments of Spanish soldiers: he affirms also, and endeavours to prove, that all the Reductions founded within the next twenty-five years were in like manner established by compulsion. It must not be supposed that he makes this a charge against the Jesuits, . . . he thinks they did well in employing force for wise and good purposes. If the fact were thus I should be far from blaming them; but I believe him to be entirely mistaken. It is certain that the Jesuits in Paraguay pursued the system which Nobrega had begun in Brazil, and it is equally certain that their means were means of persuasion alone. That the fear of the Paulistas drove many Indians to seek shelter in the Reductions is more likely.

had begun by putting away his women ; but after a while he began to cohabit with them again in secret, and at length openly returned in this respect to his former way of life. The missionaries remonstrated with him in vain, then menaced him with the vengeance of heaven, and finally cut him off from the society of the faithful. Then it was, say they, that he experienced the rigour of that justice which he had defied ; for his cabin took fire when he was alone in it, and he was miserably burnt alive.

In consequence of the prosperity of these Reductions in Guayra, some Guaranies between the Parana and Asumpcion who had been upon friendly terms with Cabeza de Vca, but having been ill-treated by the Spaniards after his arrest, had revenged themselves since that time by perpetual hostilities, applied to the Governor of Paraguay, requesting that he would send them a missionary. He referred their request to the Bishop, who was a Dominican, by name Lizarraga : this prelate made answer that none of his clergy would trust themselves among cannibals, and moreover, that in the dearth of labourers it did not become him to deprive the catholics of spiritual succours for the sake of savages. The Governor had not expected such a reply ; he went in person to the Bishop, taking with him Torres the Provincial, and they jointly represented how essential it was to the well-being of the Spaniards, the King's service, and the cause of Christ, that every opportunity of reducing the natives by such means should be improved. Lizarraga in return asked if the Governor could furnish his priests with a good escort, for otherwise he protested that he would not appoint any to such a service. It being thus evident that nothing was to be hoped from this quarter, Torres was left to provide adventurers ; so going forthwith to the College, he convoked the brethren, and having briefly stated the circumstances, fixed his eye upon Lorenzana the Rector, and said in the words of the Lord to

CHAP.  
XXIII.  

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1610.

*Charlevoix,*  
280.

*Lorenzana*  
*goes among*  
*the Guara-*  
*nies.*

*Ch. 6, v. 8.*

CHAP. XXIII.  
 1610. *Charlevoix, 271.*  
 Isaiah, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" Lorenzana threw himself at his feet, and replied as the prophet had done, "Here am I; send me!" F. Francisco de St. Martin, who had but lately arrived, was permitted to accompany him, for the double object of relieving him in what he could, and forming himself under one who was rightly considered an accomplished missionary.

*First of the Parana Reductions founded.*

After a year's successful exertions they were brought into danger by one of those circumstances in which it was difficult to reconcile duty and prudence. An Indian woman was exceedingly desirous of receiving baptism; her husband being attached to the old superstitions refused his consent, upon which she eloped with her daughter, and took shelter in the Jesuits' growing settlement. The man was exasperated, and found many to espouse his quarrel, for he was held in high estimation among his countrymen; but not thinking himself strong enough to attack the settlement, he fell upon a horde of the Mahomas, who were allies of the Spaniards, killed many of them, and drove away others to be eaten. Lorenzana employed the Caciques whom he had converted to interfere for their deliverance; they were answered with scorn, that the offended parties would not be satisfied till they had drank the blood of the last Mahoma out of the skull of the oldest missionary. Provoked at this, they collected their people, and succeeded in rescuing the prisoners. The converts were by this time so numerous that it became necessary to look for a more commodious site, in which they might be permanently established. A church was built there, and the first of the thirteen Reductions of the Parana founded, under the name of St. Ignatius Guazu, or the Great. Before it was well formed the enemy appeared in such force that Lorenzana thought it expedient to burn such of the church furniture as he could not instantly remove, lest it should be pro-

faned, and to send off the women and children and infirm. His companion S. Martin was so affected by the danger as to lose his senses ; and though he recovered to a certain degree, the fright left him in so feeble a state that it was necessary to send him back to Asumpcion, and soon afterwards to allow him to leave the Company. The evil however ended with the alarm, for the savages, not choosing to attack men who were deliberately awaiting them, retired ; and the Reduction, after having suffered awhile from sickness, the usual scourge of these settlements, began to flourish.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1611.

*Techo, 31.  
Charlevoix,  
1, 273.*

While these things passed on the left of the Paraguay, Torres was endeavouring to lay the foundation of a similar establishment on the western side, among the Guaycurus, in the double hope of delivering the Spaniards from their active hostility, and of opening an easier communication with Tucuman. This fierce tribe, who possessed a higher and haughtier spirit than any of the Guaranies, suspected an intention of entrapping and enslaving them, and sent spies to Asumpcion to discover what was the nature of the plot. The attempt promised little success, when D. Francisco de Alfaro arrived in Tucuman in the character of Visitor for the King, with a commission to abolish the system of personal service throughout these provinces, and to regulate the manner in which the Indians of the *Encomiendas* should be treated, so that there might be no longer cause of complaint on their part, while on the other hand the Spaniards were not to be deprived of their legitimate rights. He convoked an assembly at Santiago ; a resolution was past that the system of personal service was unlawful, and the decree was signed by the Governor of Chili, the Governor and Bishop of Tucuman, and other chief persons. Proceeding from thence to Cordoba, he published this resolution, with the orders of the King, and the edicts of the Viceroy, and the decrees of the Royal Au-

*A Visitor  
arrives from  
Spain,*

1612.

— 273 —  
OF 1611  
BY  
— 273 —

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1612.

dience of Charcas, to the same purport. But at Cordoba the people were more interested in this abuse than at Santiago, and therefore less tractable; and the Visitor, who brought with him neither the sense of duty nor the strength of character which such a charge required, departed both from the spirit and letter of his instructions, and hurried away to Asumpcion, leaving things in Tucuman nearly as he had found them. The history of his proceedings here affords a curious proof how little real authority the Court of Spain possessed over these remote colonies, and how easily it was deceived. The Visitor began by trying his strength; he prohibited all hunting the Indians for the purpose of reducing them to servitude, and declared that no *Encomiendas* should be granted. The next order was, that no Indians in those which were already established should be compelled to work for the *Encomenderos*, but only required to pay a slight tribute in produce; and that those who held *Yanaconas* should allot them lands to cultivate on their own account. This was no sooner made public than the principal inhabitants represented to him, that if they were thus deprived of the service of the Indians it would be impossible for them to pay the King his dues. It was indeed true that they were dependent upon this nefarious system, and that this decree would have deprived both clergy and laity of all their domestics. With such a man as Alfaro it was not difficult to come to a compromise. With regard to the *Mitayos*, he agreed, that in lieu of tribute they should serve the *Encomendero* for one month in the year, a term which was soon doubled, and that for the rest of the year they should receive wages for their labour. This regulation was merely nominal; and for the *Yanaconas* nothing was done. The Visitor assured the Court that his commission was executed; by this means he satisfied the Government; and by leaving things as they were he satisfied the people of Paraguay. Thus the

who con-  
trives to  
nullify his  
instructions,

matter rested for little less than two centuries, till about the year 1780 the Council of the Indies discovered that the *Encomiendas* were still existing in Paraguay: upon this they sent orders to abolish the system there, as it already had been in all other parts of America: the people remonstrated, the abuse was allowed to continue, and the *Encomienda* Indians remain to this day a race of slaves.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1612.

Techo, 29.  
Charlevoix,  
1, 276-82.  
Azara, 2,  
206-16.

The Visitor found it easier to create a grievance than to remove one. He imposed upon every free man of colour between the ages of eighteen and fifty a capitation tax of three dollars, perhaps without considering that there was neither money nor commerce in Paraguay. It was in fact instituting a new form of serfage; for under pretence of enabling them to pay the tax, they were placed under the protection, as it was called, of some ecclesiastic, or other Spaniard in good circumstances, who would settle with the Treasury for them, and for whom they were to labour in return. The Governors soon took advantage of this ordinance; they applied it without distinction of sex or age, and gave these injured people to their favourites, who, under the title of patrons or protectors, became in reality their owners, and paid nothing for them, . . . so easy was it to defraud the administration. The abuse continues to this day, though probably more than half the race, having become more than half savages, escape it by living in places remote from the seat of government and from all civilized society, where the government knows nothing of them, and neither exerts nor perhaps possesses any authority.

and intro-  
duces a new  
form of  
oppression.

Azara, 2,  
273.

Another of his measures was an experiment to reconcile the *Encomienda* system with that which the Jesuits were beginning to establish. There were three Indian settlements near each other to the north of Asumpcion, upon the little river Guarambare, which falls from the east into the Paraguay. They were

CHAP. XXIII.  
 1612. populous settlements, two of them consisting of some three hundred families each, the third of nearly a thousand ; but being held in *Encomienda*, the Jesuits were unwilling to take upon themselves the task of instructing and directing persons who, they said, could not easily be persuaded that the yoke of the gospel was light, while they felt that of the Spaniards upon their necks. Alfaro prevailed over these objections by promising that the system should either be abrogated, or so mitigated as to satisfy them ; his promises were not performed ; the Jesuits, as well as the Indians, grew weary of expecting the performance, and after two years the hopeless attempt was abandoned.

Charlevoix,  
 293.

Effect of  
 the Jesuits  
 preaching  
 in *Asump-  
 cion*.

Inconsistent, however, as the conduct of the Visitor had been, the Jesuits had reason to be satisfied with the most important of his measures. He decreed in the King's name that the Guaycurus and Guaranies should never be given in *Encomienda*, but be considered as immediate vassals of the crown ; and that the Jesuits should have the sole and exclusive charge of instructing, civilizing, and reducing them to acknowledge the Catholic King as their Sovereign. He decreed also, that the brethren who were thus employed should receive from the Royal Chest the same honoraries as were allowed to the *Curas* or Rectors of the Indians in Peru : but Torres assured him that a fourth part of this provision would suffice. This disinterestedness was admired ; but the Jesuits were believed to have suggested those intended measures which had excited such alarm ; and no sooner had the Visitor departed than the popular displeasure was manifested so strongly, that they found it prudent to retire from the city to their farm. Questions of this kind can never be agitated altogether in vain, . . . never without awakening in some individuals a sense which has too long lain dormant. One of the chief inhabitants of *Asumpcion* went to the governor, with all the Indians belonging to his *Encomienda*, and in

his presence declared that he no longer pretended to hold them in a state of slavery as he had hitherto done ; that he had rather see himself reduced to absolute beggary than continue so to be supported ; and that from henceforth he would regard them as his children. This example produced some effect upon the public feeling, though not upon the general conduct, and the Jesuits were invited to return to their college. But the leaven continued to work, and a party spirit had now arisen, which never was extinguished.

At this time the Jesuits were prospering on all sides. They were invited back to Santiago, revenues were assigned them, and they established a seminary there for the education of youth, which was afterwards removed to Cordoba. Having arranged the affairs of the Company in Tucuman, Torres directed his attention toward Guayra, where Cataldino and Maceta required assistance ; and he sent Antonio Rodriguez de Montoya to join them, a native of Lima, and the earliest historian of these missions. Four Reductions had now been formed there ; but these institutions were as yet in their infancy : the Jesuits themselves perhaps hardly as yet perceived the whole extent of the system, which, growing out of their principles, developed itself with their success ; nor had there yet been time to produce any deep and permanent effect upon the savages whom they had collected. The population of these first settlements was continually changing ; they came for motives of curiosity, or fellowship, or hope ; and they departed when they became weary of restraint, or impatient of privations ; or when an inclination came upon them for returning to their old habits of wandering, or when the terrors with which the Payes had imbued them proved stronger than those which the priest could excite. The Spaniards of Villarica, believing what they wished, reported that the scheme had proved abortive, and that the Jesuits derived

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XXIII.  

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1612.

*Charlevoix,*  
283.

*State of the*  
*Reductions.*

CHAP.  
XXIII.1614.*Charlevoix,*  
284.*A Jesuit*  
*miracle.*

no fruit from their visionary attempts: these reports reached Asumpcion, and appeared so well founded, that the Superiors of the Province thought seriously of withdrawing the missionaries, and abandoning what had been begun. Montoya was obliged to go in person, and dissuade them by his representations from this intent.

Whatever motives of ambition may be imputed to the Paraguay Jesuits in the days of their prosperity, certain it is that nothing but zeal could have actuated them at this time, or supported them through the arduous labours which they underwent. They were taught to expect miracles, willing to believe, ready to attempt, and not scrupulous in inventing them; it is difficult sometimes in their accounts to distinguish the effects of credulity and imagination from deliberate falsehood; but they never scrupled at falsehood when it was to serve a pious purpose, or produce an impression favourable to their views. Montoya relates, that an Indian of good sense and character falling dangerously ill, called for his spiritual succours: he heard his confession, and administered the sacraments; having done which, and believing him to be at the point of death, he gave orders for the interment, and went about his other avocations. The man accordingly died, and preparations were made for burying him, when Montoya was again summoned by tidings that the dead man was come to life again, and calling again for him. The tale which he told was in the usual stile of such resurrections, which are frequent in monkish history. No sooner, he said, had the soul forsaken the body, and got into a corner of the hut, than a Devil laid claim to it, saying, Thou art mine: the Soul replied, that could not possibly be, for he had made a fair confession, and received the viaticum in proper form. The Devil rejoined that the confession had not been full, for the sinner had not accused himself of having twice got drunk. The Soul

protested that this had been pure forgetfulness, the Devil insisted that it vitiated the whole confession, and made the absolution null and void : upon this St. Peter appeared with two angels in his train, and the Devil took flight. Montoya here interrupted the Indian to inquire how he knew it was the Prince of the Apostles who came so opportunely to his help. The man replied he could not doubt it, and though he had never seen any image or picture of the Saint, described him as he is usually represented : he then proceeded with his story. The Saint covered him with his mantle, and away they went through the air, till they arrived at a beautiful country, with a large city full in view before them : the form of the city was circular, and there issued from it a dazzling light. Here the Apostle stopt and said, Behold the City of God, wherein we dwell with him ; but the moment for thy entering it is not yet come. It behoves thy soul to return into its body, and in three days thou shalt go to the church. He then let him loose ; the whole scene disappeared, and the Indian found himself restored to life, and in full health. Montoya however divined from the recital that he was to die again on the third day ; without hinting at this, he asked him what he understood from the Apostle's words. The Indian replied, he had no doubt but that on the Sunday, which was the third day, his body would be borne to the church for interment, and that he had been thus restored to life only for the purpose of edifying his friends and countrymen. He ate, drank, and told his story to all the wondering spectators who flocked about him. On the Sunday he made a public confession, taking care not to forget the two sins of which the Devil had reminded him, and almost instantly afterwards he expired <sup>6.</sup>

Charlevoix,  
292.

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<sup>6</sup> The remarks of F. Charlevoix upon this legend are as characteristic as the

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1614.

*The Provincial accused of admitting men indiscriminately to the order.*

The system and character of the Jesuits, and of the church to which they belong, would not be fairly represented if such fables as these were always rejected from history.

Torres was now succeeded in the Provincialship by F. Pedro de Oñate. Seven years ago he had founded it with only seven brethren under his direction ; he left it to his successor with an hundred and nineteen. Complaints were made of his administration ; he was charged with having, in the dearth of subjects, accepted men as missionaries before they had gone through the previous discipline which the Institute prescribed ; from whence it naturally resulted that he had found it necessary to expel some whom he had prematurely admitted. Oñate did not think there was any cause for censuring him, for the necessity of the case

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story itself. “ *Le caractere de l'Homme Apostolique, dont je viens d'abreger le récit ; la réputation qu'il s'étoit faite en Espagne d'être un des plus savans hommes de son tems ; les actions héroïques que nous lui verrons faire dans la suite ; la haute idée qu'il a laissée dans l'Amérique de sa sainteté ; et la part qu'il a eue à l'établissement de la République Chrétienne, dont j'ai donné la description, ne permettent pas de révoquer en doute ce qu'il a publié dans un ouvrage imprimé sous ses yeux. D'ailleurs, ce qu'il a exécuté avec des travaux immenses, et un courage qu'aucun obstacle n'a jamais pu ébranler, pouvoit bien assurément engager le ciel à y cooperer par des merveilles sensibles. A quoi on peut ajouter que ce seroit peut-être faire trop d'honneur à la sagesse de ceux, dont Dieu a bien voulu se servir pour former dans le centre de la barbarie, une Eglise si merveilleuse, que de croire que le ciel ne l'a point quelquefois secondée par des traites sensibles de sa toute-puissance ; et quiconque examinera les choses sans prévention, conviendra que toute la prudence humaine n'a pu, sans les secours des miracles, porter un si bel établissement à une si grande perfection. Aussi s'en est-il fait plus d'un, et assez pour faire comprendre à ceux qui n'étoient que les instrumens du souverain Maître des cœurs, qu'en vain ils auroient travaillé à ce bel edifice, s'il n'en avoit été le principal ouvrier, et que tout ce qu'ils peuvent apporter de soins et de vigilance pour le conserver dans l'état où nous le voïons, seroit inutile, s'il ne veilloit lui-même à sa conservation.*” L. 6, p. 292.

and the example of Lóyala himself justified what he had done. Another charge was, that he allowed the missionaries to go alone among the Indians, and remain a long time in remote parts; thus giving occasion for scandal in a country where the slightest weakness in a Jesuit was represented as a crime, and exaggerated for the purpose of discrediting the Order. To this the Provincial replied, that all which could be done was to be careful in chusing for these distant expeditions men of prudence and virtue, and to recal them the moment it was known they began to relax; that it would be carrying distrust of human nature too far if men who had abandoned all for the sake of devoting themselves to the service of God and their fellow creatures were not thought worthy to be trusted out of the sight of their Superior; that it must not be supposed the people would be so unjust as to hold the whole Order responsible for the offences of individual members; and that the honour of the Company might always be saved by cutting off the infected limb.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1614.

*Charlevoix,*  
293.

The Reduction of St. Ignatius Guazu was superintended at this time by F. Roque Gonzalez de Santa Cruz, a man of high family, born at Asumpcion. He formed a second settlement at Itapua, where one of the lakes or marshes of that watery country, discharging itself into the Parana, forms a kind of port. The missions through his means were patronized by the government; for his brother acted awhile as governor, upon a vacancy occasioned by death; and D. Fernando Arias, who was appointed to succeed, had recently married his sister. This new governor, in the plenitude of his favour, resolved to visit the Parana Reductions; Gonzalez endeavoured vainly to persuade him that such a measure would rather prove injurious than beneficial; he could only obtain permission to go forward, and prepare the Indians for a visit which they would not unreasonably regard

*The gover-  
nor inter-  
feres with  
the missions.*

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1614.

with jealous eyes. Arias was accompanied by an escort of fifty men, and when he arrived at Itapua he arranged it after the form of a Spanish town, appointing such officers as his brother-in-law recommended. He was soon apprized that the savages of the adjoining country, who could not conceive that a governor and a detachment of soldiers came without some hostile design, were collecting to cut him off on his return; this intelligence made him hastily re-embark, but three hundred Indians had already taken post upon the shore below a rapid which he must pass. Gonzalez going with him as a better guard than his whole escort, assumed an air of authority, to which his influence and character among these tribes entitled him, and prevailed on them to refrain from hostilities. The governor thought to improve this favourable impression, and offered a wand, as a mark of command, to their chief, in the King of Spain's name; but the Indian made answer, that he had long commanded in that country without any such stick, and the governor might keep it for an Indian, if he could find one, who was desirous of it. Gonzalez had saved the governor from one danger, but he could not dissuade him from planning an expedition against the tribes upon the Uruguay, and ordering the militia of the provinces upon this service; they refused to go, he had no means of compelling them, and thus he incurred the discredit of having formed a project which was generally disapproved, and compromised his authority by vainly attempting to carry it into effect.

*Charlevoix,*  
298—303.

*Opposition  
to the Je-  
suits.*

1617.

Though the late Provincial had been censured for admitting so many new members into the Company, the wide field wherein they were engaged required more labourers. The fair prospects which were opening, and the necessity for sending more soldiers of Christ among the heathen, were represented to Vitelleschi, the new General of the Order, and thirty-seven mis-

sionaries were speedily sent from Italy to partake in the work. Viana, who conducted this detachment, was a native of the town of the same name in Navarre, and his way lay by it: when it was known that he drew near, the chief magistrates sent a deputation to invite him thither; but the Jesuit remembered that on a like occasion his countryman Xavier had refused to visit his mother, and this he thought a happy opportunity for imitating what he regarded as an act of heroic virtue. It was represented to him that if he accepted the invitation, one of his nephews, who was then in prison upon a criminal charge, would be set at liberty: to this he replied, with equal firmness and sounder morality, that his nephew, if he were innocent, ought to expect his liberation from the justice of the judge; but if he were guilty he ought to suffer punishment as an expiation for his offence. More volunteers offered in Spain, where they received every mark of royal favour, the religion and policy of the Court being perfectly in accord upon this point; and on their arrival in the Plata professors were chosen from them to open classes in the colleges of Buenos Ayres, Santa Fe, and St. Miguel. Thus reinforced, the missions continued to flourish, notwithstanding many and formidable obstacles. Great ravages were made among the converts by diseases, consequent upon the great and sudden change from a roving to a settled life; for these losses the Jesuits consoled themselves by reflecting that such seasons of mortality were the harvest-time of heaven. They had no such consolation in the evils which were brought upon them by the wickedness of man. The Spaniards of Villarica on one side kidnapped and enslaved the Indians; it was to avoid this danger that they fixed their establishments beyond the Paranapane and the Pirape; but by removing from one enemy they placed themselves within reach of another, for there they found themselves exposed to the Portugueze of St. Paulo

CHAP.  
 XXIII.  
 1617.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1618.

de Piratininga. Frequently they met with opposition among the Indians themselves, and had to contend against chiefs, who, possessing the pride and the power of savage heroism, regarded the inactivity of their reclaimed countrymen with contempt, and their submission with indignation; or against Payes, who employed every artifice to support the interests of their abominable craft. Sometimes an impostor of bolder character appeared. There came an Indian from Brazil to the Reduction of Loretto, with a man and a young woman in his company; he gathered the Guaranies about him, put on a cloak of feathers, which was the Payes' robe of ceremony, and took in his hand a *maraca*, not made as usual of a gourd, but of a goat's skull. Knowing enough of what the Jesuits preached to mingle some of their doctrines with his own impudent inventions, he proclaimed that he was absolute Lord of death, and of seed and harvest, and that to him all things were subject; he could destroy them with a breath, and with a breath re-create them: that he was three in person, and yet one God, for with the splendour of his countenance he had produced his companion, and the woman proceeded from them both. This speech he accompanied with yells, and menaces of destruction to all who should oppose him, shaking his rattle at F. Cataldino, and with antic gestures threatening to destroy him and his converts. The Jesuit, however, relying upon his authority over the Guaranies, ordered them to seize the impostor, and apply the whip, which in such cases is a certain remedy. As soon as the fellow felt it lustily laid on, he roared out that he was no God; but the beadle was not allowed to hold his hand till he had given him an hundred lashes, and the prescription was repeated on the second and third days, that as he had blasphemed the Trinity he might receive triple chastisement, and remember the number three. It is a curious conclusion of the story, that this juggler became and continued

an obedient convert, led for the remainder of his days an exemplary life, and closed it by an edifying death.

CHAP.  
XXIII.

1620.

*The govern-  
ment of Pa-  
raguay and  
the Plata  
separated.*

Some Indians from the Uruguay having heard of the Parana Reductions, and the happiness which the Christian Guaranies enjoyed in their new mode of life, went to Itapue for the purpose of seeing the state of things with their own eyes. Gonzalez received them there, and was so well satisfied with the impression which seemed to be made upon them, that it was determined to extend the Jesuits' settlements to the river from whence they came. Gonzalez accordingly founded a Reduction 1620. under the name of La Concepcion at Ibitaragua, and another was formed at Yaguapua, where F. Thomas de Urvenia was left, while Romero roamed about the country, and sent new converts in. At this time a great political change was made in these provinces, the government of the Plata being separated from that of Paraguay, and the dioceses divided at the same time; the Parana <sup>7</sup> was the boundary. The Parana and Guayra Reductions remained under the old government; those upon the Uruguay were subjected to the new, the seat of which was fixed at Buenos Ayres. It began most inauspiciously. A few days after the governor, D. Diego Gongora, had sailed from Lisbon to take possession of his appointment, information was given to the Council of the Indies that he had taken out smuggled goods in the ship with him, to accommodate some of his friends. Smuggling is one of those offences which oppressive restrictions naturally produce, and the thing was so common that no man in office had ever before been molested for it. The

<sup>7</sup> The Tebiquary, Charlevoix says; but his Latin translator corrects the error. The Tebiquary was the dividing line between the Reductions and the Spaniards of Paraguay.

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XXIII.  
1620.

information probably originated in malice, but it could not be overlooked, and a commissary named Melone was dispatched to Buenos Ayres, there to institute proceedings against him. Melone on his arrival found the new governor exceedingly popular; nothing indeed was more likely to make him so than the facility which he afforded to contraband trade; and the commissary, as soon as the object of his mission transpired, received a hint that measures would be taken for shipping him home again before he could execute it. He seems not to have been well fitted for an invidious charge; for having the commercial part of the people necessarily inimical to him, he quarrelled with the Jesuits also, and gave way to some sallies of anger, of which they who stood in fear of his judicial proceedings took advantage. They persuaded F. Gabriel Perlino, the Rector of the College, to exercise the privilege which his order possessed, of naming a *Juez Conservador*, who might at once protect the Jesuits against the commissary, and inhabilitate him from proceeding against the governor. Perlino, knowing little of the ways of men, was easily persuaded, and as easily led to choose one of those persons who had most reason for wishing to rid themselves of Melone; accordingly he passed a sentence against him, which compelled him to return to Spain. There he made his complaint to the Council of the Indies, and they, regarding the conduct of the *Juez Conservador* as an offence against their authority, complained to the General against Perlino. The case was flagrant: Vitelleschi immediately disapproved of what the Rector had done, deprived him of his Rectorship, declared him incapable of holding a superior's place, and ordered him to return to Peru, from whence he came. The other parties were not more fortunate. An *Oydor*, or Auditor, was sent out to take cognizance of the cause, and they were condemned in a fine of 80,000 crowns of gold.

The Guayra Reductions were at this time governed by Cataldino, and those of the Parana by Gonzalez, who had those of the Uruguay also under his orders. The governor of Buenos Ayres wished to have this latter river explored from its mouth to its source; none but a Jesuit could then make the attempt with any hope of safety, and Romero undertook it. He found savages who were naked and tattooed, whose hair hung half way down the body, and who lived by hunting and fowling. In spite of their menaces he persevered till he came to the first Guarani tribes, about an hundred leagues up; fifty more would have brought him to Concepcion, from whence he expected to get neophytes to conduct him to the source; but his people grew weary of the fatigue and danger of contending against such a stream, and they compelled him to return. The governor, D. Luiz de Cespedes, now requested that Gonzalez would come down the river to Buenos Ayres, and there concert measures for prosecuting the discovery. The Jesuit prevailed upon Niezu, the chief of the new Reduction, to accompany him with some of his countrymen, expecting that what they should see at Buenos Ayres would produce a good impression in favour of his Order. Their reception was well adapted to this effect; for when, after a voyage of twenty-five days, they arrived, the governor, with all the chief persons of the city, went out on horseback to meet them, and his two sons drew out a squadron of cavalry and a battalion of foot, and exercised them before the Indians: they were then conducted, with trumpets before them, to the house of the governor, and feasted there; after which they proceeded to the bishop's palace. The governor, to show these converts the reverence with which the Spaniards regarded the Princes of the Church, knelt on both knees before the bishop, remained speaking to him for some time in that posture, and kissed his hand. A treaty was now made with Niezu, who

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1623.

*A Guarani  
chief from  
the Reduc-  
tions taken  
to Buenos  
Ayres.*

*Charlevoix.*

CHAP. promised entire obedience to the King of Spain and his gover-  
 XXIII. nors, on condition that his people should not be compelled to  
 1626. serve the Spaniards, and that the Jesuits should be the only  
 persons commissioned to instruct them; the bishop and the  
 governor pledged themselves to these conditions, and formally  
 declared him first chief of all the Indians in the province of  
 Uruguay who should be converted. The bishop then invested  
 the Jesuits with all his authority, and the governor gave a pa-  
 tent to Gonzalez, empowering him and the Superiors of the  
 Company to establish Reductions throughout the whole extent  
 of his government: he presented him also with church furniture  
 and sacramental vessels for the two Reductions which were al-  
 ready established on the Uruguay; and Diogo Vera, a Portu-  
 gueze who traded with Buenos Ayres, gave a considerable sum  
 of money for compleating the buildings which had been begun  
 at those places. But though all due formalities were observed  
 in these transactions, it appeared that the governor and the Je-  
 suits did not understand each other: for Gonzalez on his return  
 having fixed upon the site for two new establishments, the go-  
 vernor appointed two Spaniards to take the superintendance of  
 them as *corregidores*, and named a third to the same paramount  
 office at Concepcion. The Indians, ignorant as they were, per-  
 ceived what would be the consequence of this policy; Niezu  
 absented himself; many of the converts declared that the en-  
 gagement into which their chief had entered was broken by the  
 other contracting party; the unreclaimed tribes in the surround-  
 ing country took arms to expel the Spaniards; and the Provin-  
 cial, F. Nicolas Durand Mastrilli, was obliged himself to hasten  
 and allay the growing discontent, which could only be appeased  
 by the governor's recalling the *corregidores*, and abstaining from  
 any farther interference.

Charlevoix,  
320-35.

The Jesuits  
enter the  
Tupé.

Gonzalez now entered the Serra de Tapé, a mountainous dis-

trict which bounds the province of Paraguay on the east, and extends about two hundred leagues east and west. The numerous streams that form the Ybicuy, which falls into the Uruguay, rise on the western side of this district, and on the eastward are the sources of the Yacuy, which forms the Laguna Grande de los Patos, called at it's mouth the Rio Grande de San Pedro. The Jesuits say that in this country, (which they describe as having all imaginable beauties of vale and mountain, under a genial climate,) there is an amphibious beast of prey called the Ao, in appearance somewhat resembling a sheep, but more ferocious than a tyger, and with teeth and claws not less formidable; when an Indian climbs a tree to escape from one of them, the creature either waits patiently under it till the prey drops with exhaustion, or by its cry collects others of its kind, who strive like so many beavers<sup>8</sup> to gnaw through the trunk. This Ao they suppose to be the Famacosio of early naturalists. They speak also of a little white bird called the Ringer<sup>9</sup>, because its loud note resembles the sound of a bell; of a species of low palm<sup>10</sup>, from the fibres of which is made a thread fine as silk; and of a tree called Escapu, from which after sunrise there falls a copious dew, like a shower. The Tapes, from whom the region took it's name, were of the Guarani stock, of gentle disposition, and more docile to the Jesuits than any other tribe in South America. They lived in populous villages, and were so

CHAP.  
XXII.  
1627.

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<sup>8</sup> Techo, Charlevoix, and Dobrizhoffer describe the Ao as digging at the root of the tree till the tree falls, . . . an impossible operation. The Latin translator of Charlevoix says, "*Non eradicat, sed grex totus truncum corrodere certat.*" This is scarcely more probable.

<sup>9</sup> In Brazil this bird is called *Ferreiro*, the blacksmith, its note precisely resembling the sound of a hammer on an anvil.

<sup>10</sup> The *Macaiba* of Brazil.

CHAP.  
XXIII.

1627.

*Techo, 84.  
Charlevoix,  
336—8.*

*Enmity of  
Tayaoba to  
the Spaniards.*

numerous, that Tapé in the Reductions became, like Guarani, a generic name, under which all minor distinctions were comprehended. At this time Gonzalez only reconnoitred the country. During this journey he delivered himself with admirable presence of mind from an imminent danger. The Tapes attacked him; his Indians bravely repelled the attack, but the enemies came on with fresh numbers, and there was no longer any hope of withstanding them. The Jesuit upon this took in one hand the pruning-hook which he carried for the purpose of cutting a tree into a cross when such a standard was wanted, and his breviary in the other, . . . opened the book, and advanced toward the savages reading it aloud: as he expected, they supposed him to be conjuring, and took to flight.

Upon his return the affairs of the missions prospered, new Reductions were formed, and converts multiplied. There was a Guarani chief in Guayra, by name Tayaoba, who had long been the dread of the Spaniards, bearing them a proper hatred, because of a villanous act which they had committed against him. A commissary from Asumpcion some years before had invited him with three other warriors to Villarica, and there put them in irons, in order to make them ransom themselves by furnishing a certain number of slaves. Threats and stripes were tried in vain; with a magnanimity which cannot be too highly extolled, they chose rather to die than thus minister to the avarice of their base betrayers; and the three warriors actually expired of hunger in their prison. Tayaoba escaped in his fetters, and vowed vengeance upon every Spaniard who should fall into his hands. From time to time attempts were made to conciliate him, but he suffered no Spanish messengers to approach, and when Indians were sent upon this errand he seized and devoured them. His exploits acquired him the name of Tayaoba Guazu among his tribes-men, who were some of the fiercest of their

race; their arrows were headed with the bones of those whom they had slain, and in weaning their children the first food which was substituted for the mother's milk was the flesh of an enemy. Montoya ventured to preach to these people; but when he said he was come to instruct them how to escape those eternal torments to which they must otherwise be condemned, they replied he was a liar if he said they were to be eternally tormented; and they let fly a volley of arrows upon him and his attendants. Seven of his Indians were killed, he took to flight with the rest; and the savages, having devoured those who fell, expressed their sorrow that they had not tasted priest's flesh at the feast, and had the Jesuit's skull for a cup.

A chief called Pindobe, not long before, had lain in wait for Montoya for the purpose of eating him. This man going out with a party of his allies and tribesmen to gather the leaves of the Caa, or herb of Paraguay, in the use of which they delighted, was attacked by Tayaoba on his return, and escaped with only three of his companions. Weary of the cannibal warfare in which he was engaged with his neighbours, (his mother having lately been captured and devoured, and he himself having so narrowly escaped the same fate,) he thought it advisable to seek the protection of the Jesuits, who were now becoming a formidable power among the tribes of Paraguay. Accordingly, he invited them to settle in his country, and gave them a dwelling-place, which was fortified with a trench and a palisade; the cross was planted here, several names were put into an urn, and that of The Incarnation being drawn, was given to the new Reduction, in which ere long more than a thousand families were collected. F. Christoval Mendoza was appointed to superintend it. Pindobe's enemies collected, and sent a young man to discover his strength: the spy was suspected, seized, and tortured to make him reveal the designs of his countrymen; he bore

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1627.

Techo, 51.  
Charlevoix,  
330.

Pindobe  
puts himself  
under the  
protection of  
the Jesuits.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1627.

the torture<sup>11</sup> courageously, and denied all knowledge of any hostile purposes. The Jesuit was present at the scene, and giving up all hope of discovering any thing, took up the breviary to say his office; upon which the young savage, either believing that the book revealed all things, or that some dreadful conjuration was about to be performed, of his own accord declared for what he had been sent, and the enemies' designs were thus detected and frustrated.

Techo, 58.

Tayaoba is  
converted.

Even Tayaoba and his people were impressed by the character which the Jesuits had acquired, and this fierce warrior sent two of his sons secretly to the Reduction of S. Francisco Xavier, to see whether what he had heard of these establishments were true. They were discovered there, and being interrogated concerning their business with conciliatory kindness by F. Francisco Diaz Taño, they acknowledged that it was to examine what was the real manner of life of the priests and their converts; that they were well pleased with what they had seen, and that they would advise their father to receive the Jesuits. Being well clothed and dismissed, they performed their promise, and Montoya in happier hour made a second mission to the tribe by which he had formerly been so ill received. A new Reduction was marked out upon the river Guebay, and called the Seven Archangels: Tayaoba was invested with all the forms and titles usual on such occasions, twenty-eight of his infant children were baptized, and he and the adults of his family were placed under a preparatory course of instruction. The conversion of this chief made many of his former admirers regard him with abhorrence, and his old Payes soon succeeded in stirring up against him a formidable force. Tayaoba and the other war-

<sup>11</sup> Charlevoix does not chuse to mention this; but says of Mendoza on this occasion, "*il se tira habilement de tous les pieges qu'on lui tendit.*" T. 1, p. 346.

rriors upon their approach requested that Montoya would no longer delay their baptism, and he accordingly baptized them, as a proper precaution in such danger: they then marched out and attacked the enemy, but with ill success, so that they were fain to retreat to the place where the foundations of the new Reduction were laid, and wait for a more propitious season. The people of Villarica took advantage of this, and under pretence of revenging Tayaoba, sent a detachment against his enemies upon a slaving party. Montoya perfectly understood their motive, and remonstrated against it, representing that the King's edicts expressly forbade them to make war upon the Indians of Guayra, and that such measures would necessarily impede the progress of the missions. He was disregarded, and could then think of no better course than to accompany the expedition himself, in the hope of preventing, or at least mitigating the evil which he apprehended. The chief force consisted of converts; they were again outnumbered, and compelled to entrench themselves; and then they were indebted for their preservation to a stratagem which implies a great want of sagacity in all these tribes. The Indians, it seems, made no great provision of arrows, but relied upon picking up those which were exchanged in action. Montoya knowing this, persuaded his people to receive the enemies' discharge without returning it; the assailants thus disarmed themselves, and then took to flight. Among the spoils of the field was a large pot of maize and meat, from which Montoya's people brought him a portion, and he ate it, believing it to be venison; but when they came to the bottom of the vessel a human head and hands were found, and recognized for those of a man who used to attend him at the altar, and who had fallen in the last battle. The enemy soon returned in great numbers, and blockaded Montoya and the Villarican soldiers; the latter proposed to force their way

*Villainy of  
the Spaniards of  
Villarica.*

CHAP. through, hoping to succeed by means of their fire-arms. The  
 XXIII. converts hearing this, came to Montoya and said, that when the  
 1627. Spaniards had opened a way they ought to take advantage of  
 it, strike into the woods, and return home; for they had taken  
 the field for his sake, and not for that of the Villaricans; but  
 he persuaded them not to abandon the Spaniards, and they  
 yielded to his advice. The consequence had nearly proved fa-  
 tal: for the assailants immediately afterwards made an attack,  
 and again exhausted their arrows against the palisade: a sally  
 then put them to flight, and the opportunity for retreating was  
 seized: but the commander of the Spaniards, that he might  
 not return empty-handed, formed the execrable intention of en-  
 slaving the very Indians who had assisted him and stood by him  
 in the hour of need; he meant to accuse them of having led  
 Montoya and the Villaricans into this danger for the purpose  
 of betraying them, and to begin by hanging two of their leaders.  
 The Jesuit obtained timely intimation of this projected villany,  
 and on the evening before it was to be executed he secretly order-  
 ed the converts to take to the woods during the night, and meet  
 him on a certain day at a place appointed. The commandant,  
 surprized at not seeing them in the morning, demanded of Mon-  
 toya where they were, and was answered, that as the Spaniards  
 had no farther need of them he had advised them to return:  
 upon which the ruffian significantly replied, "You have given  
 them very good advice, Father." After this second disappoint-  
 ment he returned to Villarica. The hostile tribes now directed  
 their fury against each other. One chief, who had promised his  
 wives to treat them with Montoya's legs, was killed; some others  
 were found in the woods beaten to death with clubs, and others  
 came to the *boucan* in the course of war. Meantime the Re-  
 duction of the Seven Archangels flourished in peace, and ere  
 long, of eighty Royalets in the district not less than threescore  
 favoured the new religion.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1628.

*The Dutch  
land hereti-  
cal papers.*

*Techo, 63.  
Charlevoix,  
349.*

*The Jesuits  
enter the  
Caro,*

*and various  
other parts of  
the country.*

A reinforcement of about forty Jesuits now arrived at Buenos Ayres, having with difficulty escaped a Dutch cruiser which was waiting for them. This Dutchman sent on shore several copies of a manifesto printed in Holland, in the Spanish tongue, and addressed to the inhabitants of Paraguay and the Plata, urging them to throw off the yoke of Spain and of the Pope, and offering them assistance for this purpose. These papers were all carried to the governor, and it was debated whether they should be circulated; for many persons were of opinion that nothing would be so likely to excite a general indignation against the Dutch. But Mastrilli the Provincial argued, that such thoughts could never be put into the multitude without danger; and therefore as the safer course the papers were destroyed. Among the brethren who now came out was F. Nicolas Henard, who had been page to Henri IV.

The Jesuits were at this time very desirous of extending their settlements toward the East, for the purpose of opening a communication with the sea. It was for this reason that Gonzalez had reconnoitred the mountainous region of the Tapé, and with the same view he now entered what was called the Caro, a track of country possessed by the Caaroans, and lying about twelve leagues from the Uruguay, in a direct road toward the coast. Rodriguez accompanied him; their coming was expected; a number of the Royalets had assembled to receive them: they planted the cross, marked out the ground for a church, baptized the infants, and began to trace out a Reduction, little thinking that at this very time a combination of the natives was on the point of breaking out against them. The prime mover was a certain Potirava, who having been a member of the Reduction of Xavier, had left it with a mortal hatred toward the Jesuits for the restraints which they imposed upon him, and perhaps for the chastisements which he had undergone. Niezu, the

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1628.

1628.

1628.

1628.

where two  
of them are  
murdered.

chief who had been entertained with such flattery and politic distinctions at Buenos Ayres, was by this time weary of his connection with the Jesuits: he had discovered, that whatever other advantages he might derive from his new mode of life, he had exchanged a real for a nominal authority; and learning from the example of his spiritual instructors what power was attached to the priestly character among a credulous people, he began to play the impostor, and lay claim to inspiration, or divinity. He had not yet, however, openly quarrelled with the fathers, (though the change in his disposition and conduct had been noticed,) when Potirava came to make him the instrument of his revenge: he represented to him the disgrace of putting away his women, and living like a slave under the orders of the Jesuits, who, he said, would soon succeed in actually enslaving him, if he did not use vigorous measures for preventing them. An extensive combination was presently formed among those savages who preferred the old way of life to the new, and the Caaroans, among whom and with whom Gonzalez and Rodriguez were founding the Reduction of All Saints, were privy to the design. The church was nearly finished; Gonzalez had performed mass, and after this ceremony assembled the Indians to hang the church-bell. While he was stooping to affix the rope to it, one blow from a *macana* laid him lifeless upon the ground, and a second beat out his brains. The yell which the murderers set up brought out Rodriguez from an adjoining hut, and he was in like manner murdered: the bodies were mangled, dragged about in triumph, and finally burnt with the church, the church ornaments, and images. A martyrdom among catholic church-historians is incomplete without a miracle; and these being the protomartyrs of Paraguay, the miraculous accompaniments were the more to be expected, and the less to be dispensed with. F. Charlevoix, writing in France, and in the

favoured the new religion.

middle of the eighteenth century, affirms, upon the juridical testimony of a great number of eye-witnesses, that when the Indians, after their feast, returned to the fire, they found the bodies almost uninjured, and to their greater astonishment, a voice which seemed to proceed from the heart of Gonzalez distinctly addressed them thus: "I loved you tenderly, and you have rewarded me for my tenderness with a cruel death! but you have only had power over my body, and my soul enjoys the glory of the saints in heaven. Your parricide will cost you dear, and my children will signally avenge the unworthy treatment which you have offered to the image of the Mother of God. Yet I will not abandon you, and you shall still experience my love!" It is observable, that as miracles are always related on these occasions, so they are always without effect upon those who witness them. Caarupé, the leader in the murder, instead of being moved by the prodigy, gave orders to open the Jesuit's breast and rip out the heart; holding it up, he cried, "Behold, this is the heart which has just threatened us!" He then, says the legend, twice stabbed it with an arrow, and cast it into a second fire which was kindled to consume the remains of the bodies. Two youths, who waited on the Jesuits at the altar, were spared by the murderers, and carried the tidings to Romero at Candelaria, the nearest Reduction. The people here, who were of the tribe called Caasapaminianes, cried out for vengeance; Romero told them the blood of the martyrs was not to be avenged by blood: but, he added, it would be a great testimony of their affection if they would recover the remains of the holy dead. A party of two hundred went for the purpose, and brought away the half-burnt bodies: they brought also, (say the Jesuit writers) the heart, which bore no traces of fire, and the arrow wherewith it had been pierced. In the course of a few days Caarupé attempted to surprize Candelaria, but Ro-

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1628.

Techo, 64.  
Charlevoix,  
353-6.

CHAP.  
XXIII.

1628.

*Niezu un-  
baptizes the  
converts.*

mero put himself on horseback at the head of the converts, and routed the invaders.

As soon as Niezu knew that Gonzalez and Rodriguez had been killed, he put on a cloak of feathers, assembled the people, extinguished the fires, and then, with a *maraca* in his hand, declared that F. Juan de Castillo, a young Jesuit who had lately taken charge of a Reduction in his country called Asumpcion, must be put to death. "Tygers of these woods," he exclaimed, "sharpen your teeth, and tear to pieces a man who has wronged me. If you refuse I will return to the sky, and arm the elements against you, as well as my enemies." Immediately they set off to murder Castillo, Potirava and Quarabay, the father of one of Niezu's wives, heading them. On the way they fell in with some Indians who were in search of Gonzalez, wishing to be admitted into one of the Reductions: they offered to guide these converts, and introducing them to Castillo, asked for the present which was customary on such occasions. As soon as he had distributed his gifts they seized him; he implored them to spare his life, saying they might take all he had and keep him as their slave: but they made answer it was his life they wanted; and dragging him along, half dead, with a rope, in this manner they miserably killed him with innumerable blows. Niezu soon arrived to enjoy his triumph, and unbaptize the children of the Reduction. This curious ceremony was performed by washing the head with hot water, rubbing sand upon the tongue, and scraping it with a shell, to bring clean away any remains of the salt with which it had been touched; and that the desecration might be complete, he drest himself for the office by putting on the Paye's cloak over the sacerdotal robes of the Jesuit. He demolished the church vessels, set fire to the church, and told his people that from this day forward the land was their own again; they need no longer fear that their country

*Techo, 65.  
Charlevoix,  
359.*

would be laid waste; they might now take as many wives as they liked, as their fathers had done before them; and for himself, he added, his divinity would not be disputed now.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1628.

*The confederacy is defeated.*

From hence he proceeded to S. Nicolas upon the Piratini. The two Jesuits had retired in time to Concepcion; their house was destroyed, and it is affirmed that Niezu vainly and perseveringly attempted to set fire to the thatch of the church. While his followers were thus employed, the men of the Reduction rallied, attacked them, and put them to flight. This encouraged the people of Concepcion, but the alarm was very great. Niezu's plans had been widely extended; he was stirring up all the eastern tribes, and there was evidently a great and general struggle against the growing dominion of the Jesuits. Messengers were dispatched to all the Reductions and Spanish towns far and near, to represent the danger, and intreat assistance. Meantime F. Diego de Alfaro accompanied a converted chief called Nienguir, with eight hundred men, against this formidable enemy, rightly judging that the sooner he was attacked the less difficult it would be to subdue him. Upon coming in sight of the hostile forces, Alfaro demanded that Niezu and all who had been concerned in the murders should be delivered up to justice. A discharge of arrows was the reply; but the savages, who seem to have been taken by surprize, were easily defeated, and Niezu displayed no courage in the moment of danger, being one of the first to fly. He escaped across the Uruguay, and such was the terror which he had inspired, that the Reductions were always in dread of his reappearance, till after some years it was ascertained that he had been killed by a wandering horde. The strength of the confederacy was not yet broken, and great exertions were made over the whole country to suppress it. Manoel Cabral Alpino, a wealthy Portuguese who was settled at Corrientes, brought a troop of Spanish horsemen

CHAP. at his own charge; forces came from all the Reductions, and  
 XXIII. from the less fortunate Indian townships under Franciscan ma-  
 1628. nagement, where the *Encomienda* system was established. F.  
 Diego Boroa, the Rector at Asumpcion, who acted in the ab-  
 sence of the Provincial, tried in vain to obtain aid from the  
 government; he then raised men at the Company's cost, and  
 came with them in person. As soon as these forces were col-  
 lected, they hastened under Cabral's command toward Candela-  
 ria, where Romero was now threatened by the Caaroans. Here  
 a speedy victory was obtained by the horsemen, and it was the  
 more joyful, because the chiefs who had been most active in the  
 murders were made prisoners. Twelve of these were executed.  
 Potivera escaped from the battle, but was delivered up by those  
 from whom he expected protection, and he also suffered death.  
 The Jesuits, as they themselves assert, would fain have prevent-  
 ed these executions, and it was only through their intercession  
 that many other criminals were pardoned; they were consoled  
 for not saving the rest by seeing that all the sufferers, except  
 Caarupé, died like sincere penitents. Still farther were they  
 delighted by the attestations to the miracle of Gonzalez's heart,  
 which were now procured in order to be produced as authentic  
 evidence before the Court of Rome, when the canonization of  
 these martyrs should be sued for. Among other things it was  
 deposed, that upon every hand which had been dipt in the blood  
 of the Jesuits there had arisen pustules, from whence a stench  
 arose intolerable even to the criminals themselves, and which they  
 could not but acknowledge as a visible mark of divine displea-  
 sure. The conquerors returned to Concepcion with a procession,  
 which was at once funeral and triumphal. Festal arches were  
 erected, and bonfires kindled along the way. The coffins con-  
 taining the holy remains were borne alternately by Indian chiefs  
 and Spanish officers, Jesuits going on both sides, who came from

Honours  
 paid to the  
 martyrs.

all parts to assist at the solemnity. Then came the army in order of battle, and their prisoners with them; the children of the Reduction next, then the women, the men after them, and lastly the chiefs. The bodies were interred at Concepcion, but the heart of Gonzalez, and the arrow with which it had been stabbed, were sent to Rome. They were with some difficulty preserved from the people of Asumpcion on the way; for there also they would have relics of the martyrs, and were very desirous to obtain a portion of the heart. A solemn service was performed in that city in honour of these events. Gonzalez was a native of Asumpcion, and one of his brothers (a canon of the cathedral) chaunted the Te Deum in thanksgiving that the crown of martyrdom had been vouchsafed to him. The feeling which is called forth on these occasions ennobles and almost sanctifies the superstition with which it is connected.

These late events were highly favourable to the growing influence of the Jesuits. Savages are accustomed to the contempt of death; but for what followed upon the death of the missionaries they were unprepared, and it impressed them with astonishment. They readily believed whatever miracles were reported, and the public rejoicings for the fate of those who had been exalted to the honours of martyrdom, (rejoicings in which all classes of men partook,) and the confidence with which not only the Jesuits and the converts, but all the Spaniards, relied upon the patronage and intercession of these new saints, affected them as much by its strangeness as its sincerity. Nor could they contemplate without astonishment the conduct of the Jesuits, their disinterested enthusiasm, their indefatigable perseverance, and the privations and dangers which they endured, for no earthly reward. They who had only heard of these wonderful men became curious of seeing them; but they who once came within the influence of such superior minds, and felt the

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1629.

*Techo, 66.  
Charlevoix,  
359—62.*

*Growing  
power of the  
Jesuits.*

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1629.

contagion of example, were not long before they submitted to the gainful sacrifice of their old superstitions. The system, though it had hardly yet attained that perfect form which it afterwards acquired, had taken root, and was rapidly flourishing, when it was assailed by the Paulistas of Brazil, an enemy equally formidable and unexpected. From that very spot where Anchieta had devoted his days and nights to preparing the way for the conversion of the savages, the most implacable and ferocious opposition to the missionaries was to proceed.

*The Paulistas.*

The Paulistas have acted so memorable a part in Brazil and Paraguay that it becomes of importance to trace their history distinctly, and clear it from fables and misrepresentations. When the Portugueze first began to think seriously of occupying Brazil, both the government and the respective donatories were desirous of confining the colonists to the coast; the great object of their speculations being a return of produce, this could not be obtained from the interior of an uncleared and savage country; nor could the population of Portugal afford adventurers in sufficient number to expose them to that perpetual warfare with which in inland situations they were threatened on all sides. For this reason the donatories were empowered to found as many towns as they pleased upon the coast, or upon navigable rivers; but if they made settlements in the interior such settlements were not to be less than six leagues distant from each other, . . . a regulation which seems intended as an indirect prohibition. For the same reason it was among the instructions which the first governor-general, Thomé de Sousa, brought out, that no person should trade in the interior without a special permission. It was not possible to people the coasts and the interior at once; if the latter were preferred, the failure of that commerce, the importance of which was duly felt at Lisbon, was foreseen; and perhaps it was perceived also, that as colonists

*Gaspar da Madre de Deus Memorias, 1, 5*  
118.

are removed from intercourse with the mother country, their attachment to it is lessened, and their obedience becomes insecure.

But this system of colonial policy was only practicable as far as it coincided with the inclination of the colonists. Ramalho, whom Martim Affonso de Sousa had found residing in the Campo<sup>12</sup>, or Fields of Piratininga, and who made an alliance between his countrymen and the natives, was of course permitted to remain there, and he with his family established what at that time was called a *Força*, or strong house. The advantages of this situation soon became so generally known, that Dona Anna Pimentel, the wife of Martim Affonso, acting for her husband, (who was then governor in India,) and probably yielding to the wishes of the colonists, revoked the existing prohibitions, and allowed all persons to settle there. From that time the settlements on this part of the coast began to decay; St. Vicente gradually became depopulated, and the flourishing trade of Santos with Angola and with the mother country declined, and ceased at length. But the settlers in the delightful fields of Piratininga increased so rapidly, that nine years after the prohibition had been removed, Thomé de Sousa gave permission to form a township, on condition that before the charter was granted a fortification should be made there, with a trench, and four redoubts (*baluartes*) mounted with artillery. These works, and also a church and a prison, Ramalho made at his own cost. He had allied himself with the Goayanazes by taking the daughter

CHAP.  
XXIII  
1532

Foundation  
of the city  
of Paulo.

Vol. 1, p.  
34.

1544.

Gaspar da  
Madre de  
Dios, 1, §  
119.

<sup>12</sup> The word does not imply, but was intended to signify an open country, in distinction from the *mato*, or woodland. The country about St. Paulo is indeed so far from being a plain country, that I have heard it described as resembling Cintra.

CHAP. of Tebyreça, one of their Royalets, and as she is called Isabel, it  
 XXIII. seems probable that he had married her : but his sons are spo-  
 1553. ken of as though their names were Legion, so that he had evi-  
 dently conformed to the custom of the Indians, by taking as  
 many women as suited his inclination or his interest. The for-  
 tifications, such as they were, having been completed, Antonio  
 de Oliveira, the lieutenant of the Donatory, went up to the  
 Serra, and planted the *Pellourinho* in Ramalho's settlement,  
 thereby erecting it into a township, with all the appendant  
 privileges, under the name of Villa de Santo André, or St. An-  
 drew's Town, Ramalho being appointed *Alcaide Mor* : he had  
 previously been *Guarda Mor* of the Campo.

April 8,  
 1553.

*Gaspar da  
 Madre de  
 Deus, 1, §  
 158.*

S. André stood about half a league from the Borda or edge  
 of the Campo, on what is at present called the Fazenda de S.  
 Bernardo, a property belonging to the convent of S. Bento in  
 the city of St. Paulo. The river Tyete<sup>13</sup> flows through this re-  
 gion, and receives the Piratininga, a smaller stream which gives  
 name to the Campo, and is itself so called from the number of  
 fish which after a fresh its retiring waters leave on the shore  
 to be parched by the sun. On the banks of this smaller stream,  
 Tebyreça, or Martim Affonso as he was called after his baptism,  
 had his dwelling. But when Nobrega had resolved to transfer  
 the Jesuits' college from St. Vicente to this place, he fixed upon  
 an eminence between the river Tamandoatey and the brook An-  
 hamgabau, three leagues from S. André ; and Tebyreça, with  
 Cay-Uby, another converted chief, and their people, were per-  
 suaded to remove thither also, the former erecting his huts upon  
 the spot where the convent of S. Bento stands at present. Here  
 they erected a church, such as they could ; and as the first mass

*Diogo de  
 Toledo Lara  
 Ordonez.  
 Note ad  
 Anchieta,  
 3.  
 Vol. 1, p.  
 385.*

*Sim. de  
 Vasc. C. C.  
 § 152.*

<sup>13</sup> Formerly called by the Portuguese Rio Grande, and Anhambi.

happened to be performed upon the day on which the church commemorates the Conversion of St. Paul, that Apostle was chosen for the patron saint of the church and the new settlement, which was thenceforth called S. Paulo. This was too near S. André for both to flourish: and Ramalho and his Mameluco generation regarded it with an evil eye, not only because men who lived in open and habitual violation of the precepts and institutions of christianity were necessarily inimical to those who contended for the observance of these duties, but also because they felt that their own rising town lost its importance, and apprehended the consequences which soon ensued. The Jesuits possessed the favour of the Governor, and were at that time highly popular. Nobrega represented to Mem de Sa that the site of S. André was ill chosen, being on the borders of the Campo, and therefore exposed to attacks from the adjoining woods; whereas S. Paulo being in the open country, was in no danger of surprize; so he advised that the *Pellourinho* and the charter should be transferred, adding as another reason that there was no priest at S. André to administer the sacraments, and that both the political and religious inconveniences would be remedied by the proposed removal. Accordingly, as Ramalho and his family had feared, the transfer was made, and the *Pellourinho* planted in front of the Jesuits' college. He had less reason to complain than the ill-fated natives. They seeing this new influx of Portuguezé, and that day after day more of their lands were appropriated by these strangers, removed their habitations. The donatory, after a few years, allotted to each of the two tribes a track of six square leagues: the allotment was sufficient in extent if it had been respected; but successive encroachments were made, though in every grant which was subsequently accorded to a Portuguezé the rights of these Indians were expressly reserved;

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1553.

1560.

1581.

Gaspar da  
Madre de  
Dios Memo-  
rias, 1, §  
164.  
Diogo de  
Toledo, N.  
1.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1581.

and it is said that at present the miserable descendants of these people scarcely possess any portion of the land which had been their fathers'. In 1581 the seat of Government for the Captaincy was removed from S. Vicente to S. Paulo.

Such was the foundation of this city. The accounts of its inhabitants, given by their Jesuit enemies, and by their Portuguese apologists, may well be reconciled, widely as they differ, by admitting both; the crimes and the services of the Paulistas were both of the greatest magnitude, and it is easy to distinguish the language<sup>14</sup> of exaggeration and falsehood by its absurdity. The city was by its situation<sup>15</sup> almost cut off from any intercourse with other towns: it had little or no communication with Portugal, no trade for want of outlets; but it had every advantage of soil and climate. To such a place adventurers, deserters, and fugitives from justice would naturally resort; they connected themselves with Indian women, and the mixture of native blood, which every where in Brazil was very great, was perhaps greater here than in any other part. This mixture improved the race, for the European spirit of enterprize developed itself in constitutions adapted to the country. But the Mamalucos grew up without any restrictions of law or of religion. Law indeed

Vol. 1, p.  
262.

<sup>14</sup> Writers not acquainted with the history of Brazil might some years ago have been excused for saying that "St. Paulo is a kind of independant republic, composed of the banditti of several nations, who pay a tribute of gold to the King of Portugal," .. but such an error is hardly excusable now. And the assertion that "virtuous actions were carefully punished with death among the Paulistas," is so grossly and extravagantly absurd, that it is marvellous how any writer should have been unthinking enough to advance, or any reader credulous enough to believe the impossible assertion!

<sup>15</sup> The only road to it from the coast was described even so recently as 1797, as being "perhaps the very worst in the world." It has since been much improved.

can scarcely be said to have existed in a land where any man committed what murders he pleased with impunity; and for religion . . . its place was supplied by a gross idolatry, which had so little effect upon the conduct of its votaries, that while they were committing the most flagrant and flagitious crimes they believed themselves good catholics still, and had a lively faith in the Virgin Mary and the Saints.

There were two objects which the Paulistas pursued with indefatigable activity, . . . the Indian slave-trade and the search for mines. When the Jesuits first entered Brazil the natives were exceedingly numerous along the coast. Thomé de Sousa, to express their multitudes, said to the King, that if they were killed for the market there would be no end of them. But as the colonists grew stronger, and established more sugar-works, they became more tyrannical, and acted as if the natives were a race of inferior animals, created merely for their use. Many of these injured people pined away in slavery, others were consumed with hard labour and merciless usage, and those who escaped captivity fled into the interior, nor did they think themselves secure there till they were four or five hundred miles from the sea. Wherever the Portuguese were numerous this destruction of the natives had taken place. The Jesuits, still pursuing the system which Nobrega and Anchieta had begun, when they no longer found employment for their zeal upon the coast, sought out the natives in their recesses; these journeys sometimes were the work of from six to eighteen months. The character which they had obtained frequently induced the savages to listen to them, and follow them to the coast. The slave-hunters took advantage of this, disguised themselves like Jesuits, and by this worst species of sacrilege frequently decoyed the natives. It was in vain that the Court issued edict after edict in favour of the Jesuits and in behalf of the Indians; the very

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1581.

*Destruction  
of the na-  
tives in  
Brazil.*

CHAP.  
XXIII.  

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1581.

persons whose duty it was to see these edicts executed were often deeply engaged in the guilt which they were called upon to punish and prevent. This conduct was not less impolitic than wicked. Had the plans of Nobrega been supported by succeeding governors as they were by Thomé de Sousa and Mem de Sa, the colonists would never have been in want of free labourers; but by their tyranny they so completely dispeopled the coast, (except where the savages by fierce and continual war had acquired the command,) that had it not been for the persevering zeal of the missionaries the colonies could not, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, have maintained themselves, nor could they have been defended against the attacks of the English freebooters by the scanty European population.

*Guerreiro,*  
*Rel. Ann.*  
*1603, p.*  
*113.*

*Expeditions*  
*of the Pau-*  
*listas in*  
*search of*  
*slaves and*  
*of mines.*

The effect of this wicked mispolicy was severely felt during the Dutch war; for if the enemy had not found allies among the tribes from Pernambuco and the Potengi, they could not so long have held their ground, nor have so greatly endangered the existence of the Portuguese in Brazil. During that war the southern provinces were not attacked, and consequently Rio de Janeiro flourished more than it could possibly have done had Bahia and Pernambuco continued in peace. But the loss of the African possessions severely affected this part of the country: the Portuguese could no longer procure slaves; the stock of natives within their reach had been consumed; there remained no resource but from the interior; and from the interior the Paulistas supplied them. Nothing can be said to justify the Paulistas, scarcely any thing to palliate their atrocious conduct: but besides the principles which are common to all slave-traders, there were some peculiar circumstances by which they were influenced. The Mamalucos, who were the germ, and indeed the bulk of the population, were bred up in the hereditary hatred

of their mother's tribe, and followed the instinct of a perverted nature in hunting down men whom they considered as their natural enemies; the Paulistas in general, when they allied themselves with the tribes whom they found in the Campo de Piratininga, naturally adopted their enmities, and became as a matter of course their allies in war: and it should be remembered that savages will always for their cruelty be regarded by a more civilized race rather as wild beasts than as men, and especially if they are cannibals, like almost all the Brazilian tribes. Their expeditions in quest of slaves sometimes lasted for years. Any resolute adventurer, like his countryman Garcia, only with more companions of his own colour, would put himself at the head of an army of confederate savages, and set out boldly to explore the country. It had never been doubted that there were mines in the interior, and Government had from time to time attempted to discover them, just with sufficient success to make it certain that mines were in existence. But the Paulistas were indefatigable in the search: with them mine-hunting and slave-hunting went together; the party that was strong enough for security was strong enough for offence; and a herd of Indians repaid them for a bootless expedition in quest of gold. They relied for sustenance on the way upon the pine-nuts, which were the common food of the savages in this part of the country, (the most fertile in Brazil,) and which Cabeza de Vaca had found so serviceable in his march. They were eaten either crude, roasted, or boiled. When these freebooters left the pine-country behind them, they were expert enough in hunting and fishing to be seldom in want of food. There grew also a species of palm here, from which they prepared a flour in the same manner as from mandioc, and which seems to have been used in these expeditions, because it is called *farinha de guerra*, or war-meal.

The Jesuits opposed the Indian slave-trade with the zeal of

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1581.

Vol. 1, 109.

Sim. de  
Fasc. Vida  
de Joam de  
Almeida,  
3, 1, § 2, 3.

CHAP.  
XXIII.

1581.

*Enmity between the Paulistas and the Jesuits.*

men who knew that they were doing their duty ; never had men a better cause, and never did men engage in any cause with more heroic ardour. Hence, from the first foundation of St. Paulo, they made the Mamalucos, and indeed the greater part of the people, their implacable enemies. It was reason enough for the Paulistas to regard with a hostile feeling the Reductions in Guayra, because they were founded by this hated order ; and the feeling was exasperated by another cause, which the Jesuits ought to have foreseen. When Felipe II. accomplished the usurpation of Portugal, no attempt was made toward uniting the kingdoms as well as the crowns ; a short-sighted and shallow policy sought to secure to each country the exclusive advantage of its colonies. But the boundaries in South America had never been defined. This uncertainty was favourable to the Portugueze ; they possessed in the Paulistas a race of men even more enterprizing than the first discoverers, while among the Spaniards of Paraguay all activity and all enterprize were extinct. After Nuflo de Chaves, scarcely an attempt was made to extend their settlements or their discoveries. But the system which Ortega and Filds introduced, after the example of their brethren in Brazil, produced an important change ; the Jesuits were continually extending their establishments and their views, and unhappily for their converts and themselves, they extended them eastwards, into a country which the Paulistas considered as belonging to Portugal<sup>16</sup>, and more

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<sup>16</sup> Fr. Gaspar da Madre de Deos (§ 165) quotes Vaissette, (*Hist. Geograf. Ecclesiast. et Civil. T. 12. p. 215, edition 1755*) as saying, that the Captaincy of S. Vicente is bounded on the west by the Paraguay, . . . and argues from this that that author ought to allow that all between the sea and that river belonged of right to the Crown of Portugal, as the Paulistas maintained. I strongly suspect that Vaissette means the *Province* and not the *River*, and that his meaning cannot have been *misunderstood*.

peculiarly as their own mining and slaving ground. Certain it is, that if they had not taken the alarm, the Spaniards would have possessed themselves of the coast of Brazil south of Parnagua, and that in the interior the mines of Goyazes, Mato Grosso, and Cuyaba would have been appropriated by Spain instead of Portugal.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1629.

*Gaspar da  
Madre de  
Deos, p.  
120, note.*

The Paulistas began their war against the Reductions in 1629, at which time twenty-one had been formed. They fell upon that of the Incarnation in Guayra, but apparently in no great force, and Montoya, being upon the spot, succeeded in intimidating or persuading them to take another route. It proved only a short respite. About this time D. Luiz de Cespedes came out as governor of Paraguay. There had been an express order that all persons going to that country should proceed by way of Buenos Ayres, the passage overland from Brazil being prohibited, as likely to give occasion to quarrels with the Indians; D. Luiz however obtained permission to make the journey. The country was now better known than in Cabeza de Vaca's time, and taking a directer road, he past through S. Paulo just as a formidable expedition was preparing against the Reductions: the force is said to have consisted of nine hundred Paulistas, and about two thousand Tupim Indians, under Antonio Raposo, a distinguished leader in such enterprizes. The governor, after a few days' journey from that city, embarked upon a river which brought him to Loretto, and there he rested awhile; but though he had seen the preparations at S. Paulo, and Montoya, knowing but too surely where the blow would fall, besought him to give them troops for their protection, he refused, upon the pretext of having none to spare. On this occasion the Paulistas found a plea for their hostilities, which probably seemed satisfactory to men whose understandings had been corrupted by their hearts. A Chief, by name Tataurana,

*The Paulistas attack  
the Reductions.*

CHAP.  
XXIII  
1629.

having once been taken by a party of these slave-hunters, under Simam Alvarez, made his escape, and took refuge in the Reduction of S. Antonio. Alvarez, who commanded a detachment in the present expedition, learnt where he was, and demanded that he should be delivered up; but the Jesuit Mola, who presided there, replied, he could not give up to slavery a man who had escaped from it, having been born free, and who was under the King's protection. This reply was communicated to Raposo, and Mola, foreseeing that an attack upon the settlement would be the consequence, set about what in his opinion was the most urgent business of preparation, and baptized all whom he thought in a state for baptism upon such an emergency . . . a work which he continued for seven hours, till he had no longer strength to raise his arm, and therefore it was lifted for him. The attack was made; the place was sacked; they who attempted to resist were butchered, even at the foot of the altar, and above five and twenty hundred Indians were driven away as slaves. The remonstrances and supplications and tears of the Jesuit were of no avail; and when he warned these ruffians of the divine justice, they replied, that as for that matter they had been baptized, and therefore were sure of going to heaven. Three other Reductions were in like manner destroyed: in vain did the Jesuits put on the dress of the altar, and go out with the Crucifix to meet the Paulistas; men of their stamp were as insensible to religion as to humanity: they carried away all on whom they could lay hands, and driving them with a barbarity which ever has and must characterize this accursed trade, the greater part perished upon the way, exhausted with fatigue, and misery, and inanition. When stripes could no longer force them forward, they were left to expire, or to be devoured by beasts and vultures, . . . nor was child suffered to remain with parent, or parent with child in this dreadful extremity, . . . the merciless scourge drove the survivor

on. Mansilla and Maceta had the courage to follow as close as they could, trusting to what they might find in the woods for subsistence, and administering such consolation as they could to the dying, with whom the road was tracked. The Paulistas were nine months on this expedition, and they brought home fifteen hundred head of slaves, boasting that they had never made a better booty. The two Jesuits, when they arrived at S. Paulo, made their complaint to the governor of that city, but soon found that if he had the disposition to give them redress he had not the power. They proceeded to Rio de Janeiro, and demanded an order for the deliverance of their neophytes, and for the protection of the Reductions. Here they were referred to the Governor General, as the only person who had authority for such measures; so they then went to Bahia. It was during Oliveira's government: he heard them with apparent interest, and appointed a Commissary to accompany them to S. Paulo, and see full justice done: but the Jesuits perceived that his orders could only be rendered effectual by force. In reality they required what the Governor could not at any time have performed. The unhappy Indians had already been sold and dispersed over the country: many persons high in rank, whom he dared not or would not offend, were purchasers; and he had pressing affairs which required his attention: for the Dutch had just established themselves in Pernambuco, and his whole thoughts were occupied in a war which might come, he knew not how soon, to his own door. Bad as the age and the people were, they found some instances of goodness, . . . in the worst ages and among the worst people some are always to be found. At Rio de Janeiro twelve Indians were restored by persons who purchased them for the sake of setting them free. A person named Jeronymo de Vega advised Maceta to go to Spain, and make his complaint to the King in per-

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1630.

*Mansilla  
and Maceta  
follow them  
to S. Paulo.*

*Table of  
Contents  
p. 222.*

CHAP. son, . . . and he offered to defray the whole expence of the  
 XXIII. voyage : but Maceta had discovered that another expedition of  
 1680. the same kind was preparing, and therefore thought it necessary  
 to hasten back. As soon as they arrived at S. Paulo they were  
 seized and put in confinement. The Commissary arrived soon  
 after them, and endeavoured to execute his commission ; a mus-  
 ket was fired at him ; and the inhabitants informed him that  
 they would rather be unchristened than suffer him to obey his  
 instructions. He was obliged to leave the town with all speed :  
 as soon as he was gone, the two Jesuits, whom the Rector of  
 the College had till then vainly reclaimed, were set at liberty,  
 and they then returned to Guayra, with no other advantage  
 from the journey than the consolation of having done their duty  
 to the utmost.

*Techo*, 69,  
 73, 76.  
*Charlevoix*,  
 367—380.

*Effect of  
 these ravages  
 upon the  
 converts.*

The fruit of all the Jesuits' labours in this wild country had now been nearly destroyed. The Indians conceived a suspicion that the invasion had been preconcerted between them and the Paulistas, and that the sole purpose for which they were collected in Reductions was to betray them thus to slavery. By good fortune, Maceta, when he followed the invaders, had procured by his intreaties the deliverance of a Cacique called Guiravera, with his wife and six other persons ; and this chief, who had formerly been a bitter enemy of the missionaries, and afterwards returned to and persisted in his old habits of life, went among his countrymen now, and with the most zealous gratitude justified the Fathers from this imputation. But he could not counteract the impression which the late havock made upon the people ; it was evident that when they were thus gathered together in large communities, more were enslaved in a single day than in many years before. The Payes failed not to take advantage of this state of mind. Certain of these jugglers acting in concert, erected their place of worship each on the top of

a mountain, where they exposed for adoration the bones of some of their predecessors, and delivered oracles, and where female votaries kept up a perpetual fire. A ritual worship might easily have grown from this beginning if it had not been discovered in time. Montoya and his brethren set fire<sup>17</sup> to the temples, and to the huts about them; they brought away the bones in triumph, and exposed them on the green of the nearest Reduction, where after the Indians had been made to trample upon them, they were publicly burnt. There was an Indian so dreadfully mis-shapen that he is said to have been distorted in every part of his body: this wretched creature, craving after power which he could no otherwise obtain, set himself up for an object of worship, and soon found worshippers; . . . people even stole from the Reductions to adore this living deity! As soon as the Jesuits discovered it they laid hands upon him, and delivered him to the boys as an object for mockery; . . . the ill effect of teaching them to make a mock at deformity was not considered: his disciples, however, were effectually cured by seeing his utter helplessness to protect himself; and the end was that this unhappy cripple desired to be instructed in the faith, and procured all the comforts which he was capable of enjoying by becoming a convert.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1630.

*Techo, 77.  
Charlevoix,  
1, 383.*

*Charlevoix,  
385.*

Such enemies as these were suppressed as soon as detected; but against the Paulistas other arms were required, and it was in vain that the Governor of Paraguay was called upon to protect the Reductions: he was no friend to the Jesuits, and view-

*The Jesuits  
compelled to  
evacuate  
Guayra.*

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<sup>17</sup> In the translation of Techo it is said, they went "to burn the temples, and burn the authors of the mischief." I suspect that this is not justified by the original. The fashion of *autos-da-fe*, however dearly the Jesuits might like them in Europe, was never introduced into Paraguay.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1631.

ing the danger with unconcern, if not with secret satisfaction, would give them no assistance. The Paulistas made another invasion; one Reduction was destroyed, a second was evacuated, and to complete the evil, the inhabitants of Villarica way-laid the fugitives, so that they who escaped from the Portuguese man-hunters fell into the hands of the Spaniards. F. Francisco Diaz Taño, after in vain applying to the magistrates of that town for redress, went to Asumpcion, and complained to the governor, who coldly replied, that the Jesuits made loud complaints with little cause, and were hated wherever they went. Taño then in the King's name made in writing a formal demand of succour for the province of Guayra; but this was treated with as much contempt as his verbal representations. D. Luiz de Cespedes did not conceal his wish to destroy the system of the Jesuits, and establish the *Encomiendas* in its stead: meantime, to distress the Reductions as much as possible, he prohibited all intercourse between the provinces of Uruguay and Guayra by way of the Parana, thus compelling those who went from one to the other to make a circuit of more than an hundred leagues, by way of Paraguay. Against this regulation, which was equally preposterous and oppressive, Taño appealed to the Royal Audience at Chuquisaca, and they immediately annulled it; but when he returned from this business, he found the Paulistas again ravaging the country. In this distress the Jesuits determined to evacuate Guayra, and remove all their Indians who could be induced to follow them beyond the Parana. It was a cruel necessity. The two oldest Reductions of St. Ignatius and Loretto, which were the last that remained untouched, vied at this time with the best settlements in Paraguay; the former contained nine hundred families, the latter eight hundred; the churches were larger and better ornamented than in the capital; and the inhabitants were brought to that point of

civilization at which the system aimed ; they possessed large herds of cattle ; they had extensive plantations ; they cultivated cotton, from which they manufactured their own clothing ; and not only provided amply for their own subsistence, but assisted the new establishments from their abundance. There was now no alternative but emigration or slavery ; many could not be persuaded to encounter the less but the certain evil : of these some returned to their old habits of savage life ; the rest fell into the hands of the Paulistas. These ruffians, enraged that any should have escaped them, pursued the emigrants. The removal was made under all the distressing circumstances of confusion, and haste, and fear : they embarked on the Parana, . . . but there were the Falls to pass.

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*Techo, 77.  
Charlevoix,  
390.*

*Falls of the  
Parana.*

The Parana, where it enters the Cordillera de Maracayu, is by measurement, when at its mean height, two thousand one hundred toises wide, . . . nearly a sea league, . . . and very deep. The mountains contract it suddenly to a channel of thirty toises, and in these straits the whole body of water falls fifty-two French feet, at an angle of fifty degrees. The sound is heard six leagues off, and the cloud of vapour, which is visible almost as far, falls round about in a perpetual shower with such drenching force, that Azara says, they who visit the place strip themselves naked to approach it. No birds are seen near, nor any animal, except the yaguarete, the fiercest beast of South America ; the fish above and below the Falls are of different species. From hence there is a succession of rapids and whirlpools for thirty-three leagues, to the mouth of the Yguazu. When the emigrants drew near this place, having no time to carry their canoes overland till they should reach a navigable part of the river, they landed, and abandoned them to the stream, where the vessels were all destroyed. The latter part of their journey, therefore, became more painful than the former, as they had to make their way

*Azara. t. 1,  
72—96.*

CHAP. through the woods, living upon what they could find there; and  
 XXIII. when at length they reached a part of the country on the left  
1631. bank, where they expected to be safe, and two Reductions  
 were formed out of the wreck, a pestilence, the consequence  
 of their late sufferings, broke out among them, and swept  
 them off by hundreds. This was so fatal, that the wild beasts,  
 made furious by having gorged upon the dead, attacked the  
 living; and of the remains of thirteen populous Reductions, not  
 quite four thousand <sup>18</sup> persons survived the first year. The Spa-  
 niards, who had so tamely beheld or so wickedly connived at their  
 destruction, soon felt the consequences; the Paulistas, finding no  
 other booty, turned upon them, plundered their habitations, and  
 totally destroyed the towns of Ciudad Real and Villarica.

*Techo, p.  
 83.  
 Charlevoix,  
 392—9.*

*Reductions  
 formed in  
 the Tapé  
 among the  
 Itatines.*

These late calamities might have disheartened men who acted  
 from any meaner motive than religious zeal. The Jesuits con-  
 tinued their exertions with unabating ardour, but unfortunately  
 still in a direction which exposed them to the same watchful  
 enemies. They renewed their attempts in the Tapé; four Re-  
 ductions were soon formed in that region, and as many among  
 the Itatines, who wandered over the country east of the Para-  
 guay, upon the streams which discharge themselves into that  
 river and into the Parana, between the nineteenth and twenty-  
 second degrees of south latitude. On the northern verge of this  
 country there was an old Spanish settlement called Xeres, where  
 the inhabitants wished to have a Jesuit college: it would have  
 suited the plans of the Company, and contributed to the  
 security of a place which was of more importance to the Spa-

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<sup>18</sup> Charlevoix, who estimates the population of the Reductions in Guayra at 100,000, says that not 12,000 remained. But the estimate seems overrated, . . . as the two largest settlements consisted one of 900 and the other of 800 families: and Techo, the earlier authority, gives a more probable statement of the residue.

niards than they were aware; for had this point been strongly occupied, the progress of the Brazilians toward the mines in that direction would have been cut off. But the Paraguay Spaniards, after the first race of adventurers, seem to have lost all vigour, all enterprize, and all ability: they contented themselves with oppressing the natives in their immediate vicinity, and were only roused from habitual sloth by intestine broils, while the Paulistas became year after year more daring and more formidable. These marauders having destroyed the flourishing settlements in Guayra, performed the same work of havoc now among the Itatines, laying waste the Reductions, and kidnapping all on whom they could lay hands: Xeres upon this occasion shared the same fate as Ciudad Real and Villarica. They then directed their course toward the Parana, and passing the Falls, approached the Reduction upon the Acaray. The alarm was taken in time here, and at the settlement upon the Yguazu, and the Jesuits with their persecuted proselytes, removed from the first river to Itapua, from the second to the Uruguay. The Tapé was not long exempt from these ravages. The Portugueze of the southern Captaincies had established a regular slave-trade at the port of S. Pedro, the mouth of the Tebiquare, or Rio de Espirito Santo, which collects the eastern waters of that province. They had formed an alliance with the Tupis along the coast, who made war upon the inland tribes in order to exchange them with these traders for European commodities. But when the Indians of the Tapé were collected in Reductions, they felt their strength against an enemy who had neither the advantage of European arms nor the terror of the Portugueze name: the Jesuits Mendoza and Mola put themselves at their head; they resisted the Tupis, routed them, and rescued all who had been made prisoners. Mendoza was soon afterwards killed by some savages

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1632.

Techo, 88.  
Charlevoix,  
408.

Charlevoix,  
412.

1635.

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1637.

*These also  
are attack-  
ed.*

*Second emi-  
gration.*

*Techo, 96,  
102.  
Charlevoix,  
420—4.*

*The Parana.*

*Azara, 1.  
69.  
Patriota,  
t. 2, No. 6,  
p. 39.*

whom he was seeking to convert: he was born at S. Cruz de la Sierra, in the centre of this continent, where his father was governor; his grandfather had been one of the conquerors of Peru; and it was his hope and faith that his life and death might atone for the offences of his ancestors against those Indians for whose salvation he devoted himself. His murder was soon revenged by the converts; but the Paulistas found their way here also: in vain the Jesuits applied for protection to Asumpcion, to Corrientes, and to Buenos Ayres. The governors<sup>19</sup> either were hostile to the Company, or they were careless of a danger which did not immediately affect themselves; and after some ineffectual efforts to maintain their ground, the Jesuits were compelled to fly from this country as they had done from Guayra, and collect the wreck of all their establishments between the Parana and the Uruguay, in that part where these rivers approach nearest to each other.

The remotest sources of the Parana, if measured in a direct line, are among the mountains of Goyaz, where Azara places them, between 17° 30' and 18° 30' south latitude; but the Portuguese derive it from the Serras de Mantequira, about an hundred miles only from the town of Paraty upon the coast. Though

<sup>19</sup> Charlevoix (*T. 1, p. 431*) says that the Provincial addressed a memorial on this occasion to the Council of the Indies, and entrusted it to a faithful person, (as he supposed) who was going to Portugal. This person was either persuaded or compelled to throw the packet overboard, when the ship was about two hundred leagues from Lisbon; but they had not long been arrived before the Memorial came after them into the Tagus, and being cast ashore there, was found, and forwarded to the King of Spain. A bundle of papers is so ill adapted for swimming, that I fear this story may with more reason be classed among the fables of the Jesuits, than among the facts contributing to a chart of the currents.

it loses its name in the Paraguay, it is very much the larger river, and continues its course for three leagues before its waters are defiled by the muddy stream which they have joined. The greater part of its course after it becomes a considerable river is in a south-west direction, but after its junction with the Yguazu it turns westward to the Paraguay. In the former part of this course the eastern shores are generally steep; the western flat and muddy, consisting either of forests of the most gigantic growth, or rich savannahs, but scarcely habitable; for the periodical inundations extend two leagues from its banks, and if a settlement be placed beyond the reach of the floods there is no water: the streams which flow into the Parana on this side, and in the time of rain overflow the country, fail in the dry season, or are so salt and bitter that no animal will drink of them. If wells are dug, the water often proves so bad as to be useless; and it is generally lost labour, for as there is no stone within a hundred leagues wherewith to wall them, their sides fall in during the floods. The river is navigable from the Yguazu to the sea, but it is a dangerous navigation. There are whirlpools which have destroyed boats in a moment, and islands are continually formed and destroyed by the operations of the stream. Where a heap of sand and wreck has collected, the willow seeds shoot and spring up; thus in the course of years, the trees growing and the soil accreting, form a wooded island; some change in the current directs the course of the stream against this ill-compacted soil, . . . the sands are washed away, the trees remain bound together by the intertexture of their roots, which form a compacted floor, and being thus set loose, the island drifts about till the roots loosen, and it is finally broken up like a wreck. All these islands are overflown in the inundations, which occur twice in the year, the greater beginning in December and continuing till February; the lesser occurs about the middle of June.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1637.

*Dobrichof-  
fer, t. 1,  
192-4.  
Do. 208.*

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1637.

The Uru-  
guay.

The sources of the Uruguay are in the Serras de S. Catharina, near the island of that name; after a course of nearly one thousand miles it joins the united streams of the Paraguay and Parana, and with them forms the Plata, an immense body of fresh water, which appears upon the map rather like an arm of the sea than a river. The Uruguay is about four miles wide at its mouth, but spreads in many places to the width of seven. The Paraguay at the point of junction is divided by numberless islands, with which the Plata is filled about seven leagues above Buenos Ayres, and neither of its channels pour down so large a stream as the Uruguay, though collectively they exceed it. These islands are covered with brushwood, chiefly consisting of willows and peach-trees, with a few palms, none of which exceed six or seven inches in diameter: they are the haunt of innumerable birds, equally remarkable for the splendour of their plumage and the sweetness of their song. The yaguarete, or leopard of South America, abounds here, and men pass the summer upon these islands in hunting them for the sake of their skins. Great courage as well as dexterity is displayed in this pursuit: the man wraps his *poncho* round his left arm, and with no other weapon than a thick club, provokes the animal, avoiding his attack, and disabling him at the same time by a blow upon the small of the back. If he fail in this, he receives the yaguarete upon his left arm, as upon a shield. Wood-cutters also pass the summer upon these islands; they make huts of reeds, and suffer a dreadful persecution from musquitoes and flies, living upon fish, and beef which they obtain occasionally from the adjacent bank of the river. The Uruguay also is full of such islands. The left bank of this river, from the Rio Negro to its mouth, is so low, that many of the willows on its banks are at high water covered half way the height of their stems. Boats ascend the stream as far as Yapeyu, where the navigation is obstructed by

Dobrizhof-  
fer, 1, 196.  
Peramas de  
vila sex Sac.  
Par. p. 42.  
Anaya, 1.  
84.

about the middle of June.

a fall; but for forty leagues below this settlement it is so full of rocks, and rapids, and eddies, that it can only be navigated safely when swoln by rains: the water is highest from the end of July to the beginning of November. The Indians here use double canoes, some of which are seventy feet long, with a raised cabin covered with skins: oars are employed, . . . not sails; and many rowers are necessary.

The Parana and the Uruguay approach nearest each other between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth degrees south latitude, when the former river takes a westerly direction: and here, where they were protected by the rivers, and by immense woods behind them, the Jesuits once more fixed their persecuted converts. The numbers thus removed are said to have been about twelve thousand: space was cleared for the new settlements, seed brought from a great distance, and things again began to prosper. But the Indians dreaded a renewal of these forced emigrations, and earnestly entreated that they might be provided with fire-arms, to protect themselves and their wives and children. The Jesuits were well convinced of the necessity and justice of such a measure. It was one of the principles of the Spanish government not to permit the introduction of fire-arms among the Indians whom it held in subjection; self-preservation required this obvious policy; but it ceased to be applicable when the Indians were connected with the Spaniards, not in the relation of slaves to masters, but of men enjoying the same benefits of civil and religious institutions. This business in particular was of such importance, and the state of the missions in general, (offering on the one hand such certain hope of good, and exposed on the other to such danger from the activity of the Paulistas and the supine indifference of the governors,) required so urgently the interference of higher powers, that the Provincial, Diego de Boroa, sent Montoya to Madrid, and Diaz

CHAP. Taño to Rome. The former represented to the Council of the  
 XXIII. Indies, how impossible it was that the Reductions in which the  
 1638. Catholic faith had been planted with such difficulty, and was  
 now so happily flourishing, could continue to exist, unless the  
 Indians were supplied with fire-arms, to defend themselves  
 against the Portuguese slave-hunters, and their confederate  
 savages. The equity and the policy of this request were  
 alike apparent: he promised that the arms should be in the  
 custody of the missionaries, and only delivered out in time of  
 danger; and he engaged in the name of the Company to defray  
 the whole expence, and form all the arrangements, so that it  
 should cost the government neither trouble nor disbursement of  
 any kind: they would raise alms enough to purchase the arms,  
 and some of the brethren who had served in the army before  
 they entered the Order, would instruct the Indians in their  
 use. These representations were successful. The King con-  
 firmed all the former laws in favour of the Indians: he declared  
 the conduct of the Paulistas, who had carried away more than  
 thirty thousand slaves from Guayra, and had begun the same  
 work of devastation in the Tapé and on the Uruguay, to be  
 contrary to all laws, human and divine, and cognizable by the  
 Holy Office. The enslaved Indians were ordered to be set at  
 liberty, and directions given to punish those who should commit  
 these crimes in future, as guilty of high treason. A more im-  
 portant edict, because more easily carried into effect, provided,  
 that all Indians converted by the Jesuits in the provinces of  
 Guayra, Tapé, Parana, and Uruguay, should be considered as  
 immediate vassals of the Crown, and not on any pretext con-  
 signed to any individual for personal service. Their tribute was  
 fixed, but not to commence till the year 1649, by which time it  
 was presumed, they might be capable of discharging it. And  
 the King not only granted permission to the Jesuits to arm

their converts, but sent out positive orders to the Governors of Paraguay and the Plata to exert themselves for the protection of the Reductions.

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XXIII.

1639.

The good effects of this measure were soon perceived. A party of Paulistas, on their way toward the Parana, caught two Indian boys, who were attending some missionaries on a religious quest, and secured them, as they thought, by tying their hands; but at night, when the kidnappers were asleep, these boys resolutely held their wrists to the fire till the cord was burnt, then made their escape, and gave the alarm. The Governor of Paraguay, D. Pedro de Lugo, hastened to intercept the invaders with a good escort and with four thousand Indians, the Superior of the Missions, F. Diego de Alfaro, and some other Jesuits accompanying them. Alfaro having one day ridden forward, when they were near the enemy, was marked by a Mamaluco who knew him, and killed upon the spot by a musquet ball. Upon this the Paulistas were immediately attacked; they were probably very inferior in number: many were cut to pieces, and almost all who escaped death were made prisoners. The savages of their party were delivered over to the Jesuits; the Paulistas were conveyed to Asumpcion, which was eighty leagues from the scene of action: here it was expected that they would have been executed as banditti, but D. Pedro contented himself with reprimanding them, and warning them not to provoke the vengeance of heaven by continuing to repeat such outrages; he then sent them to Buenos Ayres; there they made interest with the Governor, and were allowed to return home.

*The Jesuit  
Alfaro killed  
by the  
Paulistas,*

*who are de-  
feated by the  
Governor of  
Paraguay.*

*Techo, 104.  
Charlevoix,  
450.*

The death of Alfaro was not without some good effect: for there was still a suspicion among the Indians that the Jesuits collected them into settlements for the purpose of delivering them with more facility into the hands of their countrymen;

*Tribes in  
Lake Ybera  
subdued.*

CHAP. XXIII.  
 1639.

and this event undeceived them. He was succeeded by F. Claude Ruier, a native of Franche Comté, who was soon called upon by the Governor of the Plata to assist with a body of his converts in an enterprize of equal utility to the missions, and to the navigation of the Paraguay. On the south of the Parana, in that part of its course where it runs almost due west, is a track of swamp and water, containing not less than a thousand square miles, called formerly the Lake of the Caracaras, but in later times, Lake Ybera. Its eastern extremity was near one of the falls of the Parana; it lies parallel to that river, and is nearly square in shape, except that at the south-east point a long branch or arm extends, which terminates in forming the Mirañay, a considerable river flowing into the Uruguay. Three rivers proceed from the south-western part, the S. Lucia, the Rio de los Bateles, (so called perhaps as being navigable for boats,) and the Rio de los Corrientes: they fall into the Paraguay, and neither of them is fordable at any season. Whence these waters should be supplied, for there are no mountains near, is a curious question. Azara affirms that it is merely by filtration from the Parana; but he adds, that no similar instance has ever been discovered. This extensive track is in some places open lake, but mostly filled with aquatic plants, and in some places trees are found; the whole, however, forms a labyrinth which it is neither possible to explore on foot, nor on horseback, nor by water. Wild tales had been told of a race of pygmies inhabiting its inmost recesses: at this time a set of ferocious savages of the Caracara, Capasaca, and Menepo tribes, had their haunts there; and being joined by runaways from the Reductions, they infested equally the land and water communication between the Spanish settlements, murdering the travellers, and carrying the booty into their lurking-places among the reeds and rushes. They had lately attacked one of the Reductions, and burnt the

church; and the evil was become so serious, that the Governor of the Plata found it necessary to make a vigorous exertion. D. Juan de Garay was sent with a detachment of Spaniards from Buenos Ayres; Romero joined him with a body of disciplined Indians, better suited for such warfare than the Spaniards: wherever the savages could fly they could follow; and they pursued them from one lurking-place to another, till all who escaped death were compelled to yield themselves.

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1639.

*Techo, 104.  
Charlevoix,  
451.  
Azara, 1,  
81.*

Meantime Diaz Taño, having left Montoya at Madrid, proceeded to Rome, and laid the state of the missions before the General of the Order. Vitelleschi, who held that station, deeply impressed by a recital of the miseries which the Portuguese slave-hunters had caused, made him repeat the tale to Urban VIII., and that pontiff, with a just feeling of indignation, denounced the severest censures of the church against all persons who on any pretext whatsoever should enslave the Indians, whether converted or unconverted. Having returned to Madrid, Diaz Taño found that his colleague had obtained from the Government every thing which he wished, and the King promised a free passage for the missionaries whom he was about to take back with him, thirty in number. They were to embark from Lisbon. Here the slave-party was more powerful than at Madrid, and the Minister, Miguel de Vasconcellos, forbade their embarkation; but they appealed to the Dutchess of Mantua, and by her interference were allowed to proceed. The ship was compelled by storms to put into Rio de Janeiro. There Diaz Taño consulted with F. Pedro Mota, the Visitor in Brazil, and with the approbation of the other clergy read the Bull of Excommunication in the Jesuits' church. In Bahia perhaps this might have been done safely; but Rio de Janeiro was too near St. Paulo, and many of its inhabitants were connected with the Paulistas, and implicated in the guilt of their abominable pro-

*Diaz Taño  
returns from  
Europe.*

*Tumults in  
Brazil  
against the  
Jesuits.*

CHAP. XXIII.  
1640.  
 ceedings. These people had the rabble on their side ; they attacked the College, broke open the gates, and would have murdered the Paraguay Jesuits, if the Governor, Salyador Correa, had not invited the mob into the church, and persuaded them to appoint a meeting the next day, for discussing the matter temperately, and devising some remedy. The meeting was held in the Carmelite Church, and the Jesuits, to save their lives, which were in imminent danger, suggested or consented that the enemies of the Bull should appeal to the Pope against it, which would have the effect of suspending it till his farther decision should be known. It is said also that they were made to sign a declaration, renouncing all right of acting as advocates for the Indians, and promising never more to molest the inhabitants of the Captaincy upon that subject : if such a paper were signed, it was under circumstances of compulsion, which, without recourse to any casuistry, manifestly rendered the engagement invalid. The populace at Santos proceeded to greater extremes : they pulled down the Vicar General, who published the Bull, trampled upon him, and pointing a sword at his throat, menaced him with immediate death if he did not revoke the censures, and sign their appeal to the Pope. The Superior of the Jesuits came out to appease them, bearing the Pix in his hands ; some of the rioters prostrated themselves before it ; others remained erect, crying out that they worshipped with their whole souls God present in the holy sacrament, but they would not submit to be deprived of their slaves, who were their only property. The tumult was allayed by some religioners of another order, who delivered an opinion that the people were not affected by this Bull ; for the Pope had directed that it should be published, provided there was no lawful impediment : now the universal objection was impediment enough. Even so poor a quibble as this sufficed to quiet apprehensions which were

July 25,  
 1640.

*Annaes de  
 Rio de Ja-  
 neiro, c. 15.  
 MSS.*

founded, not upon religion and conscience, but upon a miserable superstition, that had contributed to destroy both. At St. Paulo, where the people were more immediately implicated, and knew that the excommunication was levelled against them in particular, they rose and expelled the Jesuits from the city. When this was known at Rio de Janeiro, the master of a ship in the harbour fired a salute of joy, for which he was deservedly punished by the Governor. Diaz Taño now hastened his departure from a country where the lives of himself and his companions were in danger: accordingly he sailed<sup>19</sup> for Buenos Ayres, having equally experienced the flagitious state of the public mind in Brazil, and the perfect sympathy of the Portuguese Jesuits.

CHAP.  
XXIII.1640.Techo, 105.  
Charlevoix,  
453—6.

Soon after his departure the news of the Braganzan Revolution arrived, and the Marquis of Montalvam sent orders throughout Brazil to proclaim Joam IV. Some of the Paulistas thought they should do well to seize the opportunity which this change of government afforded; and instead of perplexing themselves with doubts which party to choose, or exposing themselves to any possible inconvenience by siding with either, elect one of their fellow-citizens for King of St. Paulo, and make themselves independant of both. Every thing facilitated such a revolution. Their habits of obedience to any legitimate authority hung loose upon them, and might easily be shaken off. There was but one road whereby they could be attacked, and this, which was difficult for a single traveller, for an army would be inaccessible; they might

1641.  
The Paulistas upon the Braganzan Revolution wish to elect a King for themselves.

<sup>19</sup> Charlevoix errs in saying that Diaz Taño sailed from the Rio in consequence of the Revolution in Portugal. His own dates disprove this: Diaz Taño sailed at the beginning of November, and the Revolution broke out on the first of the following month. He seems to have misunderstood Techo, who is evidently in this part of the history his only guide.

CHAP. defend themselves merely by rolling down stones, if they were  
 XXIII. attacked ; while on the other hand the whole interior was open  
 1641. to their enterprize. The promoters of this scheme easily in-  
 duced the people to join in it with enthusiasm, and if they could  
 have found a leader to their wish, it is more than probable that  
 the Paulistas would have become an independent people, who  
 would soon have made themselves the most formidable in  
 South America. Their choice fell upon Amador Bueno de  
 Ribeira, a man of great wealth and good extraction, and by  
 the marriages of his nine children connected with all the best  
 families in St. Paulo. His father was a native of Seville, his  
 mother a Portugueze of the noble family of Pires ; the Paulistas  
 of both nations therefore agreed in the choice, and the only op-  
 position was from Amador Bueno himself. He, notwithstand-  
 ing his paternal blood, considered himself as a Portugueze ; and  
 perhaps he knew too well the turbulent nature of his country-  
 men, and the perilous tenure upon which such a crown would  
 be held, to feel any ambition for royalty ; so when they assem-  
 bled before his house to acclaim him, he protested against their  
 measures, and strenuously urged them to proclaim King Joam  
 IV. His refusal exasperated the people, and they threatened  
 to put him to death if he would not consent to be their King.  
 Upon this, taking sword in hand to defend himself, he stole out  
 at a garden door, and ran full speed toward the Benedictine  
 Convent to take refuge. The people saw and pursued him,  
 shouting " King Amador Bueno for ever !" but he cried out  
 " King D. Joam IV !" and having the start of his pursuers in  
 this strange race, reached the convent, and barred the gates.  
 The abbot and monks went down and parleyed with the multi-  
 tude ; the other clergy of the place, and such of the principal  
 inhabitants as had not cooperated in the scheme, then came  
 forward ; they laboured to convince the people of the justice of

*Amador  
 Bueno refu-  
 ses to accept  
 the office.*

the Braganzan claims, and the day concluded with proclaiming Joam IV. Amador Bueno<sup>20</sup> has left numerous and prosperous descendants, in the Captaincies of St. Paulo, Goyazes, Minas Geraes, Cuyaba, and Rio de Janeiro; and the merits of their ancestor on this occasion have always been admitted by the Portugueze Government in their behalf.

The Portugueze Revolution produced a long train of evil consequences to the Jesuit establishments in Paraguay. One immediate effect was, that no missionaries were now admitted into that country unless they were natural subjects of the King of Spain: the labourers were always too few for the vineyard; and now, when a large reinforcement was about to embark from Seville, the greater part were excluded by this regulation. A mission among the formidable tribes of the Chaco, the foundation of which had been laid with the best prospect of success, was therefore necessarily abandoned. Another consequence was, that the incursions of the Paulistas became from this time lawful war, and under that name all the atrocities of these slave-hunters were thenceforth legalized. The Jesuits, however, lost

CHAP.  
XXIII.  
1641.

Gaspar da  
Madre de  
Deos, l.  
§ 175—84.  
Annaes do  
Rio de Ja-  
neiro, c. 16,  
MSS.

Evil effects  
of the Revolu-  
tion in  
Paraguay.

<sup>20</sup> According to F. Gaspar da Madre de Dios, this is the origin of the often-repeated fable of the Mamaluco Commonwealth of St. Paulo;.. it was more probably founded upon the general character and insubordination of the old Paulistas. Fr. Gaspar himself, the first author by whom this curious piece of history was published, has disfigured it by supposing that some Spaniards were the prime movers in the attempt, for motives of the most recondite policy: their object, he says, being at that time to disunite St. Paulo from the Portugueze provinces of Brazil, in the belief that it would soon be attached to the Spanish possessions of Paraguay and the Plata! The *Annaes do Rio de Janeiro*, with equal absurdity, make the exiled Jesuits a party to the plot, as hoping thus to recover their lost influence. In the one case a national spirit, and in the other a party feeling, has supplied the place of authority, both assertions being groundless and gratuitous.

CHAP. no time in availing themselves of those means of defence which  
 XXIII. had so tardily been allowed them. A band of slave-hunters  
 1642. approached, consisting of four hundred Paulistas and a large  
 body of Tupis. To resist them, four thousand converts were  
 collected from the different Reductions, three hundred of whom  
 carried fire-arms, the rest using slings or bows, after their ancient  
 manner; they had also a piece of artillery. Thus equipped,  
 they were, in F. Techo's language, ordered to prepare body and  
 soul, when their scouts brought tidings that the enemy were at  
 a day's distance, upon one of the rivers which fall into the Uru-  
 guay, which they were descending in a fleet of three hundred  
 boats. They marched to meet them; the slave-hunters rejoiced  
 at seeing so large a prey collected for their hands, and hastened  
 to the attack; but the first cannon-shot sunk three of their  
 canoes: their astonishment at this perhaps contributed to their  
 defeat: they were routed, pursued, and dispersed; one hundred  
 and twenty Paulistas perished in the battle or in the flight,  
 many falling into the hands of the Gualaches, a cannibal tribe,  
 by whom they were devoured: a great number of their Indians  
 forsook them, and joined the victors, who purchased this success  
 with the loss of about fifty killed and wounded. The Jesuits  
 followed up their advantage, and in the course of the season  
 rescued more than two thousand Indians, whom the Portugueze  
 were carrying toward Brazil. One of these kidnapping bands  
 had caught a family of wild Indians; two daughters, the eldest  
 thirteen, the other ten years of age, escaped with a little grand-  
 son, but fell into the hands of another party. When they had  
 been carried about four hundred miles, the eldest girl, who had  
 been bound and severely punished for attempting to escape,  
 was released from her cord, that she might seek food for herself  
 in the woods, provisions being scarce. Immediately she re-  
 solved again to attempt to fly, and hesitating whether she should  
 wait for her sister, at that moment she perceived her searching

*The Paulistas defeated by the reduced Indians.*

*Techo, 110.  
 Charlevoix,  
 469.*

with the little boy for roots, and the three children absconded together. They hid themselves by day, and travelled by night, till at the end of about a month they reached the Uruguay, almost exhausted with fatigue and hunger. There was an old canoe lying by the shore, into which they got, and committed themselves to the stream. It was not long before they saw another canoe coming up the river, and they landed and hid themselves, being afraid of cannibals; one of the men from whom they fled, and who landed also and looked for the fugitives in vain, was their own father; he and the rest of his family had been rescued, and were now members of the nearest Reduction. A party from that Reduction fell in with the children, and conducted them thither, where a meeting ensued which affected all the beholders.

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XXIII.  
1642.

*Charlevoix,*  
473.

*Secular  
year of the  
Company  
celebrated in  
Paraguay.*

The secular year of the Company, which the Jesuits celebrated with so much solemnity in Europe, was solemnized in South America also with all the pomp which the country could afford. A carnival of eight days was held at Cordoba, and a pageant represented, wherein St. Ignatius Loyola darted fire, which consumed the hydra Heresy, and the giant Paganism. In the Reductions there were thanksgiving, dancing, feasting, illuminations, and oratorical and dramatic exhibitions. At one place six hundred triumphal arches were erected by the Indians, and decorated with all the ornaments and good things which they possessed; . . . a display of the benefits which they above all men derived from that society, the centenary of whose birth they were now celebrating. At a second there was a boat-race upon the Parana by torch-light; at a third a troop of military dancers bore on their shields the letters which composed the name of Loyola, and in the evolutions of the dance frequently halted in such order that the letters displayed some anagram, a sort of trifling then in full fashion, and on such occasions aptly intro-

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1642.

duced. At another a play was performed, of which the subject was an irruption of the Paulistas, who were of course properly defeated and punished. At La Incarnacion the Company was personified by an old giant, followed by an hundred boys in various colours, typical of the various duties of the Jesuits, who sung his praises; presently they were joined by a herd of an hundred oxen, and thus they proceeded, passing under an hundred triumphal arches to the church, in the porch whereof an hundred loaves were offered, an hundred lights were burning on the altar, and before these were laid an hundred compositions in honour of the Company. A triumphal chariot of immense size was also drawn abroad, filled with images of saints and martyrs, the heroic children of Loyola, who had obtained their crown.

Techo, 111.

Europe had no cause to rejoice in the establishment of the Jesuits; but in Brazil and Paraguay their superstition may be forgiven them, for the noble efforts which they made in behalf of the oppressed Indians, and for the good which they effected: the centenary of their institution could not be celebrated by these tribes with more gratitude and joy than were justly due.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

*System of the Jesuits in Paraguay. State of the Reductions. Labours of the Missionaries. State of the tribes among whom they laboured.*

The system of the Jesuit Reductions was now fully matured. That system has been equally the subject of panegyric and of calumny. It will not be difficult to separate truth from falsehood, and represent this extraordinary commonwealth, without any feelings of superstition to mislead us on one hand, or of factious and interested hatred on the other.

They who founded this commonwealth profited by the experience of their brethren in Brazil: they knew what had been effected by Nobrega and his successors, and how mournfully the fruit of their labours had been lost; they represented therefore to the Court of Madrid that it was in vain to pursue the same course in Paraguay. Even if the tyranny of the Europeans did not consume those whom it could enslave, and drive others into the woods, the example of their lives would counteract all the lessons of religion and morality which the most zealous instructors could inculcate. Here were innumerable tribes, addicted to the vices, prone to the superstitions, and subject to the accumulated miseries of the savage life; suffering wrongs from the

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XXIV.  
1642.

*Object of  
the Jesuits.*

CHAP. Spaniards, and seeking vengeance in return ; neither acknow-  
XXIV. ledging King nor God ; worshipping the Devil in this world,  
and condemned to him everlastingly in the next. These people  
the Jesuits undertook to reclaim with no other weapons than  
those of the Gospel, provided they might pursue their own plans,  
without the interference of any other power ; and provided the  
Spaniards, over whose conduct they could have no control, were  
interdicted from coming among them. The Spanish Govern-  
ment, whose real concern for the salvation of the Indians within  
its extensive empire, however erroneous in its direction, should  
be remembered as well as the enormities of its first conquest,  
granted these conditions ; and the Jesuits were thus enabled to  
form establishments according to their own ideas of a perfect  
commonwealth, and to mould the human mind, till they made a  
community of men after their own heart. Equally impressed  
with horror for the state of savage man, and for the vices by  
which civilized society was every where infected, they endea-  
voured to reclaim the Indians from the one, and preserve them  
from the other by bringing them to that middle state wherein  
they might enjoy the greatest share of personal comforts, and be  
subject to the fewest spiritual dangers. For this purpose, as if  
they understood the words of Christ in their literal meaning,  
they sought to keep their converts always like little children in  
a state of pupillage. Their object was not to advance them in  
civilization, but to tame them to the utmost possible docility.  
Hereby they involved themselves in perpetual contradictions, of  
which their enemies did not fail to take advantage : for on one  
hand they argued with irresistible truth against the slave-traders,  
that the Indians ought to be regarded as human, rational, and  
immortal beings ; and on the other they justified themselves for  
treating them as though they were incapable of self-conduct, by  
endeavouring to establish, that though they were human beings,

having discourse of reason, and souls to be saved or lost, they were nevertheless of an inferior species. They did not venture thus broadly to assert a proposition which might well have been deemed heretical, but their conduct and their arguments unavoidably led to this conclusion.

Acting upon these views, they formed a Utopia of their own. The first object was to remove from their people all temptations which are not inherent in human nature; and by establishing as nearly as possible a community of goods, they excluded a large portion of the crimes and miseries which embitter the life of civilized man. For this they had the authority of sages and legislators: and if they could have found as fair a ground-work for the mythology of Popery in the scriptures as for this part of their institutions, the bible would not have been a prohibited book wherever the influence of the Jesuits extended. There was no difficulty in beginning upon this system in a wide and thinly-peopled country; men accustomed to the boundless liberty of the savage life would more readily perceive its obvious advantages, than they could be made to comprehend the more complicated relations of property, and the benefits of that inequality in society, of which the evils are apparent as well as numerous. The master of every family had a portion of land allotted him sufficient for its use, wherein he cultivated maize, mandubi, a species of potatoe, cotton, and whatever else he pleased; of this land, which was called *Abamba* <sup>1</sup>, or the pri-

*They seek to form a perfect Christian Commonwealth.*

*State of property in the Reductions.*

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<sup>1</sup> Azara affirms that the Jesuits compelled the Indians of both sexes and of all ages, to work for the common stock, and suffered no person to work for his own benefit. *T. 2, p. 234.* This is a calumny beyond all doubt; for that the Jesuits accumulated nothing from Paraguay is most certain. He says that the private field was only introduced in later times, to accustom them to the use of property, when the Court had begun to interfere, and represented that they had kept their

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vate possession, he was tenant as long as he was able to cultivate it; when he became too old for the labour, or in case of death, it was assigned to another occupier. Oxen for ploughing it were lent from the common stock. Two larger portions, called *Tupamba*, or God's Possession, were cultivated for the community, one part being laid out in grain and pulse, another in cotton; here the inhabitants all contributed their share of work at stated times, and the produce was deposited in the common store-house, for the food and clothing of the infirm and sick, widows, orphans, and children of both sexes. From these stores whatever was needed for the church, or for the public use, was purchased, and the Indians were supplied with seed, if, as it often happened, they had not been provident enough to lay it up for themselves: but they were required to return from their private harvest the same measure which they received. The public tribute also was discharged from this stock: this did not commence till the year 1649, when Philip IV., honouring them at the same time with the title of his most faithful vassals, and confirming their exemption from all other services, required an annual poll-tax of one *peso* of eight *reales* from all the males between the ages of twenty-two and fifty; that of all other Indian subjects was five *pesos*. There was an additional charge of an hundred *pesos* as a commutation for the tenths; but these payments produced little to the treasury; for as the kings of Spain allowed a salary of six hundred *pesos* to the two missionaries, and provided wine

Public tri-  
bute.

Muratori,  
137—53.  
Peramas.  
De Admi-  
nistrations  
Guaranica,  
§ 45—50.  
Charlevoix,  
224.

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converts long enough like rabbits in a warren: and this, he says, could be the only use of such an allotment, inasmuch as the Indians raised nothing for sale, and would have been fed by the community if they had not fed themselves. He adds, that the Jesuits actually took their produce, like that of the public fields, for the common store-house. Whatever Azara says on this subject is to be received with great suspicion.

for the sacrament and oil for the lamps, which burnt day and night before the high altar, (both articles of exceeding cost, the latter coming from Europe, and the former either from thence or from Chili,) the balance upon an annual settlement of accounts was very trifling on either side.

The municipal government of every Reduction was the same in appearance as that of all Spanish towns. There was a *Corregidor*<sup>2</sup>, two *Alcaldes*, an *Alcalde de la Hermandad*, whose jurisdiction related to affairs in the country, four *Regidores*<sup>3</sup>, an *Alguazil Mayor*<sup>4</sup>, a *Procurador*, and a Secretary<sup>5</sup>. These officers were annually elected by the community; but if the Rector did not approve the choice, he recommended other persons, so that in reality the power of appointment was vested in him; they were afterwards confirmed by the governor of the province, . . . a confirmation which was as mere a formality as the election. The officers themselves were of essential use, but their authority was little more than nominal; for the system of government was an absolute Hierocracy. There were two Jesuits in every Reduction; the *Cura*, or Rector, who from his knowledge of the Indian character, his tried abilities, and his perfect acquaintance with the language, was fully competent to govern them; and a younger member, who was either newly arrived from Europe, or had lately completed his studies at Cordoba, and acted as the Rector's assistant, while he acquired the language, and

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Municipal  
government.

Charlevoix,  
1, 239.  
Peramas, §  
216—9.

Hierocracy.

<sup>2</sup> Called in Guarani *Poroquitara*, qui agenda jubet.

<sup>3</sup> Called *Cabildoiguara*, they who belong to the Chamber, or *Cabildo*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibiraruzu*, primus inter eos qui manu virgam præferunt.

<sup>5</sup> This officer they called *Quatiaapobara*, he who paints. Ipsi scripturam non norant, sed a pictura, quam rudi quodam modo norant, scripturæ nomen accommodarunt. *Peramas De Administratione*, &c. § 216, note.

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*Charlevoix,*  
1, 237.

*Religious  
fraternities.*

*Muratori,*  
106.

*Officers of  
health.*

*Dobrizhof-  
fer, 2, 279.  
Peramas, §  
226.*

qualified himself for the labours of a Saint-Errant, and for the service of the Company in a higher station. One of these was to be always in the Reduction, while the other went round to visit the sick in the territory belonging to it, and attended to those who were engaged in any occupations at a distance. The Superior of the Mission was constantly employed in visiting the Reductions within his jurisdiction, and the Provincial also inspected them at stated times. There were two confraternities in each: one of St. Michael the Archangel, in which men were admitted from the age of twelve till thirty: the other of the Mother of God, to which only the most pious subjects were chosen, who made themselves over by bond to the service of the Queen of Angels; the deed was signed by the member himself, and countersigned by the Rector, and was then regarded with so much veneration that the Indian kept it in the same bag with his relics. There were also certain Indians appointed to watch over the health of the community, and attend the sick, but always under the Jesuits' direction. They seem to have been trained to this office; for when the Missionary visited the sick two boys at least always accompanied him. Their business was to go every morning through the Reduction, each having his district, and report if any disease had appeared; and they were also twice a day to report the state of the patients to the Rector, that the sacrament might always be administered in time. These officers are compared to the *Parabolani* of the primitive church, in imitation of whom they were perhaps instituted; their badge of office was a tall wand with a cross at the top, from whence they were called *Curúzuyu*, the Cross-bearers. The Missionaries had gardens of every medicinal herb <sup>6</sup> with

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<sup>6</sup> Sigismund Asperger, who was a physician before he entered the Company,

whose properties they were acquainted ; not only such as were indigenous, but those from Europe which would bear the climate.

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*Dobrisch-  
fer, 2, 281.*

*Plan of the  
towns.*

*Houses.*

As in the Jesuits' system nothing was the result of fortuitous circumstances, but all had been preconceived and ordered, the towns were all built upon the same plan. The houses were placed on three sides of a large square. At first they were mere hovels : the frame-work was of stakes firmly set in the ground, and canes between them, well secured either with withs or thongs ; these were then plastered with a mixture of mud, straw, and cow-dung. Shingles of a tree called the Caranday were found the best roofing ; and a strong compost, which was water proof, was made of clay and bullocks' blood. As the Reductions became more settled they improved in building ; the houses were more solidly constructed, and covered with tiles. Still, by persons accustomed to the decencies of life, they would be deemed miserable habitations, . . a single room <sup>7</sup> of about twenty-four

*Dobrisch-  
fer, 3, 305.  
Muratori,  
148.*

*Charlevoix,  
1, 243.  
Peramas, §  
12.*

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and died at the age of an hundred and fourteen, after its extinction, practised forty years in Paraguay, and left a collection of prescriptions, in which only the indigenous plants were employed. Some of the *Curanderos*, or empirical practitioners of that country, have copies of this work, in which, Azara observes, some new specifics might possibly be found. The balm of aguarabay, which he introduced, was thought so precious, that a certain quantity was sent yearly to the king of Spain. It is well known that we are indebted to the Jesuits for bark.

It would have been fortunate if Dom Pernetty had met with this manuscript instead of the receipts of his Franciscan friend at Montevideo, which he repeats with equal want of sense and of decency. His Editor has written under one of these most extraordinary specimens of Franciscan medicine, or, as it may be called, the *Pharmacopœia Seraphica*, "*Observez que cette recette n'est point de Sydenham ou de Boerhaave, . . mais du Pere Roch, Franciscain.*" Never was a malicious remark more properly bestowed.

<sup>7</sup> The plan of N. Señora de Candelaria, which Peramas has given, represents

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feet square being all, and the door serving at once to admit the light and let out the smoke. The houses were protected from sun and rain by wide porticos, which formed a covered walk. They were built in rows of six or seven each; these were at regular distances, two on each of three sides of the square; and as many parallel rows were placed behind them as the population of the place required. The largest of the Guarani Reductions contained eight thousand inhabitants, the smallest twelve hundred and fifty, . . . the average was about three thousand. On the fourth side of the square was the church, having on the right the Jesuit's house, and the public workshops, each inclosed in a quadrangle, and on the left a walled burial-ground; behind this range was a large garden; and on the left of the burial-ground, but separated from it, was the Widows'-house, built in a quadrangle. The enemies of the Jesuits, as well as their friends, agree in representing their churches as the largest and most splendid in that part of the world. Their height was ill proportioned to their size, because every pillar was made of a single piece of wood, . . . the trunk of a tree; but as the houses consisted only of one floor, the church was still a lofty building in relation to the town. They had usually three naves, but some had five; and there were numerous windows, which were absolutely necessary<sup>s</sup>; for though the church was always adorned with flowers, and sprinkled upon festivals with orange-flower and rose-water, neither these perfumes nor the incense could

*Peramas.*

*Churches of  
the Reduc-  
tions.*

*Muratori,*  
113.

*Charlevoix,*  
253.

*Muratori,*  
94.

*Do.* 95.

*Do.* 114.

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them as each having two floors and a garret, windows and chimnies. This is more probably a blunder of the coarse artist than any misrepresentation on the author's part.

<sup>s</sup> "Necessarie ancor sono, affinchè nella State, che ivi e ardentissima, possano esalare i fiati e vapori di quella grossolana gente, da cui ricevono non poca molestia i celebranti e i Predicatori." *Muratori*, p. 114.

prevail over the odour of an unclean congregation. Glass was scarcely known in Paraguay till the middle of the eighteenth century ; paper was used in its stead, or linen, or talc from Tucuman ; but this was costly, and consequently rare. When glass was introduced, it was generally used in the Reductions for the churches and the Jesuits' houses ; but the southern windows of the church were filled up with a sort of alabaster, brought at great expence from Peru, which, though not transparent<sup>9</sup>, admitted a little light : glass would not resist the tremendous gales from the south. The eggs<sup>10</sup> of the Emu, or American ostrich, were sometimes used to hold holy water, sometimes placed as ornaments upon the altar. The altars, which were usually five in number, were remarkable for their size and splendour : the only ambition of the Indians was to vie with each other in ornamenting their churches, which were therefore profusely enriched with pictures, sculpture, and gilding, and abundantly furnished with images. Pope Gregory the Great called these idols the books of the poor, . . . and the Catholic clergy have succeeded in substituting them for the bible. The splendour of their vestments and the richness of their church plate were boasted of by the Jesuits. At each corner of the square was a cross, and in the middle a column supporting an image of the Virgin, the Magna Mater of this idolatry.

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*Dobrizhofer, 1, 237.*

*Peramas, §  
21—2.  
Charvevoir,  
253.  
Peramas.*

In the middle of the burial-ground was a little chapel, with a cross over the entrance. The area was divided into four parts, for adults and children of different sexes, . . . the sexes being se-

*Burial  
grounds,*

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps a stone of the same kind as that which Gemelli Careri and Tavernier describe in the mosque at Tauris.

<sup>10</sup> The Persians and Turks suspend them among the lamps in their mosques. Hence Aladin's request of a Roc's egg, or more properly a Simorg's, which excited so much indignation in the Genius of the Lamp.

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parated in death as well as in life. A more natural feeling would have laid the members of a family side by side ; . . except in this point the churchyard was what a christian place of burial should be, . . a sacred garden of the dead. The four divisions were subdivided into plats, containing ten or twelve graves : these were bordered with the sweetest shrubs and flowers, which the women, who were accustomed to pray there over their departed friends, kept clear of weeds. The wider walks were planted on each side alternately with palms and orange-trees. The whole was surrounded by a sort of cloister or piazza, to shelter those who attended a funeral, when shelter was required. It does not appear that coffins were used : the body was wrapt in a cotton cloth : children, after the catholic manner, were drest and adorned for their funeral, and accompanied to the grave with marks of joy, the bells ringing as for a festival, because it was believed that they had no purgatory through which to pass, but entered immediately into a state of beatitude. When the corpse was laid in the earth, the women began to cry aloud ; this howling was called *Guaju*, and was probably one of the savage customs which they were allowed to retain : in the intervals of these outcries they bewailed the dead, reciting his praises, and proclaiming what honours he had borne, or what might have been in store for him had his mortal existence been prolonged. Persons who had particularly distinguished themselves by their public merits were buried in the church, and this the Indians esteemed above all other honours.

*Funerals.*

*Peramas, §  
298—302.*

*Early marriages.*

The houses were built and repaired by the community, and allotted by the magistrates as the Rector directed : every couple had a house assigned them upon their marriage. Highly as the celibate state is esteemed among Romish Christians, it was not thought prudent to recommend it here ; and the Jesuits, inclining to an opposite extreme, wished that the males should

*Peramas, §  
61.*

marry at the age of seventeen, and the girls at fifteen<sup>11</sup>. These immature unions they thought better than the danger of incontinence: they were less injurious than they would be in any other state of society; for an Indian under their tuition was little more advanced in intellect at seventy than at seventeen; and there were no cares and anxieties concerning future subsistence, . . . no after-reckoning between passion and prudence. A hammock, a few vessels, (the larger ones of pottery, the smaller of gourds,) a chest or two, and a few benches or stools, were all their furniture, and all their worldly goods. Many couples were usually married at the same time, and generally on holidays, when the church was full, because the Jesuits wished to make the ceremony as imposing as possible, for the sake of impressing a sense of its solemnity upon the unconverted part of the spectators. It is part of the marriage ceremony in the Romish church, that the priest deliver a few pieces of silver to the bridegroom, to be by him given to the bride in pledge of dowry; but in the Reductions the money and the wedding-ring also were church property, and only used upon this occasion, because of the scarcity of metals. Some addition from the public stores was made to the marriage-feast.

Peramas, §  
6.Muratori,  
103.Dobrizhof-  
fer, 1, 249.  
Peramas, §  
65.

Discipline.

An Indian of the Reductions never knew, during his whole progress from the cradle to the grave, what it was to take thought for the morrow: all his duties were comprized in obedience. The strictest discipline soon becomes tolerable when it is certain and immutable; . . . that of the Jesuits extended to every

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<sup>11</sup> Upon this subject Azara (*T.* 2, 175) repeats a silly and indecent charge against the Jesuits, which he wishes to make the reader believe, though he evidently does not, and certainly could not believe it himself. But it came in aid of one of his theories, and therefore he would not lose it.

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*Education  
and employ-  
ment of the  
children.*

thing, but it was neither capricious nor oppressive. The children were considered as belonging to the community; they lived with their parents, that the course of natural affection might not be interrupted; but their education was a public duty. Early in the morning the bell summoned them to church, where having prayed and been examined in the catechism, they heard mass; their breakfast was then given them at the Rector's from the public stores; after which they were led by an elder, who acted both as overseer and censor, to their daily occupations. From the earliest age the sexes were separated; they did not even enter the church by the same door, nor did woman or girl ever set foot within the Jesuit's house. The business of the young girls was to gather the cotton, and drive away birds from the field. The boys were employed in weeding, keeping the roads in order, and other tasks suited to their strength. They went to work with the music of flutes, and in procession, bearing a little image of St. Isidro the husbandman, the patron saint of Madrid, who was in high odour during the seventeenth century: this idol was placed in a conspicuous situation while the boys were at work, and borne back with the same ceremony when the morning's task was over. In the afternoon they were again summoned to church, where they went through the rosary; they had then their dinner in the same manner as their breakfast, after which they returned home to assist their mothers, or amuse themselves during the remainder of the day.

*Peramas, §  
69—72*

*Choristers.*

Those children who by the manner in which they repeated morning and evening their prayers and catechism, were thought to give promise<sup>12</sup> of a good voice, were instructed in reading,

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<sup>12</sup> Muratori has expressed this in strong and singular language. "*Sogliono con particolar cura i saggi missionari scegliere que' fanciulli, che da' primi anni si*

writing<sup>13</sup>, and music, and made choristers; there were usually about thirty in a Reduction: this was an honour which parents greatly coveted for their children. Except these choristers, only those children were taught to read and write who were designed for public officers, servants of the church, or for medical practice; and they were principally chosen from the families of the Caciques<sup>14</sup> and chief persons of the town, . . . for amid this perfect equality of goods, there was an inequality of rank, as well as office. The Cacique retained his title, and some appearance of distinction, and was exempt from tribute. One of the charges against the Jesuits was, that they carefully kept their

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Guarani the  
language of  
the Reduc-  
tions.

*conoscono forniti di miglior metallo di voce.*" This expression could hardly have originated any where except in a country where men are considered as musical instruments.

<sup>13</sup> P. Florentin de Bourges, therefore, (*Lettres Edifiantes*, T. 8, p. 384, ed. 1781,) must be incorrect in stating, that from the age of seven or eight to twelve the children went to school to learn reading and writing, and be instructed in their catechism and their prayers; the girls being in separate schools, where they were taught to spin and to sew. There is nothing in the whole of the *Lettres Edifiantes* more suspicious than this Capuchin's account of the manner in which he lost himself between Santa Fe and Cordoba, and travelled alone through the woods to the Reduction of S. Francisco Xavier in Paraguay. He does not even hint at the slightest difficulty, danger, or inconvenience of any kind upon the way, . . . *toute au contraire*; . . . " *Tout ce que l'étude et l'industrie des hommes ont pu imaginer pour rendre un lieu agréable, n'approche point de ce que la simple nature y avoit rassemblé de beautés.*" The most edifying and audacious miracles in the book are not more extraordinary than this.

<sup>14</sup> If Dobrizhoffer's remark be well founded, this preference ought not to have been shown. He says, "*Experti sumus passim Caciquos plerumque plebeiiis stupidiores esse, et ad publica oppidi munia minus habiles.*" T. 2, p. 117. There were fifty Caciques in the thirty Guarani Reductions. Philip V. would have made them all Knights of Santiago, but was dissuaded, being assured that they would not regard the honour as they ought. *Peramas*, § 156.

CHAP. XXIV. Indians in ignorance of the Spanish tongue. Like many other charges against them, it was absurd as well as groundless. Throughout the Spanish settlements in Paraguay, Guarani is the language which children learn from their mothers and their nurses ; and which, owing to the great mixture of native blood, and the number of Indians in slavery or in service, is almost exclusively used. Even in the city of Asumpcion, sermons were better understood in Guarani than in Spanish ; and many women of Spanish name and Spanish extraction did not understand the language of their fathers. In a country, therefore, where all the Spaniards spoke Guarani, the imputed policy of keeping the Indians a distinct people could not be forwarded by preventing them from learning Spanish. It was altogether unnecessary that this language should make part of their education. The laws enjoined that it should be taught to such Indians as were desirous of learning it, and accordingly there were some in every Reduction who were able to read Spanish and Latin as well as their own tongue. Their learning, however, was of little extent . . . the Tree of Knowledge was not suffered to grow in a Jesuit Paradise.

*Peramas, §*  
77.

*Music.*

Equal care was taken to employ and to amuse the people ; and for the latter purpose, a religion which consisted so much of externals afforded excellent means. It was soon discovered that the Indians possessed a remarkable aptitude for music. This talent was cultivated for the church-service, and brought to great perfection by the skill and assiduity of F. Juan Vaz : in his youth he is said to have been one of Charles the Fifth's musicians ; but having given up all his property, and entered the Company, he applied the stores of his youthful art to this purpose, and died in the Reduction of Loretto, from the fatigues which in extreme old age he underwent in attending upon the neophytes during a pestilence. You would say, says

*Peramas, §*  
87.

Peramas, that these Indians are born, like birds, with an instinct for singing. Having also, like the Chinese, an admirable ingenuity in imitating whatever was laid before them, they made all kinds of musical instruments: the lute, guitarre, harp, violin, violincello, sackbut, cornet, oboe, spinette, and organ were found among them; and the choral part of the church service excited the admiration and astonishment of all Europeans who visited the Reductions.

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XXIV.

Muratori,  
98.  
Peramas, §  
88.  
Charlevoix,  
257.

In dancing according to the ordinary manner, the Jesuits saw as many dangers as the old Albigenes, or the Quakers in later times; and like them, perhaps, believed that the paces of a promiscuous dance were so many steps toward Hell. But they knew that to this also the Indians had a strong propensity, and therefore they made dancing a part of all their religious festivities. Boys and youths were the performers; the grown men and all the females assisted only as spectators, apart from each other: the great square was the place, and the Rector and his Coadjutor were seated in the church-porch to preside at the solemnity. The performances were dramatic figure-dances, for which the Catholic mythology furnished subjects in abundance. Sometimes they were in honour of the Virgin, whose flags and banners were then brought forth; each of the dancers bore a letter of her name upon a shield, and in the evolutions of the dance the whole were brought together and displayed in their just order: at intervals they stopt before her image, and bowed their heads to the ground. Sometimes they represented a battle between Christians and Moors, always to the proper discomfiture of the Misbelievers. The Three Kings of the East formed the subject of another favourite pageant; the Nativity of another; but that which perhaps gave most delight was the battle between Michael and the Dragon, with all his imps. These stories were sometimes represented in the form of *Autos*, or

Dancing.

Sacred  
Dramas.

CHAP. XXIV. Sacred Plays, (like the mysteries of our ancient drama) in which no female actors were admitted: the dresses and decorations were public property, and deposited among the public stores, under the Rector's care. The Jesuits, who incorporated men of all descriptions in their admirably-formed society, had at one time a famous dancing-master in Paraguay, by name Joseph Cardiel; who, whether he had formerly practised the art as a professor, or was only an amateur, took so much delight in it, that he taught the Indians no fewer than seventy different dances, all, we are assured, strictly decorous. Sometimes the two arts of music and dancing were combined, as in ancient Greece, and the performers, with different kinds of hand-instruments, danced in accordance to their own playing.

*Peramas, §  
91-4.*

*Festivals.*

One great festival in every Reduction was the day of its tutelary saint, when the boys represented religious dramas; the inhabitants of the nearest Reductions were invited, and by means of these visits a cheerful and friendly intercourse was maintained. But here, as in most other Catholic countries, the most splendid spectacle was that which, in the naked monstrosity of Romish superstition, is called the Procession of the Body of God! On this day the houses were hung with the best productions of the Guarani loom, interspersed with rich featherworks, garlands, and festoons of flowers. The whole line of the procession was covered with mats, and strewn with flowers and fragrant herbs. Arches were erected of branches wreathed with flowers, and birds were fastened to them by strings of such length as allowed them to fly from bough to bough, and display a plumage more gorgeous than the richest produce of the vegetable world. Wild beasts were secured beside the way, and large vessels of water placed at intervals, in which there were the finest fish, that all creatures might thus by their representatives render homage to the present Creator! The game which had been killed for the feast made a part of the spectacle. Seed

reserved for the next sowing was brought forth to receive a blessing, and the first fruits of the harvest as an offering. The flour-and-water object of Romish idolatry went first, under a canopy, which was borne by the Cacique and the chief magistrates of the town: the royal standard came next: then followed the male inhabitants in military array, horse and foot, with their banners. There was an altar at the head of every street; the sacrament stopt at each, while a *mottetto*, or anthem, was sung; and the howling of the beasts assorted strangely with these strains, and with the chaunting of the choristers. Part of the dainties which had been exposed were sent to the sick; the men dined in public upon the rest, and a portion of the feast was sent to the women at their houses. After a sermon, one of the chief inhabitants repeated a summary<sup>15</sup> of the discourse to the men, in the great square, or in the court before the Jesuits' house; an older man did the same to the women. Practice had made them so expert in this, that their report was sometimes almost a verbal repetition.

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XXIV.

Peramas, §  
95.  
Do. § 120.

Dobrizhof-  
fer, 2, 75.

Upon holidays the men amused themselves, after evening service, with mock-battles, or shooting arrows at a mark, or playing with a ball of gum-elastic, which they struck with the upper part of the foot. On working-days, if they had any leisure from public or private occupation, they went fowling, hunting, and fishing. Some were employed as shepherds and herdsmen, and in tending the horses of the community. The women had their full share of labour; they provided the houses with wood and water; they assisted their husbands in cultivating the private ground; they were the potters; and the mistress of every

Sports.

Employ-  
ments of the  
women.

<sup>15</sup> A Guarani of Loretto composed a volume of these summaries, which Peramas praises, adding that he had often found it useful.

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family received weekly a certain portion of raw cotton, to be spun for the common stores <sup>16</sup>. Considerable progress had been made both in the useful and ornamental arts. Besides carpenters, masons, and blacksmiths, they had turners, carvers, painters, and gilders; they cast bells and built organs. In these arts they were instructed by some of the lay-brethren, among whom artificers of every kind were found. Metal was brought from Buenos Ayres, at an enormous cost, having been imported there from Europe. They were taught enough of mechanics to construct horse-mills, enough of hydraulics to raise water for irrigating the lands, and supplying their stews, and public cisterns for washing. A Guarani, however nice the mechanism, could imitate any thing which was set before him. There were several weavers in every Reduction, who worked for the public stock; and a certain number were employed for the use of individuals, women taking their thread to the steward, and receiving an equal weight in cloth when it had past through the loom, the weavers being paid from the treasury. This was the produce of their private culture, and in this some little incitement was afforded to vanity and voluntary exertion; for they were supplied every year with a certain quantity of clothing, and what they provided themselves was so much finery. In their unreclaimed state some of these tribes were entirely naked, and the others nearly so, . . . but the love of dress became almost a universal passion among them as soon as they acquired the first rudiments of civilization. "Give them any thing fine," says Do-

Muratori,  
142.

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<sup>16</sup> Azara (2, 250) says, that only the musicians, sacristans, and choristers were taught to use the needle; the women doing no needle-work except spinning. Needle-work, indeed, could little be wanted, except for the service of the church, and the dress of the Jesuits, perhaps.

brizhoffer, "and . . . *in cælum jussuris, ibunt.*" This, therefore, was one of the ways by which his colleagues enticed them to Heaven.

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Dobrishof-  
fer, 2, 141.  
Dress.

The dress of the men was partly Spanish, partly Indian, consisting of shirt, doublet, breeches, and the *poncho*, called among them *aobaci*, a garment which the Spaniards in these countries have very generally adopted from the southern tribes. It is the rudest of all modes of dress, but far<sup>17</sup> from being the least commodious, . . . a long cloth, with a slit in the middle, through which the head is put; the two halves then fall before and behind to a convenient length, and the sides being open, the arms are left unimpeded. In the Reductions these were made of cotton; the common people wore them of one colour, and each man was provided with a change; for persons in office, they were woven with red or blue stripes. The women, when they appeared at church, and other public occasions, were covered from head to foot with a cotton cloak, which left only the face and the throat visible. Their domestic and common dress was lighter<sup>18</sup>, and better adapted for business. The hair was collected in a net, after the Spanish and Portugueze fashion; but when they went abroad it was worn loose. They used no kind of head-dress, nor any covering for the feet and legs; Peramas confesses that an alteration in this latter point would have been

<sup>17</sup> *Ridiculam dices rem; atqui nec ridicula est, et eadem commodissima ad equitandum, sive quid aliud agendum sit. Sane Hispani vel noblissimi, cum equitant vel ruri sunt, non alio utuntur illac sago, quod ipsi vocant poncho. Hoc unum interest, quod his multo pretio ejusmodi amictus is constet ob exquisitiorem materiam, intextosque labores.* Peramas, § 201.

<sup>18</sup> Azara (2, 252) says, the cloth whereof this common dress was made was so open in its texture as not to answer the purpose of decent concealment. This I have no doubt is false.

CHAP. desirable, for the purpose of protecting them from snakes.

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*Ornaments.*

Brazen ear-rings were worn, and necklaces and bracelets of coloured beads: such things are so universal among women, through all gradations of society, from the lowest point to the highest degree of civilization which has yet been attained, that a love of trinketry seems almost to be characteristic of the sex. On gala-days the magistrates were drest in a full Spanish suit, with hat, and shoes, and stockings: this finery was not their own, and was only supplied from the public property for the occasion. The persons also who officiated at the altar wore shoes and stockings during the service; but when that was ended they went barefooted again, like the rest of their countrymen.

Every morning, after mass, the Corregidor waited upon the Rector, told him what public business was to be done in the day, and informed him if any thing deserving reprehension had occurred since yesterday's report. In such a community there could be few subjects for litigation: if a dispute arose which the friends of the parties could not adjust, they were brought before the Rector, who heard both parties in person, and pronounced a final sentence. The punishment for criminal cases was stripes and imprisonment; the prisoner was led to mass every day in bonds: if the offence were such as would in other places have been punished with death, he was kept a year in close confinement and in chains, during which time he was sparingly dieted, and frequently disciplined with stripes; at the year's end he was banished from the Reductions, and turned out in a direction toward the Spanish settlements. The magistrates were not allowed to inflict any of these punishments without the Rector's approbation; but such cases rarely occurred. For as the aim of the Jesuits was to keep their people in a state of perpetual pupillage, the Indians were watched as carefully as children under the most vigilant system of school-discipline. All persons

*Punish-  
ments.*

were to be in their houses at a certain hour in the evening, after which the patrole immediately began their rounds, for the double purpose of guarding against any surprize from the savages, (a danger which was always possible,) and of seeing that no person left his home during the night, except for some valid reason. The patroles were chosen with as much care among the most docile subjects, as if they had been designed for the service of the church. Overseers also were appointed, whose business it was to go from place to place during the day, and see that none were idle, and that the cattle with which individuals were entrusted either for their own or the public use, were not neglected or abused. Man may be made either the tamest or the most ferocious of animals. The Jesuits' discipline, beginning with birth and ending only with death, ensured that implicit obedience which is the first duty of Monachism, and was the great object of their legislation. Beside the overseers who inspected the work of the Indians, there were others who acted as inspectors of their moral conduct, and when they discovered any misdemeanour, clapt upon the offender a penitential dress, and led him first to the church to make his confession in public, and then into the square to be publicly beaten. It is said that these castigations were always received without a murmur, and even as an act of grace, . . . so completely were they taught to lick the hand which chastised and fed them. The children were classed according to their ages, and every class had its inspectors, whose especial business it was to watch over their behaviour; some of these censors stood always behind them at church with rods, by help of which they maintained strict silence and decorum. This system succeeded in effectually breaking down the spirit. Adults, who had eluded the constant superintendance of their inspectors, would voluntarily accuse themselves, and ask for the punishment which they had merited; but by a wise precaution

CHAP.  
XXIV.*System of  
inspection.*

1271  
1271  
1271  
1271

CHAP. they were not allowed to do this in public till they had obtained  
 XXIV. permission, and that permission was seldom accorded to the  
 weaker sex. They would often enquire of the priest if what  
 they had done were or were not a sin ; the same system which  
 rendered their understanding torpid, producing a diseased irrita-  
 bility of conscience, if that may be called conscience which was  
 busied with the merest trifles, and reposed implicitly upon the  
 priest. In consequence of their utter ignorance of true morality,  
 and this extreme scrupulosity, one of their confessions occupied  
 as much time as that of ten or twelve Spaniards. The Pope,  
 in condescension to their weakness, indulged them with a jubi-  
 lee every year ; and on these occasions the Missionaries of the  
 nearest Reductions went to assist each other. The Jesuits boast  
 that years would sometimes pass away without the commission  
 of a single deadly sin, and that it was even rare to hear a confes-  
 sion which made absolution necessary. Few vices, indeed, could  
 exist in such communities. Avarice and ambition were ex-  
 cluded ; there was little room for envy, and little to excite  
 hatred and malice. Drunkenness, the sin which most easily  
 besets savage and half-civilized man, was effectually prevented  
 by the prohibition of fermented liquors : and against inconti-  
 nence every precaution was taken which the spirit of Monach-  
 ism could dictate. It has been seen how the sexes were sepa-  
 rated, from the earliest age, and all the inhabitants coupled al-  
 most as early as the course of nature would permit ; and lest  
 the nightly watch and the daily vigilance of the inspectors  
 should prove insufficient preservatives, the widows, and women  
 whose husbands were employed at a distance, unless they had  
 infants at the breast, were removed into a separate building  
 adjoining the burial-ground, and inclosed from the town. Their  
 idolatry came in aid of this precautionary system : no person  
 who had in the slightest degree trespassed against the laws of

*P. Labbe*  
*Lett. Edif.*  
*t. 8. p. 178.*  
*edit. 1781.*

modesty could be worthy to be accounted among the servants of the Queen of Virgins.

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The exclusion of the Spaniards from this commonwealth excited so much suspicion as well as enmity, that it could not long be maintained to that full extent which the Jesuits desired. In later times, therefore, ingress was permitted to the six towns north of the Parana, and the inhabitants of Corrientes came also to the Reduction of Candelaria, which is on the southern side. But the privilege was strictly observed in the other settlements between the Parana and the Uruguay, and in all those beyond the latter river, upon the grounds that by the water-communication they were abundantly supplied with all they wanted from Buenos Ayres; and that if the door were once opened, runaway slaves and mulattoes would fly into these parts. Where the intercourse was allowed, it was exclusively for the purpose of commerce; the inn for strangers was apart from the Indians' dwellings, and when the exchange of commodities was effected, the strangers were dismissed. Money was scarcely known in Paraguay, and the capital being the most inland part of the province, it was less in use there than in any other place. All officers at Asumpcion were paid in kind; every thing had its fixed rate of barter, and he who wanted to purchase one article gave another in payment for it. Among the Reductions there was no circulating medium of any kind. They had factors at Santa Fe and at Buenos Ayres, who received their commodities, and having paid the tribute from the products, returned the surplus in tools, colours for painting, oil and salt, neither of which the country produced, vestments of linen and silk, gold thread for church-ornaments, European wax for church-tapers, and wine for what in the Romish religion is called the sacrifice. They exported cotton and tobacco; rosaries, and little saints, articles which were in great demand in Paraguay and Tucuman,

*Intercourse  
with the  
Spaniards.*

*Dobrizhof-  
fer, 1, 242.*

CHAP. and at Buenos Ayres, were distributed gratuitously, as incite-  
 XXIV. ments to religion, and as means of conciliating favour; they  
 were given especially to those Spaniards who lived remote from  
 Spanish settlements, and who were very thankful for toys in  
 which they had almost as much faith as a negro in his greegree.

The Caa,  
 or Herb of  
 Paraguay.

But the chief article of export from the Reductions was the  
*Matté*, or herb of Paraguay, which throughout this part of Span-  
 ish America is almost as universally in use as tea in England.  
 The name conveys an erroneous idea of the plant; for the herb  
 of Paraguay is prepared from a tree which the Guaranies call  
 Caa, and which in its form and foliage resembles the orange-tree,  
 except that the leaf is softer, and the tree itself much larger.  
 It bears a white flower with five petals, growing in small clus-  
 ters. The seed resembles American pepper in its outward ap-  
 pearance, but within the husk three or four small oblong kernels  
 are contained, of a whitish colour. The mode of preparing the  
 leaves is by laying the twigs before a slow fire, when the leaves  
 crackle like those of the laurel; they are then suspended over  
 the fire, and thus toasted; lastly, laid on the ground and beaten  
 with switches till both leaf and stalk are pulverized. This pre-  
 paration is called *yerva de palos*<sup>19</sup>, implying the manner in  
 which it is made. The Guaranies of the Reductions prepared  
 it more delicately; they picked out the stalks and larger  
 fibres, and having roasted the leaves slowly, beat them slight-  
 ly in a wooden mortar. This was called *Caa miri*, the small,  
 or fine Caa, and was double the price of the *yerva de palos*.  
 It is remarkable that the Jesuits, who had thus far improved  
 the process, should not have improved it farther, and disused

<sup>19</sup> This, in Dobrizhoffer's time, was sold at two florins the arroba, upon the  
 spot: the price was doubled at Asumpcion. In the middle of the preceding cen-  
 tury, the price in that city appears to have been two crowns the arroba.

the beating altogether, because the less the leaves were broken the finer was their flavour, and the longer it was retained. Care was taken not to parch the leaves too much, for they have a gumminess of which they ought not to be deprived. The dealers appreciate it by laying a little upon the palm of the hand, and blowing it off; if it all flies off in a dry powder they reject it; the more it sticks to the hand the better is its quality.

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The manner of preparing the infusion and of taking it is very different from our European custom of preparing tea. Instead of a tea-pot, a bowl is used of horn, or made of a gourd, ornamented with silver, if the owner be wealthy. In this about a table-spoonful of the herb is mixed with sugar, and a little cold water, and left to stand awhile; boiling water is then added, and while it is yet frothing they suck it through a silver tube, having a globular strainer at the end. The cups out of which they take it are usually made of the *Palo Santo*, or holy wood (the *jacaranda*, or *Pao Santo* of Brazil;) cups, spoons, and tobacco-pipes of this wood are regarded as valuable utensils, and thought to possess wholesome properties. The poorer classes use a pipe of wood, or a reed; the Indians drink it; and it is said that balls of the herb, like the bezoar-stone, are frequently formed in their stomachs. Neither they nor the lower classes use sugar with it, being contented with the simple infusion. The wealthy sometimes mingle a little powder of the leaves of the *Quabiri miri*<sup>20</sup>, or of the rind of its fruit, to heighten the flavour; bilious

Manner of  
preparing it.

Dobrizhoffer,  
fer, 1, 388.

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<sup>20</sup> Dobrizhoffer (1, 419,) describes this as a shrub resembling the juniper, growing chiefly in poor ground, and preferring a sandy soil. It is very abundant he says, about St. Paulo. There is a species of ant which deposits a wax upon its boughs, delicately white, and with a balsamic odour. The women collect it with great patience to form church-tapers; but it requires a mixture of bees wax to harden it.

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persons add lemon or orange juice. The infusion is thought unwholesome if it stand long in the bowl; it is then only used as an ingredient for making ink. All that is damaged by wet upon the road is sold for a black die; the colour is easily imbibed, and the gum which it contains renders it lasting. Great virtues are ascribed to this tea. It is said, especially if taken cold, to relieve hunger and thirst. The Indians who have been labouring at the oar all day feel immediately refreshed by a cup of the herb, mixed simply with the river-water. In Chili and Peru the people believe that they could not exist without it; and many persons take it every hour in the day, debauching with it as the Turks do with opium.

*Its use learnt  
from the natives,*

*who have  
been consumed in gathering it.*

The Spaniards are said to have learnt the use of this tea from the natives; . . . a most remarkable fact, considering in how savage a state all the tribes were found. Its use was soon adopted, and spread throughout the adjoining provinces: and it is said, that in consequence of the great demand, the herb of Paraguay became almost as fatal to the Indians in this part of America as mines and pearl-fisheries had been elsewhere. The Caa-trees grow chiefly in the woods about two hundred leagues east of Asumpcion, in a marshy, muddy soil, such as reeds delight in. The labour of gathering and preparing the leaves was indeed neither severe nor unwholesome; but the fatigues of the journey were excessive; they had to open thickets, to bridge rivers for the passage of the cattle, and lay fascines across the marshes; when they reached the woods, their first business was to make huts for themselves and inclosures for their beasts, and then to erect frames, like the *boucan*, whereon to dry the boughs. As soon as the day's work was done, they hastened to the nearest water and plunged in, and then picked from each other's body the ticks with which they were covered; if this were neglected, death was the consequence in a few days, from

the inflammation and ulcers which these vermin occasioned. Many thousand men are constantly in the woods collecting and preparing the leaves, and thus it was that the *Encomienda* Indians were consumed. Many thousand oxen and mules are employed in the trade, and from the length of the journey and the nature of the roads, but still more from the little humanity which is shown toward cattle in that country, and from their little value, they are soon worn out. Hence it is affirmed that those who carry on the first branch of the trade seldom grow rich; though it is exceedingly lucrative to those who deal in the ready article. The prepared leaves are packed in square leathern trunks, holding seven *arrobas* each: two of these are a mule's load, and the mule will not carry more: if a few pounds are added, he kneels down, turns upon his back, and resolutely resists the imposition.

The Indians used to pick the leaves from the tree, and only lop the luxuriant branches, as if pruning them; but the Spanish traders, with the blind rapacity of men who seek only immediate gain, cut the tree down, as the shortest work. Thus they destroyed the woods, and had year after year to travel farther in search of more. The Jesuits, with their usual wisdom, attempted to cultivate the Caa: they tried to raise it from seed, but without success. They removed young plants, but though this method succeeded, it was attended with much difficulty and trouble. They then listened to a report of the natives, which, perhaps, they had at first regarded as fabulous, that the seeds of this tree would not germinate till they had been eaten by the birds: they sought for such seeds, but they reasoned also upon the fact, and discovered what purpose is answered by this process. The seeds are covered with a viscous substance, which raises a lather in water; till they are cleared of this they will not germinate: the Jesuits, therefore, washed the fresh seed in

*The Spaniards destroy the trees.*

*The Jesuits cultivate them.*

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hot water, but the cultivated trees never attain the size of those which were found in the woods, and one cause may possibly be, that a part only of the natural process is imitated by this artificial method. The earth in which they are sown is tempered to the consistence of mud, and when the young trees are transplanted, each is set in the centre of a hole made for the purpose of collecting and receiving water; a shed is also built round it, to protect it from the wind and hoar-frost, for the Caa will not bear cold, and is therefore confined to the north of Paraguay: after the fourth year the leaves were gathered. An outcry was raised against the Jesuits for introducing this tree into the Reductions, as if their purpose was to enrich the Society by rivalling Asumpcion in its only important branch of trade: in consequence of this apprehension the Reductions were not allowed to export more than 12,000 *arrobas* yearly<sup>21</sup>. The annual export from Asumpcion was nearly 130,000; that city serving as the depot for what came from Villarica and from Curuguaty, the two settlements which engaged with most activity in this pursuit. The charge, therefore, that the Jesuits enriched themselves by their extensive dealings in this article, is as groundless as the other accusations which were brought against them.

*Dobrichofer*, 1, 111  
—121.  
*Jotis*. 292.

The system upon which the Reductions were founded and administered was confessedly suggested by that which Nóbrega and Anchieta had pursued in Brazil; the persons who matured it, and gave it its perfect form in Paraguay, were Lorenzana, Montoya, and Diaz Taño. Never was there a more absolute despotism; but never has there existed any other society in

*Peramas*, §  
258—263.

<sup>21</sup> It is said by F. Rodero, in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, that they never exported more than half that quantity. T. 9, p. 195.

which the welfare of the subjects, temporal and eternal, has been the sole object of the government: the governors, indeed, erred grossly in their standard of both; but, erroneous as they were, the sanctity of the end proposed, and the heroism and perseverance with which it was pursued, deserve the highest admiration. Among the numberless calumnies with which the Jesuits have been assailed, it was asserted that they lived like princes in their empire of Paraguay; and gave free scope to themselves in all those sensualities from which their converts were interdicted. The romances of Catholic hagiology are far from representing their saints as being free from temptation; but nothing in those romances is more monstrous than it would be to believe that these missionaries were influenced by any other motives than those of duty towards God and man. The men appointed to this service had given evidence of their enthusiasm by entering the Company, and requesting to be sent upon the mission: here then was proof in every individual of his inclination, and thence a probability of his fitness for the work; and in the Jesuit Order every man had that station assigned him for which he was adapted by his qualities, good or evil, . . . from those who directed the councils of Catholic monarchs, or organized conspiracies in heretical countries, to the humble lay-servant of a hospital, who offered himself with all the ardour of religious love for the most loathsome offices which suffering humanity requires. In the younger brethren, who acted as assistants in the Reductions while they were learning the language, it might sometimes happen that enthusiasm would abate, and that they would yield to propensities, which the unnatural state in which they were placed, and the errors in which they were bred, made it sinful to indulge. But such instances must necessarily have been very rare. The life of a missionary, after he began his labours in seeking out the wild Indians, was spent in the most

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arduous toils, the severest privations, and the greatest dangers, which were frequently terminated by untimely death. By the time that he was thought competent to the charge of a Reduction, the intellectual and moral habits were fixed: there was the pride of character to support, both his own and that of the Company, and there was the more powerful control of principle and of faith. The sacrifices which he had made of worldly ambition, of all the natural affections, and of the comforts of civilized life, were then amply rewarded. From the temptation of doubting the fables which he preached, and the idolatry which he practised, there was little danger; and the season for all other temptations was then gone by. He found himself the absolute director of a whole community, who were beholden to the Order whereof he was a member for all their comforts here and all their hopes hereafter, their peace and happiness on earth, their inheritance in heaven; he believed himself to be the immediate and accredited agent between them and their Maker; their master and his servant, the faithful shepherd of a happy flock.

But if the Jesuits were placed in circumstances where even their superstition tended to purify and exalt the character, calling into action the benevolent as well as the heroic virtues, it was far otherwise with the Indians; they were kept by system in a state of moral inferiority. Whatever could make them good servants, and render them happy in servitude, was carefully taught them, but nothing beyond this, . . . nothing which could tend to political and intellectual emancipation. The enemies of the Company were thus provided with fair cause of accusation: why, they said, was no attempt made to elevate the Indians into free agents? why, if they were civilized, were they not rendered capable of enjoying the privileges of civilized men? If the system were to lead to nothing better, then had

the Jesuits been labouring for no other end than to form an empire for themselves. This argument was distinct from all those which originated in the enmity of political or religious parties, and undoubtedly had its full weight in latter times. In vain did the Jesuits reply that these Indians were only full-grown children<sup>22</sup>, and that they knew not whether their obtuseness of intellect were a defect inherent in the race, or the consequence of savage life. Such an answer was no longer relevant when generations had grown up under their tuition: they dared not insist upon the first alternative, which would have been admitting all that the *Encomenderos* and slave-dealers desired; but if there were no original and radical inferiority in the race, then was the fault in that system upon which the Reductions were established. Why, it was asked, will not the Jesuits recruit themselves from these Indians who are born and bred among them, when it is so difficult to procure missionaries from Europe, so expensive to transport them, and impossible to obtain them in sufficient numbers? Why does not the Company, which in other countries has acted with right Christian indifference toward casts and colours, admit Guaranies into its bosom? The answer was, that their superiors had determined otherwise, . . . that things were well as they were; the object was accomplished; the Indians were brought to a state of Christian obedience, Christian virtue, and Christian happiness; their

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<sup>22</sup> They called them babies with beards, . . . an expression which would have disconcerted Pauw, if he had chosen to remember it. Muratori's words are remarkable: "*Secondo il parere de que' Missionari, ne i Cristiani del Paraguai si truova un' intendimento assai ristretto, ed incapace di speculazione, di modo che li sogliono chiamar Bambini colla barba. Non è questo un picciolo requisito per poterli governare con facilità.* P. 1, 142.

CHAP. *summum bonum* was obtained; their welfare here and hereafter  
 XXIV. was secured. To those who look forward for that improvement of mankind, and that diminution of evil in the world, which human wisdom and divine religion both authorize us to expect, the reply will appear miserably insufficient: but the circumstances of the surrounding society into which it was proposed that these Indians should be incorporated, must be considered, and when the reader shall have that picture before him he will hold the Jesuits justified.

*Discomforts and dangers to which the Missionaries were exposed.*

Excessive were the exertions which the Jesuit missionaries made, the difficulties which they underwent, and the dangers to which they exposed themselves, in seeking out and reducing the wild tribes. The itinerant set forth with his breviary, and a cross, six feet in height, which served him for a staff: about thirty converts accompanied him as guides, interpreters, and servants, or rather fellow-labourers; they were armed, but not with fire-arms, and carried axes and bills to open a way through the woods, a stock of maize for their supply in case of need, and implements for producing fire. Hammocks might easily have been added, but the Missionaries seldom indulged themselves with any thing that could possibly be dispensed with. The danger from wild beasts<sup>23</sup> is not great in Paraguay and the adjoining provinces; but there are few parts of the world in which the traveller has so many plagues to molest him. The first business upon halting for the night, or

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<sup>23</sup> The cayman, or crocodile of this country, is not dreaded. The cold stupifies these animals; they crawl out at morning into the sun, and lie in a half torpid state, so that they may be easily killed. And the yaguar, contrary to the general habit of beasts of prey, is said to prefer carrion to living food.

*Dobrizhoffer*, 1, 120, 283.

even for a meal during the day, is to beat the ground and trample the grass for a safe distance round, in order to drive away the snakes, who are very numerous, and who are attracted by fire<sup>24</sup>. The torment of insects is almost insufferable. Where there is finer grass, where there are thickets or marshes, on the borders of lakes or rivers, or where there are thick woods, there says Dobrizhoffer<sup>25</sup> if you are to pass the night, you must not dream of sleeping. All the plagues of Egypt seem to have been transferred to the lowlands of South America. Ticks of every size are numerous enough to form a curse themselves. The open country swarms with fleas; so that he who lies down upon what he supposes to be clean turf, where there is no vestige of either man or beast, rises up black with these vermin. The *vinchuca*, or flying bug, is more formidable in houses<sup>26</sup> than in the open

CHAP.  
XXIV.Azara, 1,  
235.  
Dobrizhof-  
fer, 2, 231.

2, 361—70.

<sup>24</sup> The houses are very much infested with snakes, in consequence of this habit. Troublesome and dangerous as it is, it indicates an easy mode of destroying them. The traveller is liable to another danger from his own fires. Sometimes the only practicable way is through the reeds which form groves along the course of the rivers. If a gust of wind scatters the live embers, these take fire, and many persons have thus been miserably burnt alive.

<sup>25</sup> His language is very lively. "*Ubi gramen adultius, ubi dumeta, stagnorum amniumve ripa, ubi paludes viciniore, ubi sylva quæ aerem excludant densiores, ibi serpentum, ibi culicum omnis generis colluviem patieris. Tali in statione si pernoctandum tibi, de somno ne somniaveris tandem.*"

<sup>26</sup> In one of his journeys Dobrizhoffer (3, 370) was lodged with a priest of high rank, and after supper the host, the guest, and the whole family went into the fields to sleep, leaving the house to these bugs, . . . such, it seems, being the unavoidable custom at that season! Buenos Ayres was once visited with a flight of these most noxious insects, who filled the city like one of the plagues of Egypt, and continued there four days. (*Azara*, 1, 208.) As if they had not indigenous vermin enough, a Governor, in 1769, imported the European bug to Asumpcion in his baggage. (*Do.* 1, 207.)

CHAP. air. Breeze-flies and wasps torment the horses and mules.  
 XXIV. But the common fly is far the most serious plague both to man and beast in this country : it gets to the ears and noses of those who are asleep, deposits its eggs, and unless timely relief be applied, the maggots eat their way into the head, and occasion the most excruciating pain and death. This is well known in the Columbian Islands, as a danger to which the sick are exposed ; but in Paraguay it occurs frequently, and Dobrizhoffer says he dreaded the fly more than all the other insects and all the venomous reptiles of the country. In addition to these evils the Missionaries had often to endure the extremes of fatigue and hunger, when making their way through swamps and woodlands : and when, having persevered through all these obstacles, they found the savages of whom they were in quest, they and their companions sometimes fell victims to the ferocity, the caprice, or the suspicion of the very persons for whose benefit they had endured so much.

*Language of the Reductions. Tribes from which they were formed.*

*The Guaranies. Azara, 1, 57.*

The Reductions were formed from a great variety of tribes, but as most of them were of the Guarani race, Guarani became the language of these settlements, and the converted Indians in Paraguay were generally known by that appellation. The Guarani and Tupi are cognate dialects, so nearly allied and so widely diffused as to be spoken through the whole country between the Orellana and the Plata, and between the Atlantic and the mountains of Peru : many languages which are radically different are interspersed, but a traveller who speaks either the Tupi or Guarani will be understood throughout the whole of these extensive countries. As the Guaranies were more numerous than any other race, their hordes also were more populous ; yet they were so fond of herding together that one habitation frequently contained a whole clan. The distinction between the chief and the people was more strongly marked than among

other tribes, and a Spaniard thought it no debasement to marry the daughter of a Guarani Royalet. This rank was hereditary, but men also rose to it by their eloquence and their valour; for a good orator, if he had the reputation of courage, obtained influence enough to form an independent community, and place himself at its head, and this seems not to have been resented by the chief from whom he and his adherents withdrew: they had enemies enough to contend with without engaging in civil war, and such divisions might be convenient as the horde increased in population, . . . like the departure of a swarm from the hive. The chiefs are said to have claimed the handsomest women for themselves, but easily to have given them away among their followers; this perhaps may only mean that they had the choice of wives for themselves, and the disposal of them for others. The women were always decorously clothed; some of the men wore skins from the shoulders to below the knees; others a kind of net-work, which served little either for warmth or for decency; others a short philibeg of feathers; but they more frequently disguised their nakedness than covered it, by staining the whole body with the juice<sup>27</sup> of plants, or laying on coloured clay, on which they engraved rude patterns; . . . a fashion less durable than tattooing, and perhaps for that reason preferred, because it might be varied as often as the wearer pleased. They spent hours in thus decorating the skin, the husband ornamenting the wife, the wife the husband.

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Jolis, 127.

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<sup>27</sup> For this purpose they cultivated the Urucu (the Roucou of the French, and Atchote of the Spaniards, or rather of the Mexicans). The seeds, when pounded and macerated, deposit a red sediment, which, according to Dobrizhoffer, is the colouring matter of rouge. The wood abounds with resin, and kindles more easily than that of any other tree, for which reason they use it to produce fire by friction. Jolis, 127.

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When a girl arrived at the age of puberty, she was delivered to one of her own sex to undergo a severe sort of training for eight days, which consisted in working her hard, feeding her ill, and allowing her no rest; among some tribes she was confined in a hammock for two or three days, fasting rigorously: according to the strength and spirit with which she sustained this trial they augured of her qualities as a wife. At the expiration of the eight days her hair was cut off, and she abstained from meat till it grew long enough to cover her ears. During this interval she was made to carry water, pound maize, and labour assiduously in all domestic business; it was a crime if she even looked at a man; and if she happened to cast eyes upon a parrot, they thought she would prove talkative for ever after. When her hair had grown to the appointed length, she was tricked out with all the ornaments in use among them, and declared marriageable. Any intrigue before these customs had been observed was held criminal. Pregnant women abstained from eating the flesh of the Anta, lest the child should have a large nose; and from small birds lest it should prove diminutive. The husband during his wife's pregnancy was not to kill any wild beast, nor to make any weapon, nor the handle of any other utensil. For fifteen days after the birth he ate no meat, unbent his bow, and laid no snares for birds; and when the child was ill, all the kindred abstained from whatever food would in their judgement have been injurious for the infant itself to eat. Some women were fond of suckling puppies, a monstrous and disgusting practice, which has not unfrequently been discovered among savages. The condition of the weaker sex was easy among the Guaranies; they indeed carried every thing when the horde moved its quarters, but they had the privilege in consequence of regulating the length of the day's journey; and as soon as any one was tired and laid down her load, all the rest stopt. The chiefs

*Techo*, 37,  
38.  
*Noticias de*  
*Paraguay*,  
*MSS.*  
*Charlevoix*,  
181—4.

were the only men who were allowed to have many wives at once; and the brother of a deceased Royalet might take his widow, a connection which in other cases was not permitted. CHAP. XXIV.

Some of the Guaranies used in war the thong and stone ball which the first Spaniards upon the Plata found so fatal; . . . three of these balls, weighing about a pound each, were fastened to as many thongs, three or four yards in length, which were tied together: as the use of this weapon was derived from the Puelches, it was probably confined to the southern hordes. The Guarani bow is sharp at both ends, so as to serve for a lance when unstrung, very stiff, and strengthened along its whole length by being bound round with strips of *guemba* bark. The children shoot birds with a bow about three feet long, and very much curved, having two strings, which are kept an inch asunder by bits of wood, through which they are passed: in the middle of these strings is a sort of bag or net, which they charge with four or five marbles, and thus they shoot their game at forty paces. Azara<sup>28</sup> says, that at a distance of thirty a marble thus discharged would break a man's leg; but this instrument is never used in war. It was their inviolable practice in war to bring off their own dead, as usual among savages, for the double purpose of concealing their loss from the enemy, and honouring the remains of those who had fallen. Prisoners were killed and eaten with some particular ceremonies. The devoted victim was treated well; the time appointed for his death was kept secret from him, and women were given him, whose exclusive business was to attend to his accommodation and comfort.

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<sup>28</sup> He observes that this weapon, which so curiously combines the properties of the bow and the sling, might be usefully employed in Europe by boys who are set to drive away birds from the corn. *T. 2, p. 67.*

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When he was judged to be in the best condition, all persons were bidden to the entertainment; the guests formed a circle, in the midst of which he who had taken the prisoner, and was therefore the founder of the feast, paraded up and down with great gravity. The captive, ornamented with feathers, was brought in by four of the stoutest youths, and delivered over to six old women; . . . these beldames among all the cannibal tribes enjoying a preference upon such execrable occasions. Their appearance was as fiendish as their business: their bodies were smeared with red and yellow; they wore necklaces of human teeth, . . . a perquisite which they claimed at such sacrifices; and they carried each an earthen vessel, to receive the blood and entrails of the victim, striking them, while empty, like tambourines, and dancing to the sound. The master of the feast then came forward, and laid the macana gently upon the head of his prisoner, an act of mockery which was applauded with shouts of laughter; a second and a third time in like manner he just touched the devoted head, and each time the acclamations were renewed: after this prelude the macana was lifted a fourth time, for the stroke of death. Every guest then came and touched the body; a ceremony which served as a diabolical baptismal rite, the names which children received at birth being exchanged for others upon this occasion. The flesh not being enough for so large an assembly as was usually collected, the bones were boiled, and all who were present partook of the broth; even sucklings were made to taste it: and these entertainments were remembered through life, and spoken of with pride and exultation.

*Noticias de  
Paraguay,  
MSS.*

The death of their own people, whether occurring in war or in the course of nature, was lamented by the women with howling and with shrieks; they tore their hair, and bruised their foreheads; widows threw themselves from high places to express their grief, and sometimes lamed themselves for life in

the fall. They believed that the soul continued with the body in the grave, for which reason they were careful to leave room for it; the first converts could hardly be induced to abandon this notion, and the women would go secretly to the graves of their husbands and children, and carry away part of the earth, lest it should lie heavy upon them. For the same reason they who buried in large earthen jars, covered the face of the corpse with a concave dish, that the soul might not be stifled. Their Payes underwent a severe initiation, living in dark and remote places, alone, naked, unwashed, uncombed, and feeding only upon pepper and roasted maize, till having almost lost their senses, they came into that state in which the Jesuits believed<sup>29</sup> that they invoked the Devil, and that the Devil came at their call. These jugglers pretended to possess the power of killing or curing by their magic, and of divining future events from the language of birds. When they expected a visitor, they fumi-  
gated their huts with the resin of the *Ybira payé*<sup>30</sup>. Their bones were preserved as relics, or objects of worship. Among certain tribes the female Payes were bound to chastity, or they no longer obtained credit. The whole race, like savages in general, were strongly addicted to superstitious observances; they noted their dreams with apprehensive credulity; the touch of an owl they thought would render them inactive; and it was a received belief that the woman who should eat a double grain of millet would bring forth twins. Eclipses were held to be occasioned by a jaguar and a great dog, who pursued the sun

*Dobrichof.*  
*fer, 1, 418.*

<sup>29</sup> The Author of the *Noticias de Paraguay* says that scarcely one in a hundred among the Payes is a *real* sorcerer, the rest being cheats. This is like the man who did not believe above half what he had read in a book of Travels by one Captain Gulliver.

<sup>30</sup> Probably the *Embira preta* of Brazil, which is highly aromatic.

CHAP.  
XXIV.Techo, 37,  
38.Charlevoix,  
1, 181—4.

Charlevoix.

Techo, 37.

and moon to devour them; and the Guaranies regarded these phenomena with the utmost terror, lest the beasts should effect their purpose.

Some of the settled tribes reared poultry; among these the population was progressive, and they were always found more docile and less ferocious than the hordes who lived a wandering life, and depended upon chance for their whole subsistence. All, however, were mindful of their affinity; and though it did not serve for a bond of union among themselves, they were at war with all whom they did not acknowledge to be of their own stock, and designated them by the opprobrious appellation of slaves. Yet the Guaranies, notwithstanding this high pretension, were far from maintaining the same character in the interior as their kindred the Tupis had acquired upon the coast. Either they had degenerated, or some of the nations whom they thus affected to despise had greatly improved; and in latter times they are described as the least warlike<sup>31</sup> and the least courageous people in Paraguay. This must be accounted for by local circumstances, not by any generic<sup>32</sup> inferiority: the

<sup>31</sup> Azara calls them a cowardly race, saying, that ten or twelve Guaranies would hardly withstand a single Indian of any other tribe. If this were true it would distinguish them in a very remarkable manner from the Tupis.

<sup>32</sup> Azara would infer this, as suiting with his system. He makes their mean stature two inches shorter than that of the Spaniards. (2, 58.) Dobrizhoffer says that few are very tall or long-lived. His language is worthy of notice, because it manifestly implies that the Jesuits had not succeeded in keeping their converts so perfectly innocent as they asserted. "*In tot Guaraniorum millibus paucos insigniter proceros, aut admodum vivaces deprehendi. Ratio in promptu est; masculi 17°, fœminæ 15° ætatis anno conjugium inire solent. Quid si illo necdum inito jam lascivirent? Multa hic quæ in mentem veniunt consulto prætereo.*" (2, 214.) It may be suspected that the system of the Jesuits tended to debilitate the body as well as the mind. They are spoken of as less prolific than Europeans. Azara

different branches of this widely-extended race were in very different states of advancement, weak in some places, and therefore shrinking from war; in others numerous, confident, and warlike. The Chiriguanas, who infested Peru on the side of Tarija, and inhabit the vallies of those prodigious mountains which extend almost to the borders of S. Cruz de la Sierra, are of Guarani stock, and the Spaniards have ever found them formidable enemies. Their collective number has been estimated at forty thousand, who, though divided into many tribes, feel as one nation, and assist each other in their wars. They live in settled habitations, and rear sheep, (probably the vicuña) for the sake of the wool, many of them abstaining from the flesh, under a belief that such food would make them woolly. These people, who are supposed by the Spaniards to have been led into that country by Alexis Garcia, and to have settled there after his death, are the most improved of all the Guarani race: the Cayaguas, or Wood-Indians, who inhabited the forests between the Parana and the Uruguay, were the rudest. These people were not in a social state; one family lived at a distance from another, in a wretched hut composed of boughs: they subsisted wholly by prey, and when larger game failed, were contented with snakes, mice, pismires, worms, and any kind of reptile or vermin. One branch of them are accused of laying in wait for men, and killing them for food. Yet these lowest of the Guaranies retained some traces of a better state from which they had fallen. They prepared a good beverage from honey, and the women made a thread from nettles, with which they

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*The Chiriguanas.*

*Dobrichofer, 1, 141.  
Folios, 146.  
Peramus de  
Tredecem,  
p. 228.*

*The Cayaguas.*

affirms that he found four children were the average of a marriage, and that he met with only one Indian who was the father of ten. He states the female births as in the proportion of fourteen to thirteen.

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netted clothing for themselves. The men wore skins, rather for ornament than use, being well case-hardened by their mode of life. The women, as they never ventured out of the deepest recesses of the woods, were almost of European complexion. With these people the Jesuits were very unsuccessful: when any of them were persuaded to enter the Reductions, the effect of a stationary life, and perhaps of the open air and light, was such, that, in Techo's<sup>33</sup> words, they died like plants which grow in the shade, and will not bear the sun.

Techo, 78.

The Guanas.

Next to the Guaranies, the Guanas were the most numerous<sup>34</sup> race in the interior, and in some respects the most improved. They were gregarious; every hut contained twelve families; and their villages, which comprised many of these human hives, were palisadoed, having four gates, which were regularly closed and

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<sup>33</sup> Charlevoix repeats this. When they were reclaimed, he says, they became melancholy, this feeling settled into disease; sickness made them docile, they then listened to instruction, .. *“ et ils mouroient, suivant ce qu'on pouvoit en juger, dans l'innocence de leur baptême.— Quelque soin qu'on prît pour les conserver, il ne fut pas possible d'en sauver aucun. Enfin les Missionnaires se virent reduits à louer les misericordes du Seigneur sur le petit nombre de ceux dont ils avoient assuré le salut éternel, à adorer le profondeur de ses jugemens sur tous les autres, et à se consoler par le temoignage qu'ils pouvoient se rendre d'avoir fait tout ce qui étoit possible pour rendre cette malheureuse nation participante du bienfait de la Redemption. T. 1, 389.*

<sup>34</sup> Azara estimates their collective number at 8,300, but some of the Missionaries compute it at 30,000, and others carry it so high as 45,000; if, indeed Cañano may be relied on when he says that the smallest settlement of the seven which the different tribes of the stock had formed contained 6,000 persons, the largest estimate would not exceed the truth, .. but this assertion seems to be unsupported. They are divided, according to Azara, into eight hordes, the Layana, Ethelenoé or Quinquinao, Chabarana or Choroana or Tchoaladi, Caynacoñoé, Nigotisibué, Yunaeno, Taiy, and Yamoco, .. by these names their neighbours knew them.

watched at night. Instead of sleeping in hammocks, or upon skins, these people raised a wooden frame-work upon four forked posts, and laid upon this a layer of small twigs, which they covered first with skins and then with straw. They bury the dead at the door of their dwellings, for the purpose of keeping fresh the memory of the deceased, instead of endeavouring, as is more usual among savages, to put them out of remembrance. At eight years old the children are led out into the country with great ceremony in silent procession, and having fasted the whole day, they are brought back at evening in the same manner; their arms are then pinched, and pierced with a sharp bone, which they endure without tears and without shrinking. Old women are the operators, the medical practice of the tribe being in female hands: it consists chiefly in sucking the stomach of the patient. The women possess peculiar influence among the Guanas; but they procure it by an atrocious practice: for having discovered that the value of an article depends upon the proportion which the supply bears to the demand, in application of this principle they destroy the greater number of female infants, by burying them as soon as born, in order to enhance the estimation of those which are spared. This is one of the most curious facts in the history of savage man. Infanticide is common among uncivilized and semi-barbarous nations, from motives of selfishness or of superstition; and wherever the practice has prevailed, female infants are peculiarly the victims, because of the difficulty with which women can provide for their own support; this being perhaps the greatest evil in the most improved state of society to which we have yet attained. Among some of the American tribes the mother frequently puts her new-born daughter to death, as an act of compassionate love, . . . so miserable there is the condition of woman. But among the Guanas it was a deliberate speculation for the advantage of

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the sex. They who practise this abomination believe that the end is answered. Women being thus rendered scarce, are consequently objects of great competition; they are always married at the earliest age possible, . . . before they are nine years old; whereas the men remain single till they are twenty or upwards, . . . in fact, till they are strong enough to prevail over their rivals. The bride stipulates before marriage what part she is to bear in the agricultural and domestic business of the household, expressing what she is to do, and what she must not be expected to perform, with as much precision as European lawyers use in a marriage-settlement. It is also agreed whether the husband is to have another wife, (which rarely happens,) and if the wife is to have other husbands, and how many, and how her time is to be apportioned between them. Coquetry, intrigues, jealousy, and frequent divorce are the consequences of such a system; and the advantages which the Guana women procure for themselves by so detestable a means end in rendering them less respectable, and probably far less happy, than the women of other tribes.

*Azara, T. 2,  
85—100.*

*Jolis, 512.*

*Dobrickhof-  
fer, 1, 108.*

*Azara, 98.*

The drink of the Guanans was either water, or the juice of the sugar-cane boiled and unfermented; thus being a sober people, they were united among themselves and respected by their neighbours. By a remarkable sort of compact they were under the protection of the Guaycurus; they served them on their journies, and cultivated the ground for them, in return for which the Guaycurus undertook their defence against all enemies. The service was either in itself so light, or so seldom exacted, that the subjection, though claimed on one hand and acknowledged on the other, is said to have been little more than nominal, though the advantage which the Guanans derived from it was effectual. The Guaycurus always called them their slaves; the name which they gave themselves ill accords with this appellation, Guana signifying a male, . . . as if the nation who bore

that title deserved to be distinguished by it above all others. CHAP.  
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 The same temper which induced them to acknowledge the superiority of a braver but less numerous tribe, leads them to barter their personal services with the Spaniards for European articles of use or ornament; they hire themselves as labourers and as boatmen, and by this means also might civilization be introduced among them, if the habits of the Christian settlers in these countries did not rather tend to degrade the European than to elevate the American stock. Their language is said to differ from that of any other tribe, and thus to mark them as a distinct race. They were the gentlest of all the tribes of Paraguay, and no where had the Missionaries a fairer prospect of success; but when the Paulistas drove the Jesuits beyond the Parana, and destroyed their settlements in Guayra, the Guanas were left to themselves: this event, which deprived them of their religious teachers, expelled also the Paraguay settlers from their country; their defensive manner of living, and the alliance of the Guaycurus, protected them against the Brazilian slave-hunters, and of all the tribes in this extensive region they are probably the least diminished in numbers, and the least changed in their modes of life. Among many others a change was at this time beginning, in consequence of the multiplication of European cattle, which at length produced a total alteration in all their habits, and gave them the superiority in war over their degenerate invaders.

*Asara, T. 2,  
97.*

*Hervas. 1.  
189.*

It has been already stated, that Guarani was the language of the Reductions. Montoya composed a grammar of this language; the way had been made plain for him by Anchieta, for the Tupi is said to differ less from this its radical tongue, than the Spanish from the Portuguese. But though Guarani would suffice for a traveller's use from the Plata to the Orellana, it was far from carrying the Missionary over the

*Language of  
the Reduc-  
tions.*

*Hervas. 1.  
147.*

CHAP. same extent of country. The wants of travellers are com-  
 XXIV. prized in a very brief vocabulary, which may be explained and  
 sometimes extended by the aid of signs. Much more is requi-  
 red for the Missionary ; and the number of dialects, and even  
 of languages radically differing from each other was so great in  
 Paraguay, that the Jesuits speak of their multiplicity as of a  
 confusion like that at Babel. When the Missionary had over-  
 come his first difficulties and dangers, when he had acquired the  
 language of one of these tribes so as to converse with them flu-  
 ently, and obtained their confidence to that degree that they would  
 listen patiently to his instructions, there were still many and  
 serious obstacles to surmount before the work of conversion  
 could be accomplished. The Jesuits were not too solicitous  
 about the inner work. Whether the understanding of the In-  
 dian were convinced, and his heart affected, was with them of  
 little moment, provided he assented to the creed in which they  
 tutored him ; the nature of the father's belief signified little or  
 nothing, so they might train up the children. They were wise  
 in this, but they relied too much upon credulity alone. The  
 radical and vital truths of revelation they themselves did but  
 dimly comprehend, and the savage could not possibly perceive  
 these truths through the garb of mythology in which they were  
 invested and disguised : the fables and monstrosities of Popery  
 did not indeed revolt his reason, because he had been accus-  
 tomed to such gross diet ; he received them as he did the stories  
 of his own Payes, with wonder and implicit belief, . . but he  
 forgot them as readily as a last night's tale. Missionaries have  
 always complained of the fickleness of their converts, and they  
 always must complain of it till they discover that some degree  
 of civilization must precede conversion, or at least accompany it.  
 But when the Jesuits had once collected their wild sheep within  
 the pale, every thing then tended to confirm the neophytes in

submission to their spiritual teachers; the lessons were so frequently repeated that they could not possibly be forgotten, and the routine of the Reductions impressed the inhabitants with all the force of habitual belief.

From drunkenness it seems not to have been difficult to wean the savages; to be debarred from indulgence in a vice of which the ill consequences were so direct and obvious, was a restriction to which they willingly submitted, seeing the propriety, and feeling the benefit. It was otherwise when the intercourse between the sexes was to be regulated according to Christian institutions. Many Indians refused to content themselves with a single wife, and for that reason remained unconverted. Those who were compliant furnished a case for the casuists. Some fathers were of opinion that the woman with whom the Indian had first cohabited, and who on that account was distinguished from the other wives by a peculiar appellation, should be regarded as the lawful wife, and that the rest should be put away; others opined that the husband should be allowed to take his choice among them; for they argued, that as the principle of marriage was not known in their state of paganism, (when any of the women might be repudiated at pleasure,) there was no just reason why a woman who had no stronger claims than the others should be preferred merely because of priority of age; and they insisted upon the obvious hardship and probable consequences of not permitting the man to make his choice. The question was referred to Urban VIII., who pronounced that both opinions were equally probable, and the Jesuits might act upon either, as circumstances and individual judgement might incline them. This difficulty existed only with respect to the first generation of converts. When the Reductions were once formed, children were trained up in the way which was designed for them; and enough was done to show, that if the Missionaries

*Difficulty  
respecting  
marriage.*

*Techo, 87.  
Charlevoix,  
1. 404.  
Peranus,  
§. 63.*

CHAP. XXIV.

had fixed their standard higher, the Guaranies might soon have been ranked among civilized nations. But in appreciating the good which the Jesuits effected, it must be remembered that the Spaniards in Paraguay were sinking fast into a state which can neither properly be called savage nor barbarous, but which of all states in which man has ever been found to exist, is perhaps that in which the fewest virtues are developed.

the ill consequence to which they willingly submitted, seeing the property, and feeling the benefit. It was otherwise when the intercourse between the sexes was to be regulated according to Christian institutions. Many Indians refused to contract themselves with a single wife, and for that reason remained unconverted. Those who were compliant furnished a case for the casuists. Some fathers were of opinion that the woman with whom the Indian had last copulated, and who on that account was distinguished from the other wives by a peculiar appellation, should be regarded as the lawful wife, and that the rest should be put away; others opined that the husband should be allowed to take his choice among them; for they argued, that as the principle of marriage was not known in their state of paganism, (when any of the women might be repudiated at pleasure,) there was no just reason why a woman who had no stronger claim than the other should be preferred merely because of priority of age; and they insisted upon the obvious hardship and probable consequences of not permitting the man to make his choice. The question was referred to Urban VIII., who pronounced that such opinions were equally probable, and the Jesuits might act upon either, as circumstances and individual judgment might incline them. This difficulty existed only with respect to the first generation of converts. When the Recoletons were once formed, children were trained up in the way which was designed for them; and enough was done to show, that if the missionaries

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CHAPTER XXV.

*D. Bernardino de Cardenas appointed Bishop of Paraguay. Circumstances of his consecration. His disputes with the Governor Hinozosa, and with the Jesuits. He attempts to expel the Jesuits, and is himself driven from Asumpcion. Reports concerning gold mines in the Jesuits' territory. Cardenas returns, is made Governor, and forcibly expels them. Sebastian de Leon appointed Vice-Governor ad interim. He defeats the Bishop, and the Jesuits are restored. Sequel of the dispute.*

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The measure of arming the Guaranies had rendered them secure in their new situation, and the Reductions were flourishing, when the Jesuits of Paraguay were involved in a contest not less extraordinary in its cause than serious in its consequences.

In the spring of the year 1640, D. Bernardino de Cardenas, a native of Chuquisaca, and of noble family, was named for Bishop of Paraguay by the Court of Spain. At an early age he had entered the Franciscan Order, and distinguished himself so much as a preacher, that he was appointed Guardian of the Franciscan Convent in his native city. One day he sallied into the streets, having strewn ashes upon his head, and bearing a heavy cross upon his shoulders; his friars came after him, with their backs bare, and flogged themselves as they went through the town, the blood following the scourge. Had Cardenas ever attained the honours of canonization, this would have been

*Cardenas made Bishop of Paraguay.*

CHAP. accounted among his meritorious deeds ; but in the acts of the  
 XXV. saints many things are related for edification which are not for  
 1640. example. This present extravagance was censured by his Superiors ; they superseded him in his office, and confined him for a time to his convent ; but he gained credit with the multitude for this excess of zeal, and when he re-entered the pulpit he became more popular than ever. There was a great want of secular clergy in the country ; a Provincial Council was held at Chuquisaca, to devise means for remedying the evil ; regulars were sent to itinerate, and Cardenas <sup>1</sup> was one of the persons chosen. He travelled on foot, using a cross for his staff: the fame of his successful exertions for the salvation of souls went before him ; his fastings and austerities were reported and exaggerated, and the people already conferred upon him the appellation of saint. It was rumoured that some of his Indian converts, in their admiration for this new apostle, had discovered to him some rich silver mines ; information to this effect was sent by a person in authority to the Viceroy of Peru ; and when Cardenas shortly afterwards was summoned to Lima, it was believed that he went upon this business. But his Superiors had sent for him to reprimand him for having given occasion to this false report ; for having offended the secular clergy and the other religioners during his itinerancy, by interfering officiously with their flocks ; for acts of indiscreet and extravagant zeal,

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<sup>1</sup> His advocate Carrillo says he was named Legate for the extirpation of Idolatry ; but his official designation seems to have been, Preacher and Missionary Apostolic for the Conversion of the Indians. In the course of these expeditions he is said to have conquered innumerable souls for the kingdom of Heaven, and to have overthrown more than 12,000 idols !!

*Discursos Juridicos en Defensa de la Consagracion da D. F. Bernardino de Cardenas, por El Licenciado D. Alonso Carrillo. § 2.*

resembling his procession at Chuquisaca ; and for having used expressions in his sermons which rendered him amenable to the Holy Office : for these reasons they recommended him to compose his mind in retirement, and discipline it by wholesome study. He, however, employed himself in drawing up memorials to the Court, and making use of the interest which he had acquired ; and he soon experienced the effects of that interest. Solorzano, well known as the author of a great work upon the laws of the Spanish Indies, was at this time one of the Council of the Indies ; having heard Cardenas preach, and conceived a high opinion of his character, he recommended him for the vacant bishopric of Paraguay, to which, in consequence of that recommendation, he was appointed.

Cardenas was now bishop elect ; but before he could be consecrated, and enter upon his office with full powers, it was necessary that the Bulls from Rome, which approved and confirmed his appointment, should arrive. Availing himself of the liberty which his promotion gave him, he went to Potosi, meaning there to wait for them. Here he appeared in the habit of his Order, with a little wooden cross upon his breast, and a green hat, and in this costume he exercised his priestly functions. The *Cura* of Potosi died at this time, and Cardenas, without soliciting the Archbishop's leave, or even informing him of his intention, took upon him to act in his place, and make a visitation in that part of the diocese. Offended at this, and taking advantage of some circumstances <sup>2</sup> which had diminished his esteem among

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1640.

*Charlevoix,*  
478—82.

*Difficulty*  
*respecting*  
*his conse-*  
*cration.*

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<sup>2</sup> A free Indian, whom he confessed upon his death-bed, left him his whole substance, amounting to 12,000 crowns. Shortly afterwards a Spaniard under similar circumstances inserted his name in place of another person to whom he had bequeathed a sum of 5000. These things occasioned a suspicion that the character of Cardenas was not so apostolical as he wished to make it appear. It is

CHAP.  
XXV.  

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1640.

the people, the Archbishop desired him to withdraw into his own diocese, and act there, according to custom, by appointment from the Chapter, till his Bulls should arrive, and his consecration could be performed. Cardenas began now to be uneasy at the delay of the Bulls; many accidents might have occurred to delay their arrival; . . . but it was equally possible, when he recollected the circumstances under which he had been summoned to Lima, that his conduct might have been so reported to the Council of the Indies as to make the King change his intention of appointing him. He was therefore desirous to get possession as soon as possible, and with this view having proceeded to Salta in Tucuman, he called upon the Jesuits in that town, showed them letters<sup>3</sup> which proved the fact of his

said also that he did not fail while at Potosi to make full use of the privilege of his Order, and solicit contributions from the faithful, that he, being a poor mendicant, might be enabled to meet the necessary expences of the rank to which he was called. Charlevoix adds that he had wherewithal to console himself for his unceremonious dismissal, . . . "*puisqu'il emportoit d'une ville, où il étoit venu sans avoir un sou, une Chapelle très riche, et de quoi meubler magnifiquement son palais episcopal.*" Statements of this kind from the Jesuits must be received with suspicion; and especially the charge, that when the report of the mines was current, he took money from every person who would advance it, promising, upon the faith of the discovery, to repay it with interest. Rapacious and imprudent as he was, it is not likely that he should thus have exposed himself to censure, and perhaps even to legal proceedings, when he was affecting the reputation of a saint.

<sup>3</sup> Charlevoix says he produced two letters, one from Cardinal Antonio Barberino, dated in December 1638, informing him that the Bulls were actually dispatched, and the other from the King of Spain, without date, giving him the title of Bishop. The first of these, Charlevoix says, was certainly forged; and he adds, that he never could have himself believed, or persuaded any person to believe, that Cardenas actually had produced it, unless it had been quoted by his own *Procurador*, in a Memorial presented to the King on his behalf, which

nomination, represented to them the spiritual necessities of his diocese, and demanded their opinion whether under such circumstances he might not be consecrated without farther delay. They replied that they saw no difficulty in the case; Cardenas requested them to deliver this opinion in writing, and they complied. He then inclosed it to F. Boroa, Rector of the College and University at Cordoba, desiring his opinion, and that of the University; he hoped, he said, to receive these opinions at Santiago, and made no doubt that they would accord with that which the Jesuits at Salta had given. Boroa replied that he was truly grieved at the delay of the Bulls; that this delay was certainly the work of the Devil, who was using all his efforts to keep so worthy a prelate from his charge; that he trusted our Lord would not allow Satan to succeed in this design; that he had submitted the opinion of the Rector of Salta to the Professors of Theology; that the Rector was indeed a man of abilities, but he had not been able to consult the books in which this matter was fully discussed; and that there was not a single Canonist or Theologian in the University who could authorize

Memorial had been printed. The facts appear rather stronger than Charlevoix has stated them. Carrillo cites Barberino's letter, with the date of Dec. 12th, 1638; he gives in a note the King's letter, dated Feb. 21st, 1638, and yet declares in the statement that the King did not nominate Cardenas till May 1640. Volumes have been written upon the case of the Bishop of Paraguay and the Jesuits; neither party has been scrupulous in the means which they employed, or the arguments by which they justified themselves; and at this distance of time and place it often becomes difficult, and sometimes impossible, to ascertain the truth. But it certainly does not appear credible that the King should have apprized Cardenas of his nomination in February 1638, and have delayed to nominate him till May 1640, as appears by Carrillo's own statement. Charlevoix says that he verified the dates in Spain by the Secretary of the Council of the Indies, and at Rome by the Register of the Consistories.

CHAP. the consecration of a Bishop, unless he produced his Bulls.  
 XXV. Cardenas had expected a different reply; he tore Boroa's letter  
 1640. in pieces, threw the fragments upon the floor, then ordered his  
 servants to gather them up and cast them into the fire. Having  
 given way to this access of passion, he acted disengenuously as  
 well as imprudently: he communicated the opinion of the Salta  
 Jesuit to the Bishop of Tucuman, D. Fr. Melchior Maldonado  
 de Saavedra, but concealed that of the University, which ren-  
 dered it of no value; and he urged the Bishop with such pressing  
 importunity to consecrate him, that the Prelate reluctantly yield-  
 ed, protesting <sup>4</sup> nevertheless that by this consecration he con-  
 ferred no power or jurisdiction, for these must be conferred by  
 the Chapter of Asumpcion till the Bulls should arrive. Only  
 two Canons assisted at the ceremony. It was not long before  
 the Bishop was informed of the opinion which the University had  
 given, and discovered that Cardenas had suppress it: he then wrote  
 to him in temperate but severe terms, reproving him for the deceit  
 which he had practised. A more sensible mortification awaited  
 him at Cordoba: the Jesuits were the first to visit him on his arrival  
 there; their students complimented him in prose and verse, and  
 he dined in their college; but when he proposed to confer upon  
 them the first fruits of his episcopal power by ordaining some of  
 their members, Boroa answered that he could not present any

Do.

<sup>4</sup> Carrillo, (§ 8.) says the Bishop ascertained by evidence that the Bulls had been lost in Peru, .. an assertion which there seems no evidence to support. He speaks of the business as weighty, perilous, and full of scruples, and he has preserved the paper wherein the Bishop states in what intention he performed the ceremony. The reservation is distinctly made in this paper. The Bishop declares that the determination had cost him many sleepless nights, and that he had earnestly prayed to God and the Holy Sacrament, to enlighten him in so difficult a matter.

to be ordained without the permission of the Provincial; and when Cardenas, with singular imprudence, requested from him a written approval of the consecration, Boroa positively refused, saying that he and all the theologians with whom he had consulted considered it illegal. He dissembled his resentment at the time, but vented it after his departure, in a letter full of such intemperate language, that it called forth a second epistle of reproof from the Bishop of Tucuman.

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1641.

*Charlevoix,*  
1. 483—8.  
*Rodu,* 6.

Cardenas embarked at Corrientes to ascend the Paraguay. Many boats met him at the entrance of his diocese, filled with persons of all ranks, eager to see a Bishop whose reputation for sanctity had gone before him. At midnight he disciplined himself in their presence, . . . to their great edification, . . . and every day he celebrated mass in his pontificals. The fame of these things spread, and it was reported that a second St. Thomas was come into Paraguay. He made his entry into Asumpcion in state, with his mitre on, on horseback, and under a canopy, which was borne by the Chief Magistrate and the principal inhabitants: by the laws of Spain this mark of honour is reserved for the Sovereign alone; but on this occasion the laws were disregarded, or perhaps they were not known in so remote a part of the Spanish dominions. In this manner he was conducted, first to his parochial Church, then to the Cathedral, where he chaunted high mass, and afterwards preached, wearing the mitre during these ceremonies. The people were admitted to kiss his hands, after which he dismissed them, observing it was time they should go to dinner; . . . as for myself, he added, I am nourished with invisible food, and with a beverage which cannot be seen of men: "My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to fulfil his work."

*He goes to*  
*Asumpcion.*

*Charlevoix,*  
2 5.

*Carrillo,*  
*Note 12.*

*Carrillo,*  
§ 11.  
*John,* 4. 34.

Bernardino de Cardenas will frequently remind the reader of Thomas a Becket: his talents indeed are greatly inferior, but if

*Doubts concerning his*  
*authority.*

CHAP. was the same spirit, acting the same part, upon a less conspi-  
XXV. cuous theatre, and in a less favourable age. At this time his  
1641. elevation seems to have affected his intellect, which perhaps was  
naturally disordered, and his conduct was that of a man drunk  
with vanity and with power. To the astonishment of the Chap-  
ter, he began to exercise all the functions of the episcopal office,  
without waiting for the powers with which they were to invest  
him till his Bulls should arrive, without assembling them, taking  
his oaths, or performing any of the preliminary formalities which  
the Canons required. The Treasurer and one of the Canons  
ventured to remonstrate; he replied that he was their Bishop  
and their Pastor, and knew what he was doing. They assem-  
bled a Chapter, to deliberate upon what they ought to do: some  
of the Canons, and all the inferior Clergy, were for submitting  
to his pleasure; the others, who were the majority of the Chap-  
ter, and had the Treasurer and the Dean at their head, drew up  
a protest against any act of authority which he might exercise,  
as illegal, and consequently null. The Remonstrants thought  
proper to secede from the Conformists in the performance of  
divine service; the Bishop and his party kept possession of the  
Cathedral, the *Curas* did not dare receive the seceders, but the  
Jesuits lent their Church, having first ascertained that the Bishop  
would not be offended. As the schism was occasioned merely  
by a point of ecclesiastical law, it excited little sensation; and  
the Bishop increased daily in popularity, using indeed all means  
to obtain it. Early every morning he went to the Cathedral,  
accompanied by all his clergy, remained kneeling while one mass  
was performed, and afterwards celebrated another pontifically  
himself, knelt after the elevation and addressed the Redeemer  
in prayer as existing in the elements before him, and concluded  
by distributing indulgences, cords of St. Francis, or other im-  
plements of Romish superstition. Soon he began to celebrate

two masses every day. Sometimes he paraded the city bare-footed, bearing a heavy cross; sometimes carried a box of relics through the streets, with a crowd of Indians surrounding him; and sometimes he bore the host into the adjoining country, for the purpose, he said, of averting diseases and making the earth fertile. He also instituted an evening exercise of preparation for death, in the Jesuits' Church, and assisted always himself; these late meetings led to irregularities of which the Rector complained; but the Bishop took no measures for remedying them.

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XXV.  
1641.

*Charlevoix,*  
2. 6—8.

For awhile Cardenas enjoyed the popularity which he coveted; he was a new Apostle, the Prince of the Preachers, another Chrysostom, a second S. Carlo Borromeo. But he overacted his part. Two pontifical masses a day palled the appetite of the people for such things; a friendly hint was given him that the practice was perhaps illicit, certainly unusual: he replied, that he never celebrated without delivering a soul from Purgatory; that there were eminent Saints who had said as many as nine masses in a day; moreover that he was Pope in his own diocese, and had a right to do whatever he might think was for the service of God. Other parts of his conduct did not well accord with this ostentatious piety. Upon a pretext that there were not Priests enough for all the Churches, he took several Cures himself, and received the honoraries for them, although it was not possible for him to serve them all; so that he officiated sometimes in one, sometimes in another, and in this manner also sometimes performed high mass twice in the day. The offence which this irregularity gave was increased by an habitual irreverence that ill comported with the sanctity which Cardenas affected; hurrying from one Church to another, he used to send the unwashed chalice by a boy, and the boy was seen playing upon the road with the sacred vessel in his hand. In a reformed country this would have been felt as an indecency, but where

*Conduct of  
the new  
Bishop.*

*Carrillo,*  
§ 13.  
*Villalon,*  
p. 16.

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1642.

the actual presence in the elements is constantly inculcated, and believed with intense and intolerant faith, a greater indiscretion could not have been committed. The first persons who ventured publicly to express an ill opinion of the Bishop were the Franciscans at Asumpcion: they spoke of him without reserve as an ambitious hypocrite, who wanted the reputation of a Saint, and cared not by what means he obtained it. He reviled them in return, and affected to court the Jesuits because the Franciscans were not upon good terms with them. Being thus at variance with his own order he wantonly made the Dominicans also his enemies. They had established themselves in that city without having procured letters patent of permission. A complaint had been lodged against them in the Royal Audience of Charcas (probably by some rival order) and in consequence they had been commanded to demolish their Convent; but they obtained a respite of six years, on condition that if they did not produce their letters at the expiration of that time, the decree of the Audience should then be carried into effect. No person however had thought of molesting them, when early one morning Cardenas sallied from the episcopal palace in his rochet and camail, with a long train at his heels, and among others the Governor, whom he had summoned to accompany him: he went straight to the Dominican Convent, ordered the host to be removed, the church ornaments stript, the furniture carried away, and the Church and Convent to be immediately pulled down. The prayers and lamentations of the Friars were of no effect; the demolition was <sup>5</sup> accomplished: the

<sup>5</sup> Cardenas communicated this exploit to the Bishop of Tucuman, telling him that he would use the same rigour toward all the Religioners, whom he should find culpable. Maldonado replied, that his zeal resembled that of Elijah rather than of Christ; that old and forgotten faults ought not to be thus revived in these remote provinces, neither was it expedient to punish a whole community,

Bishop then went into the nearest Church, into which he had sent the host, and having washed his hands before he proceeded to officiate, he turned to the people and said, "My children, you see that I am about to offer the sacrifice without having confessed; it is because my conscience reproaches me with nothing, and I was never better prepared for the sacred office." His next act savoured of insanity; the last Bishop had refused to bury a suicide in consecrated ground; some years had elapsed, and Cardenas chose to remove the body into the Church of the Incarnation; he said it was the body of a Christian, and that he had reason to believe the soul was in heaven; he invited all the respectable persons of the city to be present at the removal, assisted with the Governor in carrying the bier, and performed the funeral service himself.

Shortly afterwards the long-expected bulls arrived, in good time to divert the attention of the people from his strange conduct. His nephew, F. Pedro de Cardenas, a profligate Franciscan, had been sent to Europe in search of them, and he brought with them the brief which the Pope was accustomed to send to the American bishops, conferring greater powers than are accorded in Europe, because of their distance from Rome. Cardenas gave them to a Jesuit to be translated into Spanish, that they might be published in that language, after he should have performed the custom of reading them in the original Latin. In these papers it was expressly stated, that if there had been any irregularity in the consecration, the Bishop had thereby incurred a censure which suspended him from all his

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for the error of a few individuals. My light at least, said he, in a tone of sarcastic humility, does not extend so far; your Lordship no doubt enjoys a very superior one.

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1642.

Charlevoix,  
2 9-12.

The Bishop  
claims tem-  
poral as well  
as ecclesiastical  
power.

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1642.

functions. Cardenas did not chuse to consider himself as being in this predicament ; and having read the bulls and the brief, he addressed the congregation, saying, it could now no longer be doubted that he was the legitimate Pastor of the Church of Paraguay, Inquisitor in his own diocese, Commissary of the Santa Cruzada, and invested with unlimited power both in spirituals and temporals. D. Gregorio de Hinostrosa, an old man who had served with distinction in Chili, his native country, was Governor at this time ; he could not but observe this startling assumption of a power which would destroy his own authority ; but being of an easy and undecided character, he let the assertion pass. Hitherto Cardenas had behaved to him with ostentatious respect, and was even used to rise from his throne in the Cathedral, and receive him at the door. But now that he had arrogated to himself a superior jurisdiction, it was not long before he exerted it. The Governor had arrested a fellow called Morales, who was a familiar of the Inquisition, and it was reported that he meant to hang him, . . . a punishment which in such countries, (except in time of civil war) is never inflicted till it has been most abundantly deserved. Pedro de Cardenas hastened with the news to his uncle, crying out that this man, as a servant of the Holy Office, ought not to be brought before a secular tribunal. A simple representation to that effect, to a man of Hinostrosa's temper, would have procured his immediate release. The Bishop thought proper to take the Ciborium, in which the wafer stood always in his visiting-room, and bearing it in his hand, proceeded to the prison, where he demanded that the prisoner should be delivered to him ; he then ordered a table to be brought, placed the Ciborium upon it, and remained there with all his suite, awaiting the event. The Rector of the Jesuits ventured to observe, that it was not decent for the Body of Christ, as he called the wafer, to be thus exposed at the prison-

*His first  
dispute  
with the  
Governor.*

door, and not suitable for his dignity to remain in such a situation himself; his answer was, that there he should stay till the man was given up. Upon this the Rector, who knew the temper of both persons, and that the facility of one was equal to the obstinacy of the other, went to the Governor, and easily persuaded him to release Morales. It was remarked by the people on this occasion, that it would be well if the Governor and the Bishop were always to continue at variance; for their agreement had produced the destruction of a church and convent, but their quarrel the delivery of a prisoner. In this instance Cardenas had some pretext for interposing his authority; but instead of sending the accused person to the proper tribunal, he gave him minor orders, for the purpose of withdrawing him entirely from the pursuit of justice, . . . a measure implying a suspicion at least that he was amenable to it before. The Governor manifested no resentment; he said that he preferred peace to any thing; and in order to show publicly how desirous he was of living in harmony with the Bishop, he presented him with some splendid silver candlesticks, upon which Cardenas had fixed a covetous eye: they were carried to him in the church, that the act might be more notorious. Cardenas received them graciously, and extolled the Governor for his munificence, but added, that he now only wanted the bottles and bason which he had seen at his house; Hinostrosa immediately sent these also, saying that every thing which he possessed was at the Prelate's service.

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XXV.  
1642.

Charlevoix,  
1, 12—15.

He excommunicates  
the Govern-  
nor.

This condescension failed to produce the effect which Hinostrosa hoped. The Bishop wanted to have a number of Indians who had been granted in *encomienda* to the Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament, transferred to himself; the Governor replied that it could not be done; upon this the Bishop, in an excess of passion, abused him, and Hinostrosa, turning like a worm when

CHAP. trodden upon, reproached him in return with his greediness for  
 XXV. wealth, and the scandals which he permitted in his house, . . . al-  
 1642. luding to the licentious conduct of his nephew. A few days after-  
 wards the Governor was to bear the royal banner in a procession; the Bishop declared him excommunicated, and therefore incapable of performing this office; Hinostrosa heard him with temper, and absented himself from the ceremony, rather than excite any disturbance upon such an occasion: patience and calmness rendering his triumph certain when the other party was so grossly in the wrong. Pedro, however, meeting him in the street, insulted him with the foulest language: Hinostrosa warned the friar not to provoke him farther; and he, having exhausted his whole stock of scurrility, went home to the Bishop, and was complimented upon his conduct. Their exultation was interrupted by tidings that the Governor was approaching with a party of soldiers; Cardenas ordered the bell to be rung, and pronounced sentence of excommunication against any armed persons whatsoever who should enter his house. Hinostrosa arrived before this was well concluded; without any apparent emotion of anger he told the Prelate that he saw no reason why his soldiers should be excommunicated, and laying hands on Pedro, he arrested him in the King's name. This was in the vestibule; the friar disengaged himself by slipping out of his frock, ran into the house, returned with a pistol, and threatened to shoot the Governor unless he retired. At the same time a priest seized the hilt of his sword; Hinostrosa wrested it from his hold, but he thought it prudent to withdraw; and the Bishop then repeated the sentence upon him and the soldiers, imposing an amends of fifty crowns upon each before they could be released from it. This scandalous contest was terminated by a reconciliation equally disreputable to both parties. Cardenas informed the Governor that he wished to absolve him; and Hinostrosa,

*Conduct of  
the Bishop's  
nephew.*

*The Govern-  
nor is ab-  
solved.*

who felt uneasy under this second sentence, went to his house and knelt at his feet. A ridiculous scene ensued; the Bishop knelt also; and like two Chinese vying with each other in ceremonious civility, they contended who should kiss the other's hand, till the Rector of the Jesuits interfered, and withheld the Bishop. The absolution was then accorded, but the fine was exacted from the soldiers; for the Bishop's avarice was not so placable as his wrath.

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XXV.  
1642.

*Charlevoix,*  
2, 15—17.

*Fresh con-*  
*tacts with the*  
*Governor.*

Since the revolution in Portugal, foreigners had been forbidden to carry arms in Paraguay on pain of death. Hinostrosa met a Portugueze bearing a sword, and sent him to prison. The Bishop had just appointed this man first Alguazil of the Inquisition, and it was in virtue of his office that he was thus equipped; instead of explaining this to the Governor, he had recourse to his usual means, and excommunicated him for the third time. These spiritual thunders lose their effect when they are launched so often. Hinostrosa laughed at the censure, and condemned the Portugueze to be hanged in conformity to the existing law. Upon this the Bishop sent a Priest to the prisoner to encourage him to bear his misfortune patiently, and comfort him by an assurance that if he suffered death thus undeservedly he would die a martyr, and that the Bishop would celebrate his obsequies magnificently, and preach the funeral sermon himself. This was poor consolation to the Portugueze; but it diverted Hinostrosa, and not choosing to terminate tragically an affair in which so comic an incident had occurred, he released the prisoner, and the excommunication, without any measures on his part, was then taken off. A more serious affair followed. Friar Pedro continued his insolent demeanour, and as this was a public and notorious scandal, the Governor at length thought it became him to require that he should be sent away from Assumpcion. He spoke seriously upon this subject to the Bishop, who

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XXV.

1642.*His outrage  
against Friar  
or Pedro.*

reprimanded his nephew, ordered him in penance to kiss the ground and say certain prayers, and enjoined him to act more circumspectly for the future. Perceiving how little this application had availed, the Governor then addressed himself to the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent, and having pointed out the scandalous course of life which Pedro pursued, as well as his offensive public conduct, requested that he might be sent back to Peru. The Guardian replied, that as the friar did not belong to his convent he had no authority over him. Hinostrosa then saw that there was no person who either could or would give him redress; he determined to exert his own authority, which had too long been insulted, and he therefore ordered the Camp Master General, D. Sebastian de Leon y Zarate, to arrest the offender. But Pedro was upon his guard; hitherto he had lodged in a private house, in order to be more at freedom; he now slept every night in the Convent for security, and continued to defy and irritate the Governor, who at length lost all patience. Without communicating his intention to his brother Francisco, who was an Augustinian friar, or to any of his friends, he went with Sebastian de Leon and four or five followers to the Convent about ten at night, and going straight to Pedro's cell, made him rise, carried him in his shirt<sup>6</sup> and drawers, just as he had

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<sup>6</sup> Villalon (*p.* 18) says, they prevailed upon the porter to open the door by pretending that they were come for a priest to confess a sick man; that they then rushed in, fastened a bandage round Pedro's eyes, and dragged him naked into the streets. Carrillo (§ 16) states the same circumstance, but instead of naked he says *sin habito*, which agrees with Charlevoix' account. Both these writers conceal all the provocation, and Carrillo takes care not to mention the name of the Friar, nor his relationship to the Bishop. Charlevoix, on the other hand, does not specify that Sebastian de Leon was concerned in this outrage, and even seems to imply that he was not.

risen from bed, out of the city, bound him hand and foot, and laid him on the ground by the side of the river. There the miserable friar remained two days, without food or covering, exposed to all the noisome insects of that country; on the third they wrapt him in a woman's cloak, embarked him in a boat under the charge of some Indians, with a scanty supply of salt provisions, and sent him to Corrientes.

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XXV.  

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1642.

*Charlevoix,*  
2, 21—2.  
*Villalon, 18.*

The friar deserved punishment, but it was inflicted with the most odious circumstances of illegality and violence. As soon as the Bishop heard what had been done, late as the hour of night was, he ordered the bells to be tolled, summoned all the clergy, secular and regular, led them to the Cathedral, and then solemnly excommunicated all who were concerned in this outrage, and laid an interdict upon the city. It was represented to him, that as no process-verbal had been formed, and no admonition issued, this was proceeding too precipitately; but it would have been little consistent with his vehemence to have regarded these formalities. The city was now in a state of the utmost confusion: the Governor sought to seize the Bishop, and send him after his nephew; the Bishop sought to excite the people against the Governor, and endeavoured to make the clergy declaim against him from the pulpit; but though he threatened them with excommunication unless they obeyed him in this point, they persisted in their refusal with an unanimity which deterred him from enforcing the threat. In order, however, to work upon the public mind, he gave notice that he should perform an act of public penance; and going at an early hour to the Cathedral, he summoned the Chapter to attend him, and bear part in a procession to the Franciscan church, as a reparation for the insult which that Order had received in the person of one of its members. A great crowd assembled; after praying before the high altar, he ordered one of his Indian ser-

*The Governor and his agents again excommunicated.*

*Public penance of the Bishop.*

CHAP. wants to undress him for the ceremony; accordingly his shoulders were stript, and he stood up bare-footed and bare-legged, XXV.  
1648. having a sackcloth fastened with a cord round the rest of his body, and a large scourge in his hand. In this plight he prayed awhile vehemently, his voice being interrupted by sobs, and tears streaming down his cheeks; then he began to scourge himself. The Canons intreated him to forbear, but he made answer, it was necessary to appease the just indignation of Heaven, for the injury which had been done to the Church, and the affront which the Seraphic Order had endured; and that it became him, both as a member of that Order, and as Bishop of the Province, to expiate the offence, and offer to the Lord his blood to efface it. The procession then set out from the Cathedral toward the Jesuits' College. A beadle went before to apprise the Fathers, and bid them make ready to receive an Apostle, who was covering himself with his own blood. Going out to meet the procession, they perceived first, a banner surrounded by a disorderly multitude of men and boys; then a line of men in good order, who seemed deeply affected by the ceremony; women afterwards all in tears; the Bishop next, half naked, scourging himself and bleeding, and surrounded by his Clergy. Two of the Jesuits made way to him, and on their knees besought him to desist; but he appeared, they say, as if he neither saw nor heard any thing, being wholly absorbed in God. The procession advanced to the door of the Company's Church, and the Jesuits in a body prostrated themselves before him, and again intreated him to forbear: he replied as he had done to the Canons, and continued to lacerate himself, while the women pressed upon him from behind to wet handkerchiefs with his blood, that they might lay them by as relics. The Rector put an end to this shocking spectacle, by taking off his own outer garment and throwing it over him. The Bishop then entered

the Church, and prayed upon the steps of the Altar. His Indian servant wiped away the blood, and staunched it as well as he could, re-dressed him, and put on his rochet and camail; this done, he returned to the Cathedral and performed high mass <sup>7</sup>.

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XXV.  
1643.

*Charlevoix,*  
2, 23-6.

Having, as he supposed, thus prepared the people for his purpose, Cardenas published an edict, ordering all the inhabitants of the city and the adjoining country, to repair to the Cathedral at an appointed time, on pain of excommunication. The Governor knew that some violent measures were in agitation, and dreading the effects of this concourse, he appointed

*He seeks to  
excite an  
insurrection  
against the  
Governor.*

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<sup>7</sup> This exhibition produced a great effect upon the populace, and especially upon the women; but it brought Cardenas a reproof from his friend the Bishop of Tucuman. This personage, whose letters seem to have displayed much talent as well as judgement, wrote to him upon the occasion, saying, he had heard such a report, but that it appeared incredible to him, and he had reprimanded the person who repeated it, observing to him, however, that if the Bishop of Paraguay had really disciplined himself thus publicly, the act must needs have been proper, but that none of the Apostles had given any such example; that our Lord, when he was scourged, had not stript himself, but had only suffered the executioner to take off his garments; that this was done by night, not in open day, and in the sight of women; and that the saints who had devoutly imitated this great pattern of suffering had always done it in privacy. The Bishop of Tucuman had written a previous letter upon the seizure of Friar Pedro, expressing a strong disapprobation of the manner in which the privileges of the Church had been violated, but condemning in terms not less strong the conduct of the person who had provoked the outrage. He anticipated many evils from the act, but hoped, he said, that much might be effected by his Excellency's pastoral care, and trusted that D. Bernardino would demean himself with strict equity, that he would resort to the gentlest remedies, and that in order to bring back to his fold the sheep which had gone astray, he would employ the crook and the whistle, . . . not the spear and the javelin. To a man of D. Bernardino's temper, the Bishop of Tucuman must have been a most unwelcome correspondent.

*Charlevoix,* 2, 27, 23.

CHAP. a general review of the soldiers on the same day. The magistrates  
 XXV. were alarmed ; they remonstrated with the Bishop, and besent  
 1643. the Rector of the Jesuits, D. Lorenzo Sobrino, to the Governor,  
 to say, that he desired nothing more than that their difference  
 should be adjusted ; that on the Sunday following, he would  
 absolve him from the existing censures, and all should be as  
 he wished, . . only he requested that the soldiers might attend at  
 the Cathedral, when the Edict which convoked the people was  
 read. Hinostrosa, rejoicing in the prospect of terminating a  
 dispute, in which he was sensible that he had acted illegally,  
 consented. A great multitude assembled ; the Bishop explained  
 the edict as it was read, and insisted upon the authority of the  
 Holy Office ; afterwards he harangued the people. They ought,  
 he said, to obey the decrees of the Inquisition, even at the  
 sacrifice of their lives, and it became him to set the example  
 of this devout submission, as St. Ambrose had done in resisting  
 the Emperor Theodosius : he enumerated the offences which  
 the Governor had committed against the Church ; insinuated that  
 he knew by revelation, how greatly the anger of the Lord was  
 kindled against the offender ; extolled the conduct of Moses,  
 who had smitten the rebellious Israelites with the edge of the  
 sword ; and informed the congregation, that the wrath of God  
 would now be satisfied with a less chastisement, and that the  
 arrest of the Governor would suffice, but that that measure was  
 indispensable. At the conclusion of this episcopal discourse,  
 he exclaimed, “ Faithful Christians follow me ! whosoever shall  
 refuse I condemn him in a mulct of a thousand crowns, or to  
 two hundred stripes in default of payment. Let all who will  
 follow the Standard of the Lord, aid me in seizing the enemy  
 of the Church, and if we meet with resistance, ‘ slay every man  
 his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his  
 neighbour ! ” He then sallied from the Cathedral, took the ensign

from the officer of the guard, and appeared like another Phineas, surrounded by his Clergy, all of whom had arms under their habits. But the people were not prepared for a scene like this; the Governor stood firm at the head of his harquebussiers, and the Bishop who found that he was not likely to be seconded as he expected, was prevailed upon to retire to his palace. A negotiation was now set on foot, and the only difference was respecting the terms upon which the excommunication should be revoked; for the Prelate, whose avarice was equal to his pride, and who knew that in this instance the Governor, as being flagrantly in the wrong, must yield, insisted upon a fine of four thousand *arrobas* of the herb of Paraguay, which was equivalent to eight thousand crowns. This demand was submitted to arbitration; the Bishop believed that it was adjusted, and a festival-day was chosen for the ceremony of absolution, that he might enjoy his triumph in public. Hinostrosa laid himself on the ground at the church-door, and demanded mercy; Cardenas in his pontificals reprimanded him in a severe and long discourse, after which he absolved him, raised him up, and embraced him; the Te Deum was performed as they entered the Cathedral together; the Bishop then ascended the pulpit, and pronounced an eulogy upon the reconciled penitent, whom he compared to Theodosius the Great, leaving the auditors to supply the other part of the parallel, . . . between himself and St. Ambrose.

*The Governor again reconciled and absolved.*

*Charlevoix, 2, 28—31.*

The Bishop had been rapacious in this business, and the Governor was insincere; he promised to pay the four thousand *arrobas*, and he protested in secret against the exaction. Cardenas, perceiving how the payment was delayed, informed him, that unless this condition were fulfilled, the absolution became null: Hinostrosa represented that the fine was heavier than he could discharge; the Rector Sobrino attempted to intercede in his behalf; and the Bishop, in a fresh access of anger, embarked

*Insincerity of the Governor, who is again excommunicated.*

*The Bishop leaves Assumption.*

CHAP. for Corrientes on Whitsun-eve, leaving a written order for his Grand  
 XXV. Vicar to publish on the ensuing day a general interdict, local and  
 1643. personal, .. terms which imply that to whatever place the Governor  
 might remove, he would carry the interdict with him, like a plague.  
 At the same time a writing was affixed to the back of the Crucifix  
 in the Choir, declaring that the Governor had relapsed into a state  
 of excommunication, from which none but the Bishop could  
 relieve him, naming many persons who had incurred the same  
 penalty, and stating the sum which they must pay for absolution.  
 Women, negroes, and certain persons mentioned in the paper  
 were permitted to hear mass; but no church was specified as  
 exempted from the interdict for that purpose. This proceeding  
 was so informal, that every one conceived himself bound by it or  
 not, according to his judgement, or perhaps the party to which  
 he adhered; some churches, therefore, were always open, in disre-  
 gard of the interdict, others were always closed in obedience to it.  
 The Governor asserted, that by virtue of his office he was en-  
 titled either not to be treated as an excommunicated person, or  
 to be absolved. But a Catholic does not in any circumstances  
 sit easy under such a sentence, and Hinostrosa was not so  
 blameless as to feel that internal support which a sense of con-  
 sistent rectitude might have given him. He referred his plea  
 to the different Religioners; the Jesuits reluctantly answered,  
 that as he was not engaged in war, he ought, for the purpose of  
 avoiding scandal, to consider himself excommunicated, till he  
 should be absolved by the Bishop himself; the Dominicans and  
 the Padres de la Merced thought, on the contrary, that the Grand  
 Vicar might absolve him. Hinostrosa applied to this personage;  
 he was of the Bishop's party, and replied, that they who gave  
 such an opinion might absolve him themselves. Upon this Hino-  
 strosa went with a party of soldiers to the Grand Vicar's apart-  
 ment, nailed up the doors and windows, and declared that no

person should either go in or out till this Priest consented to absolve him. This was a silly threat, which it was impossible to enforce; the Grand Vicar was not intimidated, and the Governor retired with shame. He now drew up a memorial, to lay the case before the Royal Audience of Charcas; the Bishop also lodged his charges in the same Court. Things continued in this state for some months, when F. Truxillo, coming from Tucuman to Asumpcion as Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits, saw the Bishop at Corrientes, and was by him appointed his Vicegerent and Vicar-General, with full powers. He on his arrival suspended both the interdict and the excommunication, leaving every thing to the decision of the Tribunal, to which the case had now been referred.

The Bishop was ill satisfied with Truxillo's conduct. He now set out for Asumpcion, but stopt eight leagues short of the city, at Yaguaron, a large Indian village, in a fertile and healthy situation, where he issued a capricious edict, forbidding any person except the Regulars to come there during his abode, under pain of excommunication, and a fine of fifty crowns. The Treasurer of the Chapter D. Diego Ponce de Leon, and the Canon D. Fernando Sanchez, solicited leave to pay their respects, and he wrote them a letter of invitation in reply, adding by word of mouth, that he desired to talk with them concerning the affairs of his diocese. But no sooner did he behold them than he exclaimed, "Here then you are, traitors to your Bishop and to the Church!" . . . and ordered them into close confinement in separate chambers. He suspected, or had been apprized of an intention which the opposite party had now formed, of disowning him for Bishop, upon the ground of the informality in his consecration; and he thought to intimidate the Chapter by arresting these leading members. The Superiors of the different Orders came to intercede for them.

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XXV.  
1643.

Charlevoix,  
2, 32-4.

The Bishop  
goes to Ya-  
guaron, and  
arrests two  
of the Chap-  
ter.

CHAP. Sobrino especially spake in their behalf, because he had been  
 XXV. made the instrument of betraying them. Cardenas replied to  
 1643. these solicitations, that he was resolved to purge his diocese,  
 and that he used rigorous measures, as wise physicians apply  
 cauteries for the good of the patient. He threatened to bring  
 Sanchez to trial as a criminal, though the Canon claimed his  
 privilege as a Commissioner of the Santa Cruzada. After forty  
 days confinement, both prisoners escaped; the Treasurer fled to  
 Corrientes, the Canon took refuge with the Governor at Asump-  
 cion. The business which Cardenas apprehended was now se-  
 riously pursued. The Vice-Provincials of the Franciscans and  
 Dominicans both delivered an opinion that they might lawfully  
 disclaim his jurisdiction; Sanchez supported the same measure,  
 and the Treasurer was recalled from Corrientes to act with  
 them. The Bishop sent a trusty person to Asumpcion to insert  
 both their names in the list of the excommunicated, which still  
 remained upon the back of the Crucifix, and he required the  
 Governor to give them up. Hinostrosa refused, . . . but he ad-  
 vised them to withdraw, and they thought it expedient to do so for  
 their personal safety. The Bishop's courage gave him greatly  
 the advantage over his opponents; he excommunicated the  
 two fugitives, annulled the acts of his Vicegerent Truxillo, inter-  
 dicted the city anew, and forbade all persons to hold intercourse  
 with the Governor, or even to speak to him. Hinostrosa, like  
 our Henry II. and the Ghibeline Emperors, found it in vain to  
 strive against a haughty Churchman; he went to Yaguaron,  
 made his submission at the Prelate's feet, signed a bond for the  
 payment of the four thousand *arrobas*, swore that he would fulfil  
 it, and received with his absolution a humiliating lecture, which  
 he deserved more for his pusillanimity than his misconduct.

*The Govern-  
 nor submits,  
 and pays the  
 fine.*

*Charlevoix,  
 2, 35—41.*

*Rapacity of  
 the Bishop.*

The fine upon the other parties was levied with unrelenting  
 rigour. A set of greedy parasites, to whom such measures

afforded a rich harvest, instigated the Bishop to multiply these exactions. Upon Holy Thursday all persons who entered the Church were informed, that if they had held any intercourse with those who were under excommunication, they could not be admitted to the communion unless they signed a paper, binding themselves to the payment of a certain mulct. Two persons, who attempted to evade this, were turned out. The Camp-Master Leon hearing of this, went into the Church, and said to the priests who were concerned, that Judas sold his Master for thirty pence; they put him at a higher price, but still they sold him cheap! they were Simonists, he said, and he was strongly tempted to use his belt as a scourge, and drive out of the Temple these sacrilegious sellers, not of animals for the sacrifice, but of the Sacrifice itself! If they did not at once put an end to this scandal, he would remedy it in a manner that should be little to their liking!.. This soldierly proceeding produced its effect, and the communion was not interrupted. Most of the persons who had signed the obligation were too poor to pay the fine imposed; the Licentiate, therefore, who was to receive it, thought he might reduce it to a fifth part, believing that if more were insisted upon nothing would be got: but for thus using his discretion he was banished himself, and condemned to a mulct of thirty thousand pounds of the herb. Enraged at this, he convoked the persons who had signed, tore all their bonds, and told them they were discharged from their obligation. The rapacity of the Bishop and his parasites knew no bounds. The Governor paid the four thousand *arrobas* to the person appointed to receive it, it was embarked upon the river, and lost; the Bishop required him to pay it over again, which he indignantly refused; Cardenas then offered to accept four thousand crowns as a compromise, being half the value; Hinostrosa treated this proposal with the same contempt, and the intolerant Prelate upon

CHAP.  
XXV.1643.

who again  
excommu-  
nicates the  
Governor.

CHAP. this excommunicated him again, and declared that all persons who  
XXV. obeyed him, or rendered any service to him, should be banished  
1643. from the province, regarded as subjects suspected in the faith,  
and made to answer for their conduct before the Supreme Court  
of Inquisition at Lima; he interdicted the city once more, and  
gave orders to consume all the consecrated wafers. Pride, pas-  
sion, and unbridled power had rendered him insane. There was  
a contagious disease in Asumpcion, and a body of Guaycurus  
threatened it at the same time; they were only three hundred  
in number, but the Guaycurus were a tremendous enemy, the  
inhabitants were no longer the Spaniards of Yrala's days, and  
while the Governor and principal officers were excommunicated  
any person might refuse to obey them. After many intreaties,  
the Bishop, in consideration of public affairs, and of the disease,  
took off the interdict and suspended the excommunication for  
fifteen days. The alarm had been greater than the danger, and  
the savages retired. Just at this time the Governor received  
dispatches from the Viceroy of Peru, ordering him to send all  
the Portugueze who were settled at Asumpcion to Santa Fe.  
The Viceroy also entered into the affairs of the province, and  
commanded him that he should no longer suffer the inhabitants  
to be oppressed and his own authority annihilated, but re-esta-  
blish all things upon the footing of the laws, and compel the  
Bishop to confine himself within the bounds of his spiritual  
jurisdiction. Hinostrosa now took courage, reviewed the troops,  
and gave notice to the Indians of the adjacent villages that he  
was about to visit them, and that they must hold themselves  
ready to perform what he should require in the King's name.  
Cardenas, instead of waiting to be attacked, renewed his fire,  
gave notice that as the fifteen days were expired the sentence  
was renewed, and forbade Spaniards and Indians to obey the  
Governor, on pain of the greater excommunication. Hinostro-

sa acted on his part with equal resolution, for the Viceroy's letters had emboldened him; he declared, that he had important business to execute in the King's service, and called upon the Clergy in the King's name to relieve him from all ecclesiastical censures. They replied, that the Bishop alone could do this; he then set out for Yaguaron, and went straight to the Church with his whole armed suite. The Prelate gave way, absolved him and praised him in a sermon, invited him to dinner, and suspended, at his desire, the interdict of the city till after the feast of the Assumption, from which it took its name.

Charlevoix,  
2, 41—9.

Cause of the  
Bishop's en-  
mity toward  
the Jesuits.

This sudden change was not the effect of fear. Cardenas was preparing to contend with other enemies, and wished to secure the Governor for his ally. The opinion which the Jesuits at Cordoba had given concerning his consecration, excited in him a feeling of resentment toward the Company, which he had for awhile dissembled, and even affected to distinguish them at Asumpcion by his favour; they acted with their usual caution during these broils, but it was plain that they disapproved his conduct, and would have supported the Governor in disclaiming him as Bishop; and when Cardenas understood this, the whole current of his vindictive passions was directed against them. He began his warfare by ordering them to close their schools, and appointing one of his own followers to instruct the youth of the city, saying, that he superseded the Jesuits in this charge by the King's order, and for the service of God. His next measure was to interdict all the Regulars from preaching and giving absolution, and to restore this power to all except the Jesuits. Sobrino went to the Grand Vicar, and requested him to examine all the Priests of his Convent; that if they were found competent to their office, they might be restored, like the Priests of the other orders, to the use of their sacred functions. The Bishop was referred to, and his answer was, that

Charlevoix  
2—43

CHAP.

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1644.

he did not doubt their competence, but that it was not proper to allow them to administer the sacraments, or to preach. He sought now to engage the Governor in his farther measures, and represented to him by one of his agents, (for he still continued at Yaguaron himself) that he was determined to expel the Jesuits from his diocese, and by way of bribe, offered to remit the four thousand crowns which he claimed as compensation for the lost herb, that it might form a dowry for a natural daughter of the Governor. Hinostrosa returned a vague answer to this overture, and secretly apprised the Jesuits of the Bishop's designs, but he gave them no encouragement to suppose that he would exert himself in their behalf; it seemed as if he were disposed to let things take their course, thankful perhaps that the Bishop had found some other object for his restless and implacable spirit of contention. The Governor was not the only person whom Cardenas at this time endeavoured to attach to his interests. He summoned all candidates for holy orders to Yaguaron, and made them swear to be faithful to him, even if their lives should be the sacrifice; this was strengthening himself effectually, because the best families always placed some of their sons in the Church, as the readiest method of providing for them, and supporting or elevating their rank in society. The charges which he brought against the Jesuits in conversation, and from the pulpit, were addressed to their old enemies; he accused them of getting the Indians into their own hands to the injury of the Crown, the Church, and the Spaniards; depriving the latter of the *Encomienda*, which they ought to possess, the former of its tribute, and the Church of its tythes. They had discovered rich mines of gold, he said, which they concealed for their own use. They entered Paraguay with nothing but their frocks, and had obtained the sovereignty of a great country, and he was determined to treat them as the Paulistas and the Venetians had done. These

topics were well chosen for his auditors, and revived that jealousy and dislike of the Jesuits which had so often impeded them in their great object.

The Jesuits had purchased an estate called St. Isidro; the Bishop proposed that they should let him have it at the price which they had paid; without waiting for their reply, he sent to say that they were rich enough to make him a present of this property; but as he did not rely upon their generosity, he must inform them that the ground belonged to the Indians of Yaguaron, and they must quit it within eight days, otherwise he should eject them, and give whatever might be found there as a recompense to those who should execute his orders. The officer who carried this summons told the Rector that there was no appeal from it except to the Pope, and for this there was no time. But Cardenas had now attacked men who were conscious of their strength, as well as of their right. Instead of submitting, Sobrino applied to the Governor, and by his sanction, an Alcayde was sent with ten armed men to defend the property. The Bishop had taken for his confessor and chief favourite, a renegade Augustinian Friar, by name Francisco Nieto, a man of daring spirit and dissolute life: he advised the Bishop to act vigorously, expel the Jesuits from their College at once, and thus strike at the trunk of the tree, instead of lopping the branches. The people, he said, were well disposed; the Jesuits odious, and if the Governor ventured to face the Bishop, he would engage to bring him to reason by two or three good blows with the fist; "Cry Santiago then, and have at them!" Cardenas acted upon the counsel which was thus characteristically given; he reckoned upon the popular disposition, and the cordial cooperation of the other Regulars against the Jesuits; in this confidence, he sent secret instructions to the Franciscans and Dominicans, and the *Padres de la Merced*, to provide fit sub-

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1644.

*He endeavours to expel them from Assumption.*

*Charlevoix, 2, 54.*

*Charlevoix, 2, 38.*

CHAP. jects, who might take charge of the Parana Reductions till  
 XXV. *Curas* could be established there; and he ordered boats to be  
 1644. secretly engaged to transport the Jesuits, and biscuit and salt  
 meat to be provided for their voyage. These measures having  
 been taken, he set off from Yaguaron, the bells ringing at his  
 departure, as if, says Charlevoix, he was setting forth to con-  
 quer the Holy Land from the Musslemen. He meant to have  
 reached Asumpcion the same day; a heavy rain prevented him;  
 Nieto however proceeded, and meeting there the Lieutenant  
 General, D. Francisco Florez, was invited by him to supper.  
 Florez was not in the secret; Nieto communicated it to him,  
 and told him that the Bishop intended first to see the Governor,  
 and if he would not take part with him, desire that he would ab-  
 sent himself; and he assured his friend that success was certain,  
 the Bishop having in his company not less than four hundred  
 Indians well armed. Perhaps the good cheer which Nieto had  
 partaken, made him thus communicative. Florez listened as  
 if he were persuaded by his arguments to join the Bishop's  
 party, but he went immediately to the Governor, and the Gov-  
 ernor lost no time in apprizing the Jesuits; it was their duty,  
 he said, to defend themselves by all lawful means against the  
 intended violence, and accordingly he sent them arms. The  
 following morning he went out with most of the inhabitants to  
 meet the Bishop; Cardenas asked, why there were no Jesuits  
 among them; Hinostrosa replied, they had been informed on  
 the preceding eve, that he was coming to expel them from their  
 College, and that they were prepared to resist the attempt.  
 This was not the place, he added, for him to say what he  
 thought of the Bishop's intention, but he would have the  
 honour of conversing with him in private upon that subject.  
 Cardenas then turned to Nieto and exclaimed, Some Devil has  
 revealed all, . . . and we are betrayed.

Thus disappointed in his design of surprizing the Jesuits, the Bishop took up his abode at the Franciscan Convent, and endeavoured by deceitful courtesies to throw them off their guard. They on their part, as no overt act of hostility had yet been committed against them, returned his civilities with equal insincerity; for this was an age wherein the Italian maxims of insidious policy were still prevalent, maxims upon which the greatest deceiver is the best statesman. Hinostrosa represented to the Bishop that he had better attack them first in the Reductions, otherwise they would summon a force of Neophytes to defend them at Asumpcion; but in the Reductions they might be taken unprepared, and for this purpose he offered to provide him with an escort sufficient to ensure obedience. Cardenas approved his counsel, and continued to amuse the Jesuits till the escort should be ready. Meantime he employed himself in drawing up a memorial to justify the conduct which he intended to pursue, producing as authorities and justificatory documents, orders from the King, and petitions against the Company from the Clergy regular and secular, the inhabitants of Asumpcion, and a great number of Indians. Things were in this state when dispatches arrived from the Royal Audience of Charcas, commanding the Bishop to remove the interdict and the excommunications, without exacting a fine from any person, and to annul all the imposts which he had demanded upon that plea. A private letter from the Audience exhorted him to return to Asumpcion, govern his Church in the manner to be expected from his virtue and talents, live with the Governor upon better terms, and support the dignity of his character both in his conversation, writings, and conduct, . . . which he had too much disregarded. At the same time the Governor received private instructions, that as he was the King's representative in Paraguay, it behoved him to make the Bishop understand this. Hinostrosa

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1644.

*Duplicity of  
the Govern-  
nor.*

CHAP. did not intend to make the decree of the Audience public, in  
 XXV. the hope of preserving peace with his fiery adversary: he was  
 1644. compelled to publish it by the persons whom it relieved from  
 their fines and censures, and this renewing the Bishop's ill-extin-  
 guished enmity, made him seek to gratify it against him and the  
 Jesuits at once. For this purpose he tampered with Sebastian  
 de Leon, the Camp-Master, to procure from him a charter of  
 Charles V., which he believed to be in that officer's possession,  
 by which charter the people of Asumpcion were empowered, in  
 case of their Governor's death, to appoint another *ad interim*:  
 "never," he said, "was there so much occasion for exerting this  
 privilege as at present. He wanted nothing more than by this  
 means to be put at the head of the people, and expel the Jesuits.  
 It was his duty to accomplish that great measure, as it was the  
 surgeon's to cut off a gangrened finger that he might save the  
 hand: the Pope would erect a statue to him for effecting it;  
 and if he were never to perform any other good work, he should  
 be judged worthy of canonization for this alone." Leon in-  
 formed Hinostrosa of this conversation. The question now at issue  
 was who should be Governor, he or the Bishop; and he deter-  
 mined to have the advantage of making the attack instead of  
 waiting for it. Still however pursuing the system of duplicity,  
 he told Cardenas that in fifteen days the escort of an hundred  
 and thirty men would be ready for his expedition to the Reduc-  
 tions; at <sup>s</sup> the same time he sent for six hundred armed Indians

*Guaranies  
 collected for  
 the defence  
 of the Je-  
 suits.*

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\* I have followed the statement of the Jesuits here, from a full conviction that that of their adversaries is entirely false: . . . it is however proper that their account of these transactions should be stated. They affirm that the Bishop, in obedience of the King's commands, intended to visit the Reductions; that the municipal and judicial officers required the Governor to give him an escort for this purpose; that the Jesuits were alarmed, fearing he would discover the quan-

from the Reductions to act under his own orders against the Bishop; and lest they should not arrive in time, a second messenger was dispatched to make them advance by double marches.

The Indians who had been summoned for the Bishop's service

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1644.

Charlevoix,  
2, 65—8.

Hinostroza  
goes with  
the Guaraní  
force to seize  
the Bishop.

tity of arms which they kept ready for their Indians, the concealed treasures which they possessed, and the incredible number of vassals of which they deprived the Crown; that for this reason they first endeavoured to dissuade him from the intended visit by offering him a bribe of 20,000 crowns; but finding him incorruptible they began to deny his authority, affirming and even preaching, that because he had been consecrated before his bulls arrived he was to be considered as an interloper, and not as lawful Bishop: moreover, that it was said they had bribed the Governor with 30,000 crowns of gold to drive him from his diocese. This is Villalon's story. (§ 20—24.) Carrillo (§ 20—1.) makes the same general charges; and it must be observed that both these writers begin their narratives here, mentioning none of the previous transactions except the seizure of Pedro Cardenas. How utterly unfounded the charges were which were so constantly preferred against the Jesuits, of their immense treasures, their military force, and their ambitious projects, was abundantly proved, when the enemies of the Company effected its ruin, and exposed their own falsehood. The Jesuits therefore had none of those causes of fear which the advocates of Cardenas impute to them; and no other fear existed than that which the declared hostility of the Bishop, his violent temper, his gross injustice, and I may add, his whole conduct, could not fail to excite. On the other hand, Charlevoix has thus far as much as possible kept out of sight the certain fact, that Cardenas was acting in consonance with the general feeling of the people. In this he acts imprudently as an advocate, as well as culpably as an historian; for the unpopularity of the Jesuits (the cause being considered) is the best proof of their good desert. But in other respects his account is full, clear, and consistent; and one proof of its veracity is, that without any intention of so doing, and perhaps even without perceiving that he has so done, he represents Hinostroza's conduct in a worse light than that in which the Bishop's advocates had placed it. The Jesuits never scrupled at falsehood; they were undaunted liars when it suited their interest; but they were wise enough in their generation not to lie when it served their purpose better to tell the truth.

CHAP. arrived at Yaguaron before the force approached which the  
 XXV. Governor designed for himself. Cardenas returned to that set-  
 1644. tlement: he now began to suspect Hinostrosa's duplicity, and  
 observed to his friends, that if he attacked the Reductions first  
 the Jesuits would have time to prepare for defence in their Col-  
 lege, and might hold out till they could procure orders in their  
 behalf from the Royal Audience, or from the Viceroy of Peru ;  
 whereas if he struck a blow at their head quarters, and expelled  
 them at once, the popular feeling being in his favour, it was to  
 be supposed that the King, though he might not perhaps have  
 commanded such a measure, would sanction it after it was done,  
 rather than incur the risque of provoking an insurrection in the  
 Province: and he determined to seize the Governor as a pre-  
 liminary measure for securing the success of the enterprize.  
 Hinostrosa was soon informed of this design. The Guarani  
 force, consisting of eight hundred well-armed men, were now  
 within four leagues of Asumpcion: he set off with a few soldiers  
 to join them, marched with them all night, and entered <sup>9</sup> Yagua-  
 ron at break of day. The Bishop was awakened by his affright-  
 ed domestics, and had just time to rise from bed and hastily  
 dress himself, before Hinostrosa entered the chamber, and said  
 he was come to conduct him back to Asumpcion, because the  
 Indians of that settlement, growing insolent under his protec-

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<sup>9</sup> Villalon (§ 25,) says they pillaged the settlements on their way, plundered the inhabitants, and violated the Spanish women, seven Jesuits armed and on horseback being at their head, among whom were Romero, (soon afterwards martyred) and Vicente Badia Catalan. Carrillo (§ 21—2) repeats the accusation, saying that they stript naked those whom they robbed; but he does not affirm that the Jesuits were at their head. I believe that they were under the guidance of the Missionaries, and that these imputed enormities are grossly exaggerated, if not entirely false.

tion, refused obedience to their Governor. The Bishop's advocates affirm that a boat was lying in readiness, to which he was to be carried a prisoner and in chains: the Jesuits acknowledge no such purpose; but neither they nor the Governor would have been scrupulous in the means, or tender in the manner of securing him; and the Bishop understanding this, got to a door in his apartment which opened beside the altar, and in a moment clung to one of the pillars of the sanctuary. Hinostrosa pursued and seized him<sup>10</sup>; but the Bishop was upon his own ground; he cried out loudly, and declared the Governor excommunicated. A Priest and a Mulatta woman (the Bishop's cook) were the first persons who came at his cry. They threw themselves upon the Governor; and he fell upon the steps of the altar. Almost instantly the Church was filled with people. The Bishop was emboldened at seeing them;.. his proper arms were at hand;.. he took the Pix from the Tabernacle, and elevated it, and all who were present prostrated themselves before the Real Presence. He then demanded of the Governor what was his design. "To announce," replied Hinostrosa, "your exile from the Province, and the sequestration of your temporalities, for having usurped the jurisdiction which I hold from the King. It is an order of the Viceroy which I thus intimate<sup>11</sup>." Then thinking it decorous or prudent to leave the Church, he with-

CHAP.  
XXV.

1644.

Villalon, 6  
26.

<sup>10</sup> By the arm, says Charlevoix; by the throat, says Villalon, and he adds, that the Governor bruised and wounded him in the struggle. Carrillo being a Lawyer and not a Friar, is more scrupulous in his assertions, and his silence upon the more aggravating circumstances, seems to show that they had little foundation in truth.

<sup>11</sup> According to Charlevoix, the Bishop made answer that he would obey, and called upon the people to witness his promise. I have not thought this credible enough to insert it in the text.

CHAP. drew, meaning to seize the Bishop as soon as he should come  
 XXV. out. But Cardenas kept close to the sanctuary, and the Gov-  
 1644. ernor blockaded him; the failure of a like attempt at Asump-  
 Carrillo, § cion not having convinced him of its folly. Meantime his fol-  
 2-27. lowers laid hand upon whatever they could find as spoil, pil-  
 laging the Bishop's house, and slaughtering his cattle, and lay-  
 ing waste the fields and stripping the inhabitants. In the hope  
 of checking these outrages, the Bishop came out bearing the  
 host in <sup>12</sup> procession; the Indian women of the place carried  
 green branches before him, and the singers chaunted the *Pange  
 lingua*. The host being his sufficient protection, he stopt in the  
 green before the Governor's troop, and addressing some of the  
 men who had not knelt with sufficient promptitude, reproached  
 them as barbarians, heretics and schismatics. Having returned  
 to his asylum, he harangued the people against the Governor;  
 the Governor in a state of equal exasperation, replied from the  
 door, and to compleat the scandalous scene, entered the Church,  
 and in spite of the present Wafer, drove out the Indians by  
 blows.

Carrillo, §  
 29.  
 Charlevoix,  
 68-70.

The Bishop  
 promises to  
 submit, and  
 secretly  
 marches for  
 Asumpcion.

Before the day was over, reflection or exhaustion produced  
 moderation in both parties. They had an interview; the Bishop  
 promised to leave the province within six days, and to take off  
 the excommunication; Hinostrosa sent back the Guaranies.  
 The Bishop saw them begin their homeward march, and sent  
 persons to follow them, that he might be sure counter-orders

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<sup>12</sup> Charlevoix calls this an indecent procession of the Sacrament. It would  
 be well if the Jesuits had never made a worse use of Sacraments! Carrillo, on the  
 contrary, in one of his pedantic notes, quotes the Canonists to prove that the  
 Bishop's conduct was pious as well as prudent, and adduces precedents from  
*Roman* and *Romish* history:..let me be permitted thus to distinguish between  
 Pagan and Papal Rome.

were not given for their return; . . . being secure on this point, he set <sup>13</sup> off before daylight for Asumpcion. That city had been agitated with various rumours; it was reported among other things, that the Governor had sent Cardenas down the river, and was coming at the head of the Guaranies against his party in the Capital. But when the Bishop's approach was known, the bells were rung and the streets echoed with acclamations: he bore upon his breast a wafer in a chrystal box, and priests wearing arms under their habit went before him. Trusting to the strength of his party, he gave orders to march to the Jesuits' College; but being told that it was defended by four hundred men, the falsehood deterred him, and he went to the Franciscan Convent. His first care was to fortify it; embrasures were opened in the walls, cannon mounted there, the weaker parts strengthened with gabions: and that spiritual succours might not be wanting, the Virgin was brought from the Cathedral, and St.

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1644.

Enters the  
capital, and  
fortifies  
himself in  
the Francis-  
can Church.

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<sup>13</sup> Villalon says nothing of the interview and arrangement; his statement is, that the Governor set off very early in the morning to lay an ambush in the woods, in order to seize the Bishop on his way, and thus execute "the damnable purpose" of embarking him; but the ambuscade was accidentally discovered, and Cardenas being thus warned took another road. § 30. The Franciscan adds, that it was said the Governor had determined to send some Parana Guaranies to murder him, and meant to ascribe his death to the revolted natives. § 29. Carrillo, more cautious as usual, relates the former circumstance, but is silent as to this atrocious charge. I think Charlevoix' the more likely tale, because the Guaranies certainly were dismissed, and this would not have happened unless an agreement with the Bishop had been made. It is very probable that their disorderly conduct rendered their dismissal expedient, there would otherwise have been no pretext on the Bishop's part for requiring, and many reasons on that of the Governor for refusing it. Charlevoix, however says, (2. 78.) that harm was done to the Neophytes, *qui en avoient trop vu pour n'en être pas scandalisés.*

CHAP. Blaise from his own Church, and both idols were placed upon  
XXV. duty on the high altar. After these preparations the alarm-bell  
1644. was rung, the people assembled, an Alcalde and the Regidores  
attended at the Bishop's desire, and he addressed the multitude; he told them that the armed Indians of the Jesuits had plundered Yaguaron, and were on their way to plunder Asumpcion; and he, for having wished to defend their privileges, was to be driven from his diocese; but he claimed their protection in the King's name, and exhorted them, in case they could not find the cedula which empowered them to elect a governor, that they should proceed to an election without it, the necessity of the case being a sufficient warrant. Terrified at the description which he gave of the Guaranies' conduct, the Alcalde hastened to the Governor, beseeching that they might not enter the city. Hinostrosa had actually recalled them at the Camp-Master Leon's suggestion; the Alcalde not being answered to his wish, became insolent, and was sent to prison; this enraged the people, and an insurrection would have been the consequence, if they had not feared the Guaranies, who, as it was officially announced, were advancing in perfect discipline, and by the Governor's order. The Bishop and his party endeavoured to overcome this fear; he attempted to get possession of the cedula and of the Royal Standard; failing in both, he had recourse to his usual arms, and excommunicated Leon with his friends. Many of the better and wiser inhabitants thought it now prudent to consult their own safety by retiring from the city. The Governor, feeling himself authorized by the Viceroy's letter, justified by the circumstances, and enabled to go through with what he had begun by the force which the Jesuits had placed at his disposal, sent the King's notary to inform the Bishop that a vessel was ready for the removal of him and his whole household, and that he must depart without delay. When the notary

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1644.

appeared at the Convent door, a friar attempted to stab him with a javelin; this disturbance brought the Bishop out, who, having heard the notary's errand, replied by excommunicating him; adding, that if he did not demean himself as became a person under such a sentence he should be fined five hundred crowns, and delivered over to the Holy Office for contumacy. In this state of exasperation, it is affirmed that four Ecclesiastics offered their services to kill the Governor, the Bishop having in his passion declared it would be no crime, . . . that they armed themselves for this business, and that it was determined in the Bishop's council for a stronger party to set fire to the Jesuit's College, while the Priests performed the murder. The Governor took advantage of this report, which possibly may have been raised to serve his purpose, and ordered an hundred Guaranies into the city, half of whom he stationed at the College, and half at his own residence. Safe in the superiority which this force afforded him, he then proceeded in legal form. The first measure was to provide for the Church as though the See were vacant: the only one of the old Canons then in the city was Sanchez, who before Cardenas had arrived, had governed the diocese as Grand Vicar and *Provisor*. Him the Governor called upon to resume his functions, upon a plea, that the rights of the Bishop were vitiated by the manner of his consecration; and he promised to support the Canon with the King's authority: Sanchez insisted that they should provide for his personal safety as the first indispensable measure; and to secure this he was immediately escorted to the College. The alarm was now beat, the Royal Standard was raised in the *Plaza*, and all inhabitants were ordered to repair to it in arms, on pain of death, ready for any service which might be required in the King's name. The officers appeared in obedience with their troops; the municipality at the head of the militia; one

*The Jesuits' party depose the Bishop from his see, and deport him.*

CHAP. hundred and fifty Guaranies were present also in their ranks.  
 XXV. The Governor with the principal officers then went to the Col-  
 1644. lege, and formally demanded D. Christoval Sanchez de Vera,  
*Provisor* and Vicar-General of the diocese ; and Sanchez was ac-  
 cordingly conducted with a military procession to the Cathedral.  
 No sooner were the doors opened, than the Church was filled  
 with persons of all ages, eager to see what would ensue. San-  
 chez<sup>14</sup> having performed his prayer, took a crucifix from the  
 high altar and gave it to the Governor to kiss ; then taking the  
 seat which he had occupied while the See was vacant, he de-  
 clared that he resumed his charge, D. Bernardino de Cardenas  
 having no lawful jurisdiction. The bells were rung, the lists  
 of the excommunicated taken down, and the interdict relieved.  
 Cardenas, as the only means of parrying this blow, had just re-  
 moved the interdict himself. The Governor issued an edict  
 enumerating the causes of complaint against the late Bishop,  
 and forbidding all persons on pain of death from entering the  
 house in which he was attempting to defend himself. The *Pro-*  
*visor* sent forth a mandate to the same tenour. Strong as the  
 Bishop's party was, for beyond all doubt the majority of the

<sup>14</sup> Villalon (§ 32. 35.) and Carrillo (§ 33.) affirm that the Canon was a grossly ignorant man, and moreover not in his senses, so as actually when these measures were in agitation, to be confined to his father's house ; that they removed him against his own consent and that of his relations, the Governor threatening to kill him unless he submitted to do every thing which should be required ; and that when he was made to understand their intention of appointing him *Provisor*, he replied, you had better make me Bishop, and my brother Clemente *Provisor*,.. a speech quoted to prove his imbecility, for this brother was a layman. This statement is grossly improbable. Villalon states that the Bishop meantime was blockaded in the Cathedral (so at least the French translator has it). The circumstances which follow show this to be false : and Carrillo, probably perceiving this, places the Bishop, where he actually was, in the Franciscan Church.

Spaniards were on his side, his adversaries had now combined their measures too well to be resisted, and he informed the Governor that he was ready to depart. Accordingly he took leave of some of his most devoted friends, again excommunicated and anathematized his enemies, and proceeded to embark, bearing the wafer as usual suspended at his breast, and followed by his Clergy, each carrying a lighted taper. As soon as he was in the bark he again laid on the interdict, ringing a little bell, which was always part of his travelling equipage: his partizans had been instructed upon an appointed signal to announce the act by ringing the bells of the Franciscan Convent and those of his own Parish Church; and it was thought necessary by the other party that the bells of all the other Churches should ring at the same time, and frustrate the purpose by drowning their sound.

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1644.

Nov. 19.

Charlevoix,  
2. 70-71.

The Bishop  
exhibits  
charges a-  
gainst the  
Jesuits.

Cardenas, during all these transactions, knew where he was vulnerable; and was aware that, however certain his nomination to the Bishoprick had been, however accidental and unfortunate the delay of the Bulls, there was an actual informality in his consecration for want of them, which rendered him liable to censure, even if it did not vitiate his possession. This was in fact a point of law, which served as pretext for the two parties; but the real question at issue was, whether the Jesuits should continue their system among the Indians, or if the old practice of enslaving these injured people should still be carried on. Cardenas was mindful of both objects: he applied to Rome to be relieved from the censures which he might have incurred; but he well knew what are the slow forms of law, and that years might elapse before this question would be determined. His measures against the Jesuits were to be prosecuted by more active agents. The charge which he had made against them of having discovered gold-mines, and working them secretly for their own profit, was of a nature to excite immediate jealousy.

Charlevoix,  
2. 77.

CHAP. XXV.  
 1644. He repeated it in his letters with the utmost confidence; his partizans even addressed memorials upon the subject to the Council of the Indies, and it was there thought of such importance, that orders were sent out to suffer no Missionaries in the Reductions except such as were native subjects of the Catholic King, lest foreigners should serve as agents for conveying their gold to other countries. The report, which had originated in credulity, cupidity, and malice, derived at this time great strength from the testimony of an Indian, by name Buenaventura. This man had served in a Convent at Buenos Ayres; running away from thence, he joined some wandering tribes, and in the course of his adventures came to one of the Uruguay Reductions, where he professed himself a Christian, acquired a reputation for piety, and finished by eloping with a married woman. The fugitives were pursued, overtaken, and brought back, and Buenaventura, after being flogged in the square, was turned out of the Reduction. He returned to Buenos Ayres, and declared that the Jesuits had employed him in working their gold mines, where in three days he had found gold enough in grains to fill a half bushel. He added as a confession, that he and another Indian had agreed to run away with as much of this gold as they could carry, but that his companion betrayed him, and for this he had been flogged and expelled. Fortresses, he said, had been erected for the defence of the mines, and garrisons established there, who were provided with fire-arms. His story was circumstantial, and obtained credit from its consistency, and the apparent simplicity and readiness with which he answered all enquiries upon the subject. The Rector of the College at Buenos Ayres thought it necessary to require that this man should be examined by a magistrate; his cunning was not equal to a well-conducted examination; the enquiries into his character confirmed the ill opinion of his veracity which was

*The Jesuits  
 accused of  
 working  
 gold mines  
 for their  
 own benefit.*

*Charlevoix,  
 80.*

then formed, and the Governor of that province informed the Council of the Indies that the report of the mines which had been so much talked of had not the slightest foundation in truth. This Governor was soon afterwards superseded by D. Hyacintho de Laris, of whom the Indian obtained an audience, repeated his story to him, and protested that he spake of what he had seen, and that there was no other reason for discrediting his positive testimony than because he had been frightened at the forms of a judicial examination. D. Hyacintho gave ear to a tale which held out such a prospect of advantage to himself; and a letter which arrived at this time from Cardenas, speaking of the existence of the Jesuit-mines as a fact which was not to be doubted, made him determine to go in person and ascertain the truth upon the spot. So he set out for the Reductions, with an escort of fifty soldiers, taking Buenaventura and an experienced miner with him. The Indian had probably begun his story as a means of getting something from those who listened to it, and had persevered in it because it had made him a person of some consequence. The matter now became serious; and when they were about half way on their journey he absconded. Whatever D. Hyacintho might now think of his informant's testimony, he proceeded to the nearest of the Parana Reductions, and without communicating the object of his expedition to the Jesuits, secretly questioned some of the Neophytes concerning the mines. Diaz Taño, who was at this time Superior of the Missions, was perfectly informed of his intentions, as the Governor ought to have foreseen; he intreated him to proceed and visit all the Reductions, now that he was thus far advanced, and he required him in the King's name to call upon Cardenas for proof of the assertions contained in his letter. D. Hyacintho accordingly entered Paraguay; he perceived a great alarm among the Neophytes wherever he went; they were persuaded

CHAP. that his object was to displace the Jesuits, and that the Chaplain  
 XXV. who accompanied him came to take possession of the churches  
 1645. in their stead; and he was informed, that unless he speedily  
 satisfied them upon this point, the least evil<sup>15</sup> to be apprehended  
 was the entire desertion of all the Reductions. This matter  
 being explained, the Guaranies were freed from all apprehen-  
 sions, and it was the interest of the Missionaries that every possi-  
 ble facility should be given to him in his search. Great re-  
 wards were offered to any person who should discover a mine; the  
 Governor promised the first soldier who should obtain the desired  
 news a captain's commission, full equipments for his new rank, and  
 a gratuity of two hundred Philips. At length an Indian was found  
 who said that his father had taken him to a gold-mine when he was  
 a boy, and that although he was only five years old at the time, he  
 perfectly remembered the spot. The miner was sent with him, and  
 after a few days journey they reached the place, where nothing was  
 found except some shining substance<sup>16</sup>, which a child might have  
 mistaken for metal. Meantime D. Hyacintho had written to Hinostrosa,  
 and had

<sup>15</sup> *On lui ajouta, qu'au reste on ne lui répondoit pas de ce qui en arriveroit s'il ne rassuroit promptement ces nouveaux Chrétiens, qui n'étoient nullement traitables sur cet article, parcequ'ils étoient convaincus que ce changement de Pasteurs n'avoit point d'autre motif que de les priver de la liberté dont ils jouissoient; et que ce qu'il y avoit de moins à craindre, étoit le depeuplement entier de toutes les Reductions. Charlevoix, 2. 83.*

<sup>16</sup> *Des coquillages, dont les couleurs brillantes avoient pu aisement donner dans les yeux d'un enfant qui n'avoit pas cinq ans. Charlevoix, 2. 84.* I do not know from what materials Charlevoix was here writing, and cannot guess at the word which he may have misinterpreted to mean shells, .. if, as seems probable, a mistake there has been. The Latin translation, however, supports his text, *conchyliorum genus.*

also demanded from Cardenas the proof of his assertions. He now received letters from both: the former told him he had often heard reports concerning the Uruguay mines, but had always considered them unworthy of credit: the Bishop's answer was, that he would produce his proofs of their existence at the proper time and in the proper place; that the right mode of beginning was to expel the Jesuits, and that the profits which would then result would be greater than those of the richest mines which could possibly be discovered. The only shadow of doubt which could now remain arose from the disappearance of Buenaventura: . . . was this disappearance the work of the Jesuits? Well aware that such a suspicion might arise, they exerted themselves to apprehend this fellow, and fortunately they were successful. The situation in which he found himself, deprived him of all cunning, and even of courage to persist in his story for the hope of making another effort to escape; and in this stupid state of fear, when D. Hyacintho promised him the greatest rewards if he made the discovery which he had promised, he denied that he had ever made any such promise, or ever said any thing upon the subject. It was possible that he might act thus from fear of the Jesuits; the Governor solemnly promised to protect him, and tried all means of persuasion and encouragement in vain; the torture was then applied, a means never to be mentioned without execration, but at which no government scrupled in that age. All which could be extorted from him was, that if he had ever spoken of mines and fortresses for their defence, he must have been drunk at the time. Drunkenness or imposture, cried D. Hyacintho, it shall cost thee thy life! and he ordered him to be hanged. The Jesuits interceded as policy required, and through their intercession, he escaped with two hundred lashes.

Cardenas meantime was exercising both the civil and ecclesi-

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1645.

Charlevoix,  
2, 80—85.

CHAP.

XXV.

1645.

*Cardenas  
appeals to  
the Bishop  
of Cordoba.*

astical authority at Corrientes, sufficient proof that the majority of the inhabitants were in his favour. He dispatched his nephew from thence with a letter to the Bishop of Cordoba, reiterating his charges against the Jesuits, especially that of working mines for their own profit: he accused them of enriching foreign states to the detriment of the King's finances, and of leading thousands into damnation by the heretical doctrines in which they instructed their converts; and he called upon D. Melchior as being the oldest Bishop in that province, (for the metropolitan See was at that time vacant) to convoke a Provincial Council which might put a stop to this last tremendous evil. The pertinacity with which Cardenas addressed his complaints to this Prelate, after the repeated rebuffs which he had received, is one symptom of that insanity with which his conduct so frequently appears to have been tainted. Maldonado replied in his accustomed strain of dignified and calm reproof. The charge of heresy he scarcely noticed; that respecting the mines he treated as an invention of the very Devil, for the purpose of destroying the Reductions. He had often, he said, asked himself through what channel, if any such mines existed, the Jesuits could remit their gold to foreign and hostile countries, and he had never been able to discover; certainly it was not by way of St. Paulo. As for the proposed Provincial Council, it happened that there were at that time no Bishops in the Province who were able to attend one except Cardenas and himself, and it was perfectly certain that they would never be of the same opinion. He concluded by again exhorting him to Christian charity.

*Charlevoix,  
2, 91—97.*

*He sets out  
for Assumpcion, but is  
sent back.*

Meanwhile both Cardenas and his opponents were using all their influence at the Royal Audience and in Spain, to make their respective causes good. The Audience thrice summoned Cardenas to appear before them at Chuquisaca; and an order

was sent to Corrientes, that if he refused to obey, he should be banished from the King's dominions, for so the peace of the Province and the King's service required. But the Bishop was too sure of his friends, and too resolute himself to submit quietly; his strength lay in the same place with his hopes, and he determined to return to Asumpcion, and once more contest the field with the Governor, giving out, that before he could undertake the journey to the Audience, it was necessary for him to see to the affairs of the diocese, and nominate a Grand Vicar during his absence. He advanced upon the way to within a few leagues of Asumpcion, where the river is contracted to the width of a musquet shot, at a place which for that reason is called *Angostura*, or the Narrows. Here the Governor had stationed a party to command the navigation, and Cardenas was ordered not to advance, by men who had means in their hands for enforcing obedience. He would have landed somewhere out of sight, and have made his way by land, but his companions thought this too hazardous, and they carried him back to Corrientes against his will. This is the statement of the Jesuits: the Bishop's advocates tell a different story. During the two years which had now elapsed since his expulsion, his Church, they say, had remained in a state of spiritual adultery. Hinostrosa's first business had been to make all persons, in spite of the interdict, attend mass in the Jesuit's Church, and perform all the usual ceremonies of religion there, not in the churches which the Bishop had appointed, and in which only the sacraments might be validly administered. The men were to obey this order on pain of death, the women on pain of whipping and imprisonment; two gallowses were planted every morning to enforce the threat, one before the College, the other in the middle of the Plaza, and they were removed every night lest the populace should destroy them during the darkness, . .

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1646.

*Charlevoix,*  
2. 99—100.

*State of the  
city accord-  
ing to the  
Bishop's  
partizans.*

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1647.

ropes and pulleys being adjusted all day for the convenience of prompt execution. Moreover the Governor compelled all persons, old and young, male and female, to sign depositions against the Bishop without knowing to what they bore witness. These proceedings made many persons fly to the woods <sup>17</sup>, where they endured every kind of hardship, many women miscarrying, and many losing their lives. These evils were not all: the Bishop's advocates assert, that God visibly punished the city and the province, for having consented to the wrong which was offered their Prelate, or for not having resisted it. Many of his persecutors came to violent deaths, and among them were nine Jesuits <sup>18</sup>. Not a drop of rain fell during the whole time of the Bishop's absence; the firmament seemed to be of iron, the springs failed, the rivulets were dried up, (a thing never before known in Paraguay,) whole flocks, whole herds perished for want of water, many human beings died of thirst, and many of famine. The country was dispeopled, all persons going to the towns for the sake of the river. Earthquakes were for the first time felt, the shocks became frequent, and destructive insects laid waste the fields. Meantime the Court and the Metropolitan Judge declared, that the expulsion of the Bishop had been violent and sacrilegious, ordered him to return to his

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<sup>17</sup> To the mountains, . . . the French translator of Villalon says, mistaking the meaning of the word *montañas*. See *vol. 1, p. 629, note 15*, where this word is explained upon the authority of P. Manuel Rodriguez. French writers have perpetually fallen into this mistake. I believe the word *monte* in Spain has the same vague meaning, and that *correr la monte*, means to go hunting, without any reference to the face of the country.

<sup>18</sup> Thus it is that facts are coloured by faction and malevolence! Most, if not all, of these Jesuits were killed in the performance of their duty by the savages. Thus what their enemies represent as the just judgement of offended Heaven, their brethren appeal to as the best proof and the happiest termination of a holy life, securing to them their celestial crown.

See, enjoined all persons to obey him as their lawful Prelate, displaced Hinostrosa from the government, and condemned him in a fine of ten thousand crowns. The Royal Audience confirmed this decision. The Bishop in obedience set out for Asumpcion, and being stopt at the *Angostura* by a party of Guarani musqueteers from the Reductions, whom the Jesuits stationed there, and by some excommunicated Spaniards, whom the Governor had sent to cooperate with them, and whom the Jesuits supplied with plenty of wine and with all other things, he sent the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent at Corrientes with a letter to Hinostrosa. The letter purported, that in obedience to the sentence of the Metropolitan Judge, which had been confirmed by the Royal Audience, he was coming to take possession of his Church once more, to absolve the excommunicated, to bless the fields, and to implore the divine grace, that God might be pleased to extend his mercy over the afflicted province, and shed upon it the dews of Heaven. The Governor tore the letter, and threatened to hang the boatmen if they attempted to proceed; the Jesuits in the pride of their triumph, said that a Bull should be seen flying in the air, and the river Parana flow back toward its sources before Cardenas should recover his See; and the Bishop who then returned perforce to Corrientes, although he repeatedly applied for means of subsistence, could only obtain between two and three thousand crowns during the whole time of his exile. Such is the statement of his advocates.

Cardenas had powerful friends, or he could not in that age have resisted the formidable influence of the Jesuits. As a means of terminating the dispute with as little scandal as possible, the Court appointed him Bishop of Popayan; but regarding this as only an honourable mode of removing him from the contested see, his spirit was too haughty to accept it: he wrote

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1647.

Villalon, §  
40-51.  
Carrillo,  
§ 38-48.

Hinostrosa's  
government  
expires.

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1647.

to the Metropolitan and the Chapter, saying, that his age rendered him incapable of undertaking so long a journey, and he made the same representations to the King: for Cardenas yet hoped to enjoy a day of triumph, and he was not disappointed. Hinostrosa's term of government expired; D. Diego Escobar Osorio succeeded him. It was thought that the Bishop might live in peace with a new Governor, . . . at least there were no old enmities between them to prevent that harmony which was so essential for the public tranquillity. In the hope of satisfying both parties by a sort of compromise, the Audience resolved that Cardenas should retain his see, but not reside upon it; and they once more required him to appear before them at Chuquisaca: but the Bishop chose to consider only that part of the arrangement binding which accorded with his own inclinations, and set out immediately for Asumpcion<sup>19</sup>. He was received with transport by the people, and the negroes of the town danced before him as he was conducted by the rejoicing multitude to his old quarters in the Franciscan Church. Osorio had been charged in his instructions to prevent the Bishop and his party from attempting any thing against the Jesuits, . . . injunctions which it must have been his interest and his wish to observe. Three weeks elapsed, during which time the Governor endeavoured to persuade Cardenas to obey the

Vitellon,  
§ 69.

The Bishop  
returns in  
triumph.

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<sup>19</sup> His advocates do not say that he was authorized to return; . . . yet Charlevoix in reluctant language certainly admits as much. "*Il paroît qu'il en avoit enfin obtenu la permission de la Audience Roïale de Charcas, ou du Viceroi, pour y regler ses affaires: du moins est-il certain que dans les instructions du nouveau Gouverneur, il lui étoit expressément recommandé de s'opposer a tout ce que cet Evêque et ses partisans voudroient entreprendre contre les Jesuites.*" T. 2, 100. In this part of his narrative he omits many circumstances which he would have felt no pleasure in reciting.

summons of the Audience, and Cardenas on his part was busily employed in strengthening his faction, and preparing for active operations. At the end of that time he took possession of the Cathedral. The story which his adherents prepared for the Courts of Rome and Madrid would have been incomplete if they had not added that the Bishop's return put an end to all the physical calamities of the province. They affirm, that while he was celebrating his first mass in the Cathedral the heavens became overcast; the next morning a gentle rain fell; the dews resumed their natural course; the rain descended on every second day for a time, then on every fourth; the springs were replenished and gushed forth, and a plentiful harvest ensued. It is frequently difficult to chuse between the evidence of two parties, neither of which scrupled at falsehood, . . . but the facts, documents, and probabilities on the side of the Jesuits will not be weighed down by the miracles which their enemies have thrown into the scale.

The Remonstrant Clergy, as on a former occasion, withdrew to the Jesuits' Church, and established their Chapter there; Cardenas excommunicated them, and interdicted the College; they rung their bells when the interdict was proclaimed, and continued to perform mass, confess, absolve, preach, marry, and bury in defiance of him. Osorio, provoked at the Bishop's conduct, determined, that as Cardenas had thus obstinately chosen to enter his Cathedral, he should stay in it; so he placed a guard to confine him there. The Provincial of the Franciscans came to his aid, and excommunicated Osorio, who, not being used to these things like his predecessor, submitted to the sentence, and withdrew. But as the Jesuits soon comforted him with a probable opinion that the excommunication was not valid, he renewed the blockade, placed fifty guards at each of the three doors of the Cathedral, nailed up the doors, and wait-

CHAP.  
XXV.1647.The new  
Governor  
resists, but  
soon submits.

CHAP.  
XXV.1648.*Papel en verso.**Villalon, § 62—80.  
Carrillo, § 58—76.**Measures against the Jesuits.**Villalon, § 80. Carrillo, § 76.*

ed in patient expectation of starving the Bishop into submission. But either he had forgotten a window which opened into the sacristy, or he had not the means of access to it: through this window the besieged were plentifully supplied, and at the end of a fortnight the old Bishop was heard chaunting with a louder voice than at first. Meantime public opinion had manifested itself strongly in his favour; the women particularly distinguished themselves by zeal in the Prelate's cause; they named one of their own sex to go as *Procuradora*, or She-Attorney, to the Royal Audience, and make their wishes upon the subject known; and they mobbed the Governor and his friends with more boldness and more effect than a rabble of men could have done, because they were sure of impunity. Osorio at length thought it necessary to temporize or yield; he<sup>20</sup> opened the doors, accepted, or perhaps solicited, absolution, and endeavoured from that time to avoid all personal inconvenience by observing, as far as possible, a neutrality between the two exasperated parties.

Threescore years and ten had neither materially injured the Bishop's bodily powers, nor in any degree cooled his fiery disposition. No sooner was he released from durance than he recommenced offensive operations, and marched at the head of his force ecclesiastick to dig up the body of a person whom he had excommunicated, and who had lately been buried in the Jesuits' Church: the grave was defended by the friends of the deceased, swords were drawn, and as Osorio would lend no

<sup>20</sup> Villalon says the Governor expected to have starved him to death; but being disappointed, opened the doors, and entreated his forgiveness. This Franciscan gives repeated proof that his habit of utterly disregarding truth had made him forgetful of probability.

sanction to this act of indecent violence, the Bishop was obliged to withdraw. In other points of more importance he was unluckily more successful. The Jesuits had begun to form two Reductions among the Itatines, on the western side of the river; a most important position, for these settlements, had they prospered, would have checked the Guaycurus and Payaguas, tribes who were every day becoming bolder and more formidable. In this attempt Romero and some of his companions had received martyrdom: the foundation, however, had been laid, and with fair prospect of success, when Cardenas sent two of his clergy to supersede the missionaries. The men who displaced them had neither their zeal nor their ability; . . . the Indians suspected a design of reducing them to the *Encomienda* system of slavery, which was probably the real intention; they became turbulent; at the first alarm the new pastors forsook their flock and fled, and the sheep dispersed themselves. In these ill-judged measures Cardenas met with no opposition from the Governor, who might consider them as purely ecclesiastical. But it was manifest that the city would never become tranquil while such factions existed in it, and the obvious means of restoring tranquility was to make the Bishop obey the Royal Audience, and appear before their tribunal at Chuquisaca. At length the Jesuits obtained a fifth order from the Audience, empowering them to commission any public officer to enforce obedience, if the Bishop should still continue his contumacy, and if the Governor should still delay to act. They chose the excommunicated Camp-Master Leon; but when he called upon the inhabitants of Asumpcion to aid him in the King's name, they refused to act against the Bishop<sup>21</sup>. Osorio might now, perhaps,

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1648.

Charlevoix,  
2, 108-9.  
Date.  
Ficini Jan.  
1701.  
2, p. 222.  
Ficini Jan.  
1701.

Charlevoix,  
2, 85-91.  
100-4.

The Govern-  
nor dies,  
and the  
Bishop is  
appointed to  
succeed him.

Villalon, §  
81-115.  
Carrillo,  
§ 77-102.

<sup>21</sup> Villalon says that Leon then assembled four thousand Indians from the

CHAP. have felt it necessary to discharge his duty, lest he should incur  
 XXV. the penalty of two thousand crowns, to which the Audience had  
 1649. pronounced him liable in default; but just at this time he died,  
 after a short and sudden illness, . . . most opportunely for the  
 Bishop<sup>22</sup>, who was then made Governor and Captain-General  
 by acclamation.

*The Jesuits  
 tumultuously  
 expelled  
 from Assump-  
 tion.*

All officers of the opposite party were immediately super-  
 seded; and on the second day of the new administration the  
 people were summoned to assemble round the royal standard,

Reductions for the same purpose, but that when they discovered for what pur-  
 pose they had been raised, they were shocked at the intended sacrilege, and  
 dispersed. Carrillo, though he usually drops the more improbable parts of Villa-  
 lon's story, repeats this; both writers seem to have forgotten how inconsistent it  
 is with the whole conduct of the Guaranies, and how incompatible with that  
 absolute authority which the Jesuits exercised over them; . . . an authority which  
 has been one of the main charges brought against the Jesuits of Paraguay by  
 their enemies in all times.

<sup>22</sup> The Bishop's party give him the credit of having predicted Osorio's death,  
 which they say took place in this manner. He had prepared a boat for transport-  
 ing the Bishop, and was holding a midnight conference with the Jesuits on the  
 river-side. During some days a burning north wind had prevailed, and the Go-  
 vernor was clothed in a single thin garment, which was open at the breast:  
 suddenly there came on one of the severe cold blasts from the south, and it  
 pierced his vitals. He was immediately taken ill; and soon losing speech and  
 sense, died on the fourth day, without appointing a successor, without making  
 a will, and without confession. Charlevoix says he died suddenly after taking  
 something which had been sent him as a sovereign remedy for an indisposition  
 with which he had been seized: this is very much like hinting that he was poi-  
 soned. Indeed Charlevoix has not scrupled to say, that when he was on the way  
 to assume his government, an attempt was made to murder him, because he was  
 instructed to protect the Jesuits. On the other hand, it is affirmed that the  
 Bishop was twice shot at. From the character of the people and the times, it is  
 as likely that both accusations should be true, as that they should be false.

The poet of the Bishop's party exults in Osorio's death:

and execute the Bishop's orders. They were led against the College. The doors were closed, but the Jesuits were not now prepared for resistance; they had no longer the sanction of the constituted authorities; there had been no time to bring up a Guarani force, and the populace were decidedly against them. The doors were battered down with a beam; and the Lieutenant General, entering the Church with a notary, gave official notice to the Rector to quit the city forthwith with all his community, and to evacuate without delay all the establishments which the Company possessed in Paraguay. Reply was vain; Diaz Taño produced their charters . . . such things are little heeded by exasperated factions and victorious mobs; he and his brethren were thrown down, bruised, trampled under foot, the sick were dragged from their beds, and if their historian may be believed, they were bound hand and foot, placed in a boat without oars, boatmen, or provisions, and thus committed to the stream<sup>23</sup>. They had entered the country, the people said, with nothing but their

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1649.

Charlevoix,  
2, 108—9.  
Ditto.  
Pieces Jus-  
tificatives,  
2, p. xxx.  
Papal en  
verso.

*Dios que no se descuida  
en castigar a los malos,  
a Aleto manda cortar  
el estambre, e el hilado  
de la vida de Don Diego*

*de Escobar, que gobernando  
estubo hasta este punto:  
dispuso Dios como sabio  
el que cadaver se vuelva,  
pues fue cadaver mandando.*

PAPAL EN VERSO.

<sup>23</sup> Charlevoix exaggerates the danger, but probably not the violence. The river, he says, might have carried them out to sea, if they had not been cast upon an island which lay in the way! Had he forgotten the distance from Asumpcion to the mouth of the Plata? In this part of the story Carrillo fairly gives up his case, (§ 104—110,) and feeling the impossibility of making a better defence, recriminates upon the Jesuits, saying, that when they had thus forcibly been expelled, instead of waiting to be restored by law, they had recourse to means as violent and tortuous as those of which they complained.

CHAP. rochets and breviaries, and the cry was that they should be  
 XXV. turned out of it as poor as they came in.

1649.

*Their pro-  
 perty confis-  
 cated.*

That there might be some show of regard to religion in these outrageous proceedings, it was declared that the buildings which had belonged to the Company should be appropriated to religious purposes, and the expence of these establishments defrayed from the sequestered property, the residue being for the royal treasury. But when the populace are let loose upon the possessions of those whom they hate, all ages have witnessed the devastation which naturally ensues. The pulpit and the confessionals were destroyed, because, it was said, poisonous doctrines had so often been taught in them, . . . a charge as true in the literal sense, as it was little understood by those who urged it. The altar-pieces, the work of the best Spanish artists, were cut to fit the Cathedral. St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francisco Xavier were metamorphosed into the Saints Peter and Paul. An image of the Redeemer in a Jesuit's dress, as he was said to have appeared to Donna Maria de Escobar, was committed to the flames with just but unreflecting indignation. When the College had been gutted it was set on fire, and as the walls did not burn, the Jesuits are willing that its preservation should pass for a miracle. But the demolishers were not expert at their business: as no limestone had been discovered in that country, the building was made of pebbles, or rough stones, and bricks, set within wooden frames, and cemented with mud: the tower of the College was composed of several stages, or panes, of this kind; and the mob, in order to destroy it, fastened long ropes round the main supports, and pulled at them till they were weary, without effecting their desire. Having now driven away all opponents, it was easy for the Bishop to procure what attestations he pleased: a verbal process was therefore drawn up according to official form, memorials were prepared and signed,

and his advocate, Fr. Juan de Santiago y Villalon, was sent with these documents to make good his cause at Madrid, while other agents defended it before the Royal Audience.

CHAP.  
XXV.

1649.

*They chuse  
two Judge  
Conserva-  
tors.*

The Jesuits on their part held council at Cordoba, and were at no loss how to proceed. Like other religious communities, they enjoyed a privilege, the existence of which sufficiently proves a vicious administration of justice in the countries wherein it is admitted as a necessary corrective. In case of any serious wrong, they were allowed to chuse a Judge Conservator, who should take cognizance of the cause, and pronounce sentence in the Pope's name, as being his delegate by virtue of the appointment: it was only provided that the Superior Tribunals should recognize the cause as falling properly under his jurisdiction, and that they should approve the choice of the person. That the case required an immediate remedy could not be doubted, and it was equally certain that the privilege had been conceded in contemplation of such cases; but where party feelings were so generally diffused, there was some difficulty in chusing an individual against whom no exception could be made. Peralta, the Dean of Cordoba, was first named; he excused himself from acting as far as the Bishop was personally concerned, because he had himself personal cause of complaint against him; but he consented to judge in the case of his accomplices: Pedro Nolasco, Superior of the Order de la Merced, was then appointed for the more important part of the proceedings. The Audience<sup>24</sup> approved the choice;

*The Audi-  
ence appoint  
a Vico-  
Governor.*

<sup>24</sup> Villalon says that the Jesuits accused the Bishop before the Audience, of designing to make himself master of the Province by help of the Paulistas, . . . of heresy, sacrilege, living in a state of concubinage, practising sorcery, and having a familiar spirit! (§ 190.) The treasonable part of this charge, ridiculous as it is, is advanced by Carrillo also; but here, as on other occasions, he abstains from repeating the greater part of the preposterous falsehoods with which the Bishop's *Procurador* supplied him.

CHAP.

XXV.

1649.

words used  
 equal out  
 -ar-2000

Charlevoix,  
 2, 102-4.

The Vice-  
 Governor  
 marches  
 against the  
 Bishop.

Papel en  
 verso.

and considering either that the Bishop's election to the Government was null, (the existence of the charter, by which the right of electing him was claimed being denied by the Jesuits,) or certainly that his subsequent conduct had proved him unfit to be entrusted with power, they nominated D. Andre Garavito de Leon, one of their own body, to be Governor *ad interim*, and appointed the Camp-Master Sebastian de Leon to act as Vice-Governor till his arrival; commanding him to collect an armed force, and therewith reinstate the Jesuits in their possessions at Asumpcion, and reduce the inhabitants of that city to their duty.

The Camp Master Leon had retired into the country as soon as the Bishop's party began decidedly to preponderate. His excommunication sate lightly upon him; and as he had stood forward manfully against Cardenas, the Jesuits had taken care to provide as became them, for him and his family in their distress. The exiles and fugitives now resorted to him; among others, Hinostrosa and the seceding Canons. Four thousand Guaranies were brought from the Reductions; among the Jesuits who commanded them were Diaz Taño, and Father Juan Antonio Manquiano, who had received rough <sup>25</sup> usage from the

25 — su Señoria— estando  
 tratando de estas materias  
 con algunos Prebendados,  
 embio a quatro, o seis monigotes,  
 y traian a Manquiano  
 con la sotana en la testa,  
 y las vadanas à baxo.  
 Los ministros agarrantes  
 tomaron a buen trabajo  
 rascarle la posteriora  
 aunque fuera con un macho.

Quien vio mas rara figura,  
 ni mas horrendo espantajo  
 que aqueste, en quantos se ha puesto  
 desde el primer hortelano?  
 Dió el pobre dos mil clamores,  
 y al Obispo le ha llamado  
 de su Padre, y su Pastor,  
 y su Obispo consagrado.  
 Su Señoria le dice;  
 que dice Padre Manquiano,  
 pues ayer era un intruso,

Bishop and his rabble. At the head of this force, Leon advanced to S. Lorenzo, three leagues from Asumpcion, and halting there upon one of the Jesuit's estates, notified his appointment from thence to the Municipality, and remained there three days, during which time he was joined by some partizans from the city. The Bishop prepared for hostilities, and summoned the country to his standard in the King's name. The summons was but slowly answered; he collected however some force, and the Municipality being his creatures, replied to Leon, that if he came as Vice Governor, he must come with a suite corresponding to that character, make his army retire, and present his papers; but that there was reason for suspecting he had no such papers, seeing that he advanced at the head of an army of Indians, who were declared enemies of the Spaniards, and who would ruin the city and all its inhabitants. This danger, if any such there had been, was apprehended too late; Cardenas and his party had set the example of ruling by force of arms, and Leon could execute the charge entrusted to him in no other way, than by forcibly restoring those who had been forcibly expelled. The Bishop's force consisting of about three hundred horse and foot, and four hundred Indians, marched out against the excommunicated army, while he exposed the Sacrament in the Cathedral, and prostrated himself before the altar in prayer. The inferiority of numbers on his side, was perhaps counterbalanced by the greater proportion of Spaniards among them, most of whom had full faith in the merits of their cause.

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1649.

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*y oy Obispo? No Señor,  
le respondia el cuitado;*

*que si, es Pastor verdadero  
de todo aqueste rebaño.*

A precious flock it was, and a worthy pastor! The author of the *Papel* writes like one who had seen and enjoyed the sport.

CHAP. XXV.  
 1649. Each party tried the effect of protestations against the other, before the action began ; the episcopal force had the advantage <sup>26</sup> at first, for the Guaranies were not yet accustomed to the use of fire arms, and when they laid the match to the lock, they turned away their faces, in fear of their own guns. But they had a Flemish Jesuit, F. Louis Arnote, at their head, who was a good soldier ; and by his manœuvres the day was won. Four and twenty Spaniards, most of whom were of the best families in Paraguay, fell on the Bishop's <sup>27</sup> part. Leon and the Jesuits then entered the city without farther opposition ; and here if their own historian may be believed, all evil as well as all resistance ceased ; but their enemies assert, that the Guaranies committed great <sup>28</sup> excesses. Cardenas, having lost the battle, endeavoured

Villalon, §  
 191—204.

<sup>26</sup> Villalon says that Leon killed two of the Guaranies with his own hand to stop the flight of the rest, and that the Jesuits succeeded in rallying them, by promising that they should enjoy the property of the Spaniards, and take their women for slaves. Could he dream that any person would be so besotted by party spirit as to believe this accusation ?

<sup>27</sup> In the Jesuits' army, Villalon says, the loss fell upon the Guaranies, of whom 395 were slain ; but the Jesuits buried 394 secretly, and then made a public funeral for the remaining one, persuading the people that they had lost no more. Such is the manner in which this impudent Franciscan repeats or invents the absurdest tales !

<sup>28</sup> It is said that they set fire to the city, and that a natural daughter of Leon was burnt in her mother's house. Among other atrocities, the Guaranies are accused of celebrating their old Pagan feasts round about the church and in the burial ground, and feasting upon human flesh. As these Indians had not grown up under the Jesuits, it is very possible that they may not have been as tractable as their descendants proved, and that some excesses were committed : but this last accusation is manifestly false. (*Villalon*, § 232. *Carrillo*, § 151.) On the other hand, Charlevoix writes as if Leon immediately after he entered the town, marched to the Cathedral, kissed the Bishop's hand, suffered him to remain as long as he could invent any plea for deferring his departure, and then dismissed him with every possible mark of attention and respect. Villalon and Carrillo declare, that he was embarked upon a rotten raft in the hope that he might perish.

still to maintain his post in the Cathedral with his clergy and some of his partizans: some women also took refuge there. They sustained a blockade of eleven days, during which attempts were made, but ineffectually, to smoke them out. When all their provisions were consumed they opened the doors and surrendered. The Bishop sustained his part till the last: Leon found him in full pontificals, with the Sacrament in his hand. No time was then lost in putting him on board a boat, and sending him down the river, that he might find his way to the Royal Audience in what manner he pleased.

CHAP.

XXV.

1650.

*Charlevoix,*  
2, 114-17.  
*Carrillo,*  
§. 115-57.

Such of the moveable property of the Jesuits as could be recovered was now restored to them; they were reinstated in their College, the Tower which had been pulled out of the perpendicular was pulled straight again, .. by especial favour of Heaven as themselves would represent it, .. and Leon exerted himself so much in repairing the injuries which the edifice had received, that the General of the Company gave him the title of Restorer of the College, and invested him with the same privileges as the first founder, .. a favour of which the spiritual value was beyond all price. The two Judge-Conservators examined the cause and gave sentence. F. Nolasco declared the Bishop guilty of having libelled the Jesuits in accusing them of enormous crimes, such as teaching heretical doctrines to the Indians under their care, betraying the secrets of confession, and forging royal provisions; he acquitted the Jesuits of all these charges, and pronounced sentence of deprivation against the Bishop, and of reclusion in a Convent, suspending him from saying mass till such time as the Apostolical See might decide otherwise. He excommunicated him for having seized two rafts belonging to the Reductions which came to Asumpcion to purchase goods, and detaining as slaves the Guaranies who navigated them; and he condemned him in damages for the image of Christ in the Jesuits' dress

*The Judge  
Conserva-  
tors pass  
sentence.*

CHAP. XXV. which had been destroyed, and for all the other injuries which the Company had suffered in their College and other possessions. 1650. The chief persons who had acted under the Bishop were condemned by the other Judge-Conservator, Peralta, one to four years' service in Chili, at his own cost, another to half that term, these persons being contumacious; others, whose guilt was less but who persisted in contumacy, were fined and excommunicated: to those who made submission the penalty was remitted. Garavito upon his arrival condemned in pecuniary fines the magistrates who had taken part with the Bishop, and ordered that the acts which had been past under the usurped authority, should be torn from the records and publicly burnt.

*Pieces Justificatives.*  
p. x. xxii.  
xxviii.  
*Charlevoix.*  
t. 2.

1651. Popular opinion, however, was still so much in the Bishop's favour, that Sebastian de Leon, when his authority ceased, felt it necessary to retire from Asumpcion, and could with difficulty find a safe asylum in the province. And when the Bishop, obeying at length the repeated summons of the Royal Audience, repaired to Chuquisaca, his entrance into that city resembled a triumph: all the bells were rung except those of the Jesuits' College; a troop of Indian soldiers were drawn out by his friends to receive him with a flourish of trumpets; the street in which the Franciscan Convent stood was hung with silken hangings, and a triumphal arch erected at the entrance, and garlanded with artificial flowers, the work of the nuns; salutes were fired as he approached; banners were planted at regular distances; part of the Friars Minorite attended with the Crucifix and with lighted tapers to conduct him to their church; the remainder received him under a canopy, and the <sup>29</sup> Te Deum was perform-

Mar. 17.

*After fate of Cardenas.*

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<sup>29</sup> An authenticated statement of this reception was drawn up on the same day by the Notary Royal, at the desire of the Bishop's Procurador.

ed. These efforts of his partizans were of no avail in promoting his cause. Cardenas was more than seventy years of age; and there was little likelihood that he should live to know the decision of a case which was to be debated at Rome and at Madrid, even if only the ordinary delays of law were interposed. It is said by his advocates that he would fain have gone to Europe for the purpose of expediting the process, but that the Jesuits by their intrigues prevented him: the Jesuits, on the contrary, say that he was advised to this measure, but considered it as a snare of his enemies who wished to get him out of the country; and this is certainly the more probable account. He was allowed to appoint a *Provedor* for his church, or rather to approve one whom the Metropolitan recommended. In this state the diocese continued fifteen years, when the King, as if weary of expecting the demise of one who seemed blest with a patriarchal constitution, appointed him to the See of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and filled up that of Asumpcion, as being vacated by his translation.

CHAP.  
XXV.  

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1651.

*Villalon.* §  
242—5.  
*Charlevoix.*  
2, 119. 121.  
165.

Whether the question concerning his consecration were ever decided, cannot be ascertained from any printed or accessible documents: it was upon this point that the legal proceedings turned. He revenged himself upon the Jesuits who had raised this controversy against him, by involving them in discussions upon a subject more curious, if not more important. He accused them of having introduced into the Guarani catechism, monstrous heresies concerning the generation of the Divine Word, the immaculate nature of the Mother of God, and the sovereign name of God himself:.. his other accusation, that they intended to deliver over their hundred thousand vassals to the Portugueze, seems to have been treated with the contempt which it deserved; but these charges were thought worthy of serious investigation, and an order was issued from the palace of Buen Retiro to the Archbishop of Chuquisaca, that he should con-

*The charge  
of heresy  
against the  
Jesuits.*

*Letter of  
Cardenas to  
the Viceroy  
of Peru.*

*Charlevoix.*  
2, p. 123.

CHAP. XXV.  
1654. voked an assembly of the most grave and learned divines who were conversant in the Guarani language, and submit the alleged heresies to their judgement. The Bishop being called upon to specify his charges, urged them with his habitual vehemence. Two of them related to the words, by which in the Guarani, as in the Tupi tongue, the relation of son is expressed as implying child of the father, or of the mother. Cardenas insisted, that the Devil could not have comprized more abominable heresies in a single word, than were conveyed in each of these, which deprived Christ our Lord of his quality of Son of God, making him the mere offspring of man in the ordinary course of production; and which denied the purity of our Lady the most pure Virgin, and of the glorious St. Joseph, both of whom he invoked as his patrons and intercessors, that the land might be purged from these execrable offences. The other words whereof he complained, were, he said, yet worse. God was designated in this catechism by the word Tupa, and God the Father by that of Tuba; both being actually the names of infernal spirits, and as such to be found in the proceedings of a council held at Rome, in the year seven hundred and forty-five, by Pope Zacharias, when the prayer used by a certain heretic called Adelbert, was examined and condemned, and these were found among the names of eight spirits whom he invoked, all being the names of Devils, except Michael, which as the Council declared, had been inserted for the sake of accrediting the rest. The Bishop said that if he had not exerted himself to extirpate these heresies, he should have been guilty of abetting them; that he had written memorials upon the subject to the Inquisition at Lima; that he had prohibited the use of the horrid terms in Asumpcion and the country round about; that for this cause the Devils<sup>30</sup> whose names he had proscribed had in their infernal fury raised so many persecutions against him; and he swore a

See Vol. 1,  
 p. 218, note  
 5.

thousand times by the Triune God, and the Incarnate Word, by the sign of the Cross and by his own Consecration, that these things were as he averred them to be; he denounced them a thousand times to his Majesty as the Defender and Pillar of the Faith, and to the Holy Office; and he protested that he would sacrifice his life a thousand times rather than that these blasphemies against the Sovereign God, the Incarnation of the Word, and the purity of the Mother of God should once be uttered.

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1656.

The proposed examination was held at Asumpcion, because there were no persons capable of forming the Council at Chuquisaca, the Guarani not being spoken in that part of the country. Ten persons were summoned, of whom eight were theologians, the other two military men, selected for their perfect proficiency in the language. The Provincial of the Jesuits was one of the persons appointed; he excused himself from attending, lest he might be considered as a party interested, but he sent a justificatory memoir which was read at their sittings. Therein he stated, that the catechism in question had been translated into Guarani by the Venerable Father Fr. Luiz de Bolaños, a Franciscan; . . . perhaps if Cardenas had known this in time, he would never have looked into it for heresy: . . . that it had twice been examined and approved by a diocesan Synod, and all priests who officiated among the Indians had been enjoined to make use of it, and no other, by virtue of their holy

*Examina-  
tion of the  
charge.*

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<sup>30</sup> The Devil however, as usual in this mythology, had outwitted himself; for the Bishop assures his Metropolitan in a postscript, that he had lately placed six thousand Indian souls in a state of salvation, . . . none of whom, it is obvious, could have been saved by his means, unless he had been driven from Asumpcion.

CHAP. obedience, and on pain of the greater excommunication : more-  
 XXV. over the Bishop was totally ignorant of the language, and might  
 1656. therefore easily be deceived by those who sought to impose  
 upon him. With respect to the words *Tayra* and *Membira*,  
 they were strictly proper and strictly decorous ; the most author-  
 ized expressions in scripture were liable to the same misrepresen-  
 tations as were made of these. In the more curious argument  
 respecting the words *Tubá* and *Tupá*, the Bishop was inaccurate ;  
 for the names of the two infernal spirits in Adelbert's prayer  
 which Pope Zacharias had condemned, were Tubuel <sup>31</sup> and Tu-  
 buas ; .. of course the Bishop's argument fell to the ground. It  
 was remarked by some of the members of this Junta, that in  
 those places where the Bishop had prohibited the use of the

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<sup>31</sup> The Jesuit was right, and the Bishop certainly stands convicted of a mis-  
 nomer. The whole passage, as it stands in the proceedings of this Council, is  
 curious in itself, as well as for having become of some importance in the heart  
 of South America nine hundred years after it was written !

— “ *Cumque per ordinem legeretur, pervenit ad locum ubi ait ; Precor vos  
 et conjuro vos, et supplico me ad vos, Angelus Uriel, Angelus Raguel, Angelus  
 Tubuel, Angelus Michael, Angelus Adimis, Angelus Tubuas, Angelus Sabaoth,  
 Angelus Simihel. Dum vero hæc oratio sacrilega usque ad finem perfecta fuisset,  
 Zacharias Sanctus Papa dixit, quid ad hæc Sancti Fratres respondetis ? Sancti  
 Episcopi, et venerabiles Episcopi responderunt, .. quid aliud agendum est, nisi ut  
 omnia quæ coram nobis lecta sunt igne concrementur ; uectores vero eorum anathe-  
 matis vinculo percellantur ? Octo enim nomina Angelorum, quæ in suâ oratione  
 Aldebertus invocavit, non Angelorum, præter Michaelis, sed magis dæmonum nomina  
 sunt, quos ad præstandum sibi auxilium invocavit. Nos autem ut a vestro Sancto  
 Apostolatu edocemur, et divina tradit auctoritas, non plus quam trium Angelorum  
 nomina agnoscimus, id est, Michael, Gabriel, Raphael. Zacharias Sanctus Papa  
 dixit, Optimè provisum est à vestra Sanctitate, ut conscripta illius omnia igne con-  
 crementur. Sed opportunum est, ut ad reprobationem in scrinio nostro conserventur  
 ad perpetuam confusionem. Bernino. Historia de tutte l'Herisie. T. 2, p. 388.*

Guarani <sup>32</sup> name for God, and substituted the Spanish word, the Indians made no scruple of taking that name in vain, because they had never been accustomed to consider it with reverence, as they did the appellation in their native tongue <sup>33</sup>. The result was that the Catechism was once more approved, and the question was finally set at rest.

The Jesuits could not so satisfactorily acquit themselves of the charge respecting mines, which their enemies continued to repeat, and which the rulers as well as the populace were always ready to believe. They requested Garavito before his office should expire, to visit their Reductions, and satisfy himself and the public by a second investigation upon the spot; but Garavito was too well convinced of the falsehood of these reports to undertake so fatiguing a journey. The rumour was revived by an Indian of Yaguaron, who declared that he had seen the mines, that they were near the Reduction of Concep-

CHAP.  
XXV.  
1656.

Pieces Relatives a la Junte. Charlevoix. 2. l. lxxxix.

Fresh report of mines in Uruguay.

Charlevoix. 2. 141.

1651.

<sup>32</sup> A charge resembling this in its nature, but turning upon a metaphysical point of philology, was made against the Jesuits respecting the Chinese words which they used, to express the Deity. It was their fate to be attacked with equal inveteracy by the unbelieving scoffers and philosophists on one side, and by the all-believing bigots and blockheads of their own idolatrous Church on the other.

<sup>33</sup> The Guardian of the Franciscans, who also delivered a written memorial, makes some odd observations upon the effect which may be produced by mispronouncing words, or taking them in a false acceptance: *con que pueden los Doctos atender à estas explicaciones, que en este papel van, sin partir los vocablos, y sin separar los razones; por que si en todas las lenguas que usamos, queremos partir palabras, y truncar razones, las hablarémos poco honestos y nada modestos. Si el Español divide este palabra Tabernaculo, no hablarà limpio, sino espessissimo: partida sera mal dicho que un Santo estè en lo partido y separado del Tabernaculo. Y en Latin decimus Summus Pontifex, dirà Sum mus, soy raton. Y assi supplico que atiendan los Doctos a esto.* Charlevoix. 2. Pieces Justificatives. p. lxxxvi.

CHAP. tion in Uruguay, that they were exceedingly rich, and he even  
 XXV. produced a plan of them. This rumour was current for some  
 1651. years, and at length became so prevalent, that a new visitor,  
 Don Blazquez de Valverde was ordered to verify the fact.  
 The story of the former imposture was now repeated; the fel-  
 low endeavoured to escape, was retaken, and being threatened  
 with the torture, confessed that the whole was a fabrication;  
 but he accused his master, a Spanish Captain of the Bishop's  
 party, of having tutored him. This officer escaped punishment  
 by a timely death. His agent was carried back to Asumpcion,  
 mounted on a pack-saddle, and flogged on horseback through  
 the city, . . . a ceremony which would have been concluded by  
 hanging him, if the Jesuits had not interceded and saved him  
 from the capital part of his sentence. The reports concerning  
 their gold mines were hardly confuted, before it was asserted that  
 they possessed a silver one. An Indian gave a piece of silver  
 ore to a Religioner at Asumpcion, saying that he had brought  
 it from Uruguay, where the Jesuits worked the mine in which  
 it had been found. The Religioner exhibited it from the pulpit,  
 and the friends of the Jesuits themselves were staggered by this  
 apparent proof, till it was discovered that the specimen had been  
 broken from the pedestal of an image of the Virgin, which was  
 supposed to have come from Peru.

Charlevoix.  
 2. 129.  
 142-4.

1655.

Charlevoix.  
 2. 143.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

*State of Maranham. Laws respecting Indian slavery: the law for the abolition resisted at St. Luiz and Belem. History of F. Antonio Vieyra. He goes to Maranham as Superior of the Mission, and in consequence of a sermon prevails upon the inhabitants to submit to an arrangement. The Governor defeats all his purposes, in violation of the King's orders. He sails for Lisbon; and transacts the business at Court in person. Vidal is appointed Governor of Maranham and Para, and Vieyra returns to St. Luiz.*

While the Jesuits in Paraguay were thus successfully con-  
tending against all opposition, and establishing a priestly go-  
vernment among the Guaranies, their brethren in Brazil were  
exposed to equal hostility without possessing the same means of  
defence.

In the old Captaincies, the inhabitants had now acquired  
habits of settled and civilized life. The long established forms  
of municipal government, and the activity of commercial pur-  
suits, were alike conducive to political order; and the authority  
of the Mother Country was sustained by a regular, if not fre-  
quent intercourse, and by the appointment of men of high rank  
and character to the chief command. Such men brought with  
them more than the mere authority which their appointment  
conferred; the nobility of Portugal was not yet degraded; and  
though the vices which corrupted the administration of govern-  
ment in Lisbon, were but too faithfully followed in Bahia, still

*Maranhm  
in a worse  
state than  
the older  
Captaincies.*

CHAP. some real benefit was produced by the semblance and manners  
 XXVI. of a Court. But in Maranham and Para, the people were  
 1647. nearly in the condition of back settlers; they receded from  
 civilized society in their habits and manners, and still more  
 in their feelings, approaching in all toward the savage state.  
 Their Governors were generally no better than themselves:  
 command in these regions was so little to be desired, that men  
 of influence would not accept it, or accepted it only as a step  
 to something better; consequently persons were often appointed,  
 who left nothing in Portugal as security for their conduct,  
 and who had neither the sense of family nor of individual character  
 to restrain them from acts of tyranny and meanness. From these  
 causes arose a perpetual series of factions, appeals and seditions,  
 which the wisest policy under such circumstances could neither have  
 prevented nor remedied.

*Attempt of  
 the Dutch  
 in the Ordel-  
 laua.*

Before the war in Pernambuco was concluded, a squadron of  
 eight Dutch ships under Vandergoes, anchored off the Cabo do  
 Norte. Sebastiam de Lucena de Azevedo, the Capitam Mor  
 of Para, was informed of their arrival and that their intent was,  
 first to seize the fort at Curupa, and then proceed against  
 Belem. Upon this in a strange fit of despondency, he summoned  
 the Chamber, informed them of the danger, and desired that they  
 would look to the defence of the city, and appoint a fit person  
 to the command, for that he would only take upon himself to  
 defend the fortress, for which alone he was responsible. The  
 Chamber, and the greater part of the inhabitants who were  
 present at this extraordinary declaration, cried out, that he was  
 their Capitam Mor, that they looked to him, and under him  
 were ready to defend the city to the last drop of their blood,  
 and they warned him not to incur the disgrace of shrinking  
 from his duty. He nevertheless ordered the troops to retire  
 into the fort, and not satisfied with this, ordered in the Orde-

*nanza*, or train-band also, thus depriving the city of all means of defence. The Municipal officers upon this drew up a protest, and sent charges against him to the Governor General at St. Luiz, accusing him not merely for his present cowardice, but for many prior acts of misconduct and oppression. But when Lucena knew this, and began to reflect upon the possible consequences, he seemed at once to recover his senses; and instead of waiting for the Dutch within his own fortifications, embarked all the force he could muster, and set off to attack them wherever he could find them. He landed at Curupa and found all safe; marched to Maricary, a strong position which Vander-goes had occupied, assaulted him there, and after a severe conflict, drove him with considerable loss to his ships; then he returned to Belem, trusting that this act of successful vigour would acquire him the good will of the people, and efface all former stains. His military reputation was indeed thus reestablished, but other offences were not forgiven, and the repeated instances of the Chamber at length compelled the Governor General, Francisco Coelho de Carvalho, to make a voyage to Belem. Coelho, who was the illegitimate son of a distinguished family, was of high character and exemplary prudence: he endeavoured for some months after his arrival to restore unanimity, by persuading the people to withdraw their charges, in consideration of Lucena's late services; but popular passions are not easily allayed, especially when founded upon resentment for injustice. They insisted that the cause should be heard; and when fair enquiry was made, Lucena's misconduct appeared so flagrant, that Coelho, however much he might have wished to excuse him, could not forbear suspending him from his command, and degrading him to Gurupy, a station seventy leagues from Belem, on the coast toward Maranhã, there to await the judgement of the Court. The suspension was confirmed in Portugal, and the culprit was ordered home.

CHAP.  
XXVI.  
1647.

Berrão, 6  
934-948.  
949.

CHAP.  
XXVI.  
1647.

*Death of the  
Governor  
Coelho.*

1649.

*Berrêdo.  
941-8.*

*Expedition  
in search of  
gold mines  
and slaves.*

1650.

*Berrêdo §  
949-954.*

1652.

Coelho arrived at Belem in ill health, and dying there, ordered his body to be buried in the doorway of the Church of the Friars of St. Antonio. His death was followed by the usual consequences in these turbulent settlements. Duram, the *Ouvidor Geral* at St. Luiz, who had taken advantage of his absence to commit many irregular acts, grew bolder after his decease, so that Manoel Pitta da Veiga, who acted as Governor, to prevent worse evil put him in irons in the fort of Itapicuru. The new Governor Luiz de Magalhaens, on his arrival released Duram, and confined Manoel Pitta in his stead, for no better reason than that he might deprive him of his office of *Provedor Mor da Fazenda Real*, and confer it upon his own brother. From the time of Teixeira's memorable voyage, the people of Maranham had been fully persuaded that immense treasures were to be found upon the Orellana: hitherto the war had allowed them no leisure for enterprises of discovery; but now when they no longer apprehended a foreign enemy, an expedition was prepared, and the Governor was so sanguine in his expectations, that he gave the Commandant, Bartholomeu Barreiros de Ataide, a commission as *Capitam Mor* for the discovery of the River of Gold, or the Golden Lake; knowing however that human flesh was a more certain source of emolument than these undiscovered mines, he charged him to bring home as many slaves as he could possibly procure. The expedition was fitted out at Belem: both objects compleatly failed; but Barreiros had violated the laws so outrageously in his unprovoked attacks upon the Indians, for the purpose of enslaving them, that he subjected himself to a prosecution, which in its consequences hurried him to the grave. The Governor was implicated in this offence, and bore some part of the disgrace: he had also the deserved mortification of having his conduct toward the *Ouvidor* condemned, and his brother displaced from the

office into which he had with such scandalous injustice intruded him. Shortly afterwards, in consequence of the frequent disputes respecting the succession and appointments, the King separated the Governments of Maranham and Para, erecting each into a distinct Captaincy.

CHAP.  
XXVI.  

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1652.

The Portugueze Kings had ever been desirous of protecting the Indians, whom they regarded as their subjects, and for whose conversion they were truly solicitous. In spite of this disposition in the Government, the colonists were too long permitted to enslave them without controul: at length a law was past by Sebastian, declaring that no Indians should be considered as slaves, except such as should be taken in open war, made by command of the King or his Governor; or such as, like the Aymures and the fiercer tribes, were accustomed to assault the Portugueze and other Indians for the purpose of eating them. This was confirmed by a second law, wherein it was farther provided, that the Indians who worked for the Portugueze were not to be regarded as slaves, but as free labourers, at whose option it was to labour or not, according to their own inclination. Philip II. <sup>1</sup> decreed, that none should be slaves except those who were taken in hostilities, for which he should have issued orders. Philip III. <sup>1</sup> by two several laws forbade that they should be made slaves in any case. But the evil was too inveterate thus to be removed. There was a strong party in favour of slavery, . . . men who were greedy for immediate gain, and religioners, who espousing a wicked cause for a wicked motive, became the advocates of this execrable system because

*Laws respecting the slavery of the Indians.*

Mar. 20.  
1570.

*Figueiredo. Synopsis Chronologica. t. 2. p. 152.*

Aug. 22.  
1587.

*Syn. Chron. t. 2. p. 238.*

Nov. 11.  
1595.

*Syn. Chron. t. 2. p. 271.*

June 5.  
1605.

July 30.  
1609.

<sup>1</sup> A Portugueze would probably say Philip I. and II. as they stand among the Kings of Portugal; but it is more convenient for writers of every other nation to distinguish them as they are usually spoken of.

CHAP. rival orders had distinguished themselves by opposing it. At  
 XXVI. their persuasion Philip III. was induced to revoke the abolition,  
 Sept. 10. and allow that the Indians taken in war, rebellion, or insurrec-  
 1611. tion, should be enslaved: the captors were within two months  
 to register the names and describe the persons of their prisoners,  
 with all the circumstances of the capture, and they were not  
 allowed to sell these prisoners till the war should have been  
 approved by the Government in Portugal. The same law per-  
 mitted them to purchase slaves from Indians who would other-  
 wise eat them; a price was to be fixed by the Governor, or  
 other person authorized for that purpose, and those who were  
 purchased at or below this rate, were to be slaves for ten years,  
 and then restored to liberty; if the price exceeded the fixed va-  
 luation, then they remained in slavery. This law provided also  
 for the freedom of the reduced Indians: in every one of their  
 villages there was to be placed as Captain for three years, a  
 person of good substance and good extraction, especial care  
 being taken that there should be no Jewish blood in his family.  
 He was authorized to go into the interior, and persuade the  
 natives to return with him, and live under the protection of the  
 laws: in these expeditions he was instructed to take with him  
 a Jesuit, if there were one who would accompany him, and in  
 default of a Jesuit, a religioner of any other Order, provided he  
 spake the Tupi tongue. The Indians thus reclaimed were to be  
 settled in villages, consisting of about three hundred houses, at  
 such distance from any *Engenhos*, and woods of the Brazil-tree,  
 that there might be no danger of their injuring them. Lands  
 were to be allotted for their use, and a church built in every  
 village, which should be given to a secular priest conversant in  
 their tongue; if none such were to be found, a Jesuit was then  
 to be preferred, and if there were no subject of the Company,  
 then a regular priest of any other Order might be appointed.

These Indians were to be considered in every respect as free men, and paid for their labour at the current price. It is stated in this law that the former edicts had been grossly disregarded, and many Indians enslaved<sup>2</sup>, and it was enjoined that all these persons should be set free.

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*Provisam  
sobre a Lib.  
erdade da  
Gente Gen-  
tio dos Esta-  
dos do Bra-  
zil. MS.*

*Joam IV.  
renews the  
abolition.*

Partly owing to these laws, but more because the greater part of the Indians along the coast had been consumed, the old Capitaincies had now for some time depended upon the African slave-trade for labourers, the lawfulness of Negro slavery never yet having been called in question even by the Jesuits. But when the Portuguese became masters of Maranham, they found the adjoining country well peopled, and began the same work of oppression and depopulation which had been carried on for nearly a century in Brazil before it obtained the notice of the Government. It was not suffered to proceed here without interruption. Joam IV. following the natural impulse of his own good heart, renewed the full abolition according to Philip III.'s law; and Balthazar de Sousa Pereira, the new Governor of Maranham, brought out with him orders for emancipating all the Indians who were then enslaved. No sooner had he attempted to execute these orders than the people assembled in insurrection, and drew up their tumultuous force in the square or market-place of St. Luiz; he planted his artillery against them, and made a feint of attacking them; it was merely a feint for the sake of exculpating himself; for presently he dismissed the troops to their quarters, suffered the Jesuits, whom the people accused as the authors of this obnoxious measure, to act as peace-makers, and allowed the insurgents to appeal to the King when he should be better inform-

1652.

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<sup>2</sup> The law particularly referred to the villainous conduct of Pedro Coelho at Jaguaribe. *Vol. 1, 376.*

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Berredo, 5.  
958—969.

Early his-  
tory of F.  
Antonio  
Vieyra.

ed, and appoint deputies for the purpose of informing him. The Governor of Para, Ignacio do Rego Barreto, took out with him the same instructions; but the measure was even more obnoxious there than at St. Luiz, for the people possessed a greater number of slaves, and were nearer the good slaving-ground. They mutinied also, and he, like Balthazar de Sousa, admitted their appeal, and in the interim suspended a law which he had not the means of enforcing.

The contest which had so long been carried on between the Jesuits and the Spaniards in Paraguay was thus begun in Maranham and Para, when Vieyra the Jesuit arrived at St. Luiz. Something has already been said of this extraordinary man; and as he entered here upon one of the most important parts of his eventful life, it will be proper to look back upon his previous history. Antonio Vieyra<sup>3</sup> was born at Lisbon, on the sixth of February, 1608, and took his baptismal name from the Saint on the day of whose translation he was baptized in the Cathedral of that city. When he was in his eighth year his parents removed to Bahia, where he went to the Jesuits' school. At first he was only remarkable for stopping regularly on the way to worship the images of *N. Senhora da Fé*, or of another Lady called *N. Senhora das Maravilhas*, both which idols were in high repute at Bahia; but he was behind-hand in his studies, and his intellects appeared to be clouded. The boy felt and lamented his dullness; and one day, when it is said he was earnestly praying to the Virgin to remove it, something seemed to crack in his head, with such violent pain that he thought he was dying.

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<sup>3</sup> His father, Christovam Vieyra Ravasco, was a Fidalgo of the Royal Household; his mother's name was Dona Maria de Azevedo, and the Conde de Unham, D. Fernam Telles de Menezes, held him at the font.

His credulous biographer relates this as a miracle; it is worthy of notice as a physical fact, (he himself having affirmed it,) for from that hour he became sensible of, and displayed those powers of mind which made him one of the most distinguished ornaments of his country and his order. A sermon preached by F. Manoel do Couto, determined him, when in his fifteenth year, to chuse a religious life, and it is remarkable that the effect was produced by a fabulous legend which the preacher related of St. Jordan <sup>4</sup>. A Devil said to this holy personage, that he would willingly endure not only all his own torments, but those of all Hell beside, if he might only behold God for no longer a time than the opening and closing of a hand. What then must be the joy of the Beatific Vision! was the application which young Vieyra felt so powerfully, that he determined from that moment to secure it for himself by renouncing the world. The Jesuits were flourishing in general favour at this time; Anchieta's memory was still fresh in Brazil, and Almeida was then living in the odour of sanctity. To ask the consent of his parents, he well knew would be useless, so he ran away from them by night, and the Jesuits <sup>5</sup> opened their doors and admit-

Vieyra.  
Sermoens.  
t. 9, p. 212.

May 5,  
1623.

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<sup>4</sup> Andre de Barros says St. Fr. Zacharias . . upon this point Vieyra himself must be better authority than his biographer. But the legend may very probably (like many others) be related of both saints, . . and with as much truth in the one case as in the other. Vieyra says, "*refero com alguma esperança este exemplo, porque elle foy o que me fez religioso.*"

<sup>5</sup> His determination towards the Company was probably influenced by a circumstance which occurred to him in early childhood. F. Fernando Cardim, at that time Provincial in Brazil, and Rector of the College at Bahia, was a frequent visitor at his father's house: and he is said, one day when the boy was dangerously ill, to have assured his parents that he would not die, but that God reserved him for great things, to the honour of the Portugueze nation, and of the

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ted him triumphantly as a novice! During his noviciate, the Powers of Hell, in Catholic language, stirred up the winds and excited the waves against him, by means of his father and mother who opposed his vocation; and he of course remained unshaken like a rock amid the tempest. When he was little more than sixteen, the Jesuits allowed him to take those vows which bound him irrevocably to the Order; . . . in this instance they were never repented, . . . but to what guilt and misery have such premature engagements given birth! At the age of seventeen he was chosen to draw up the annual letter of the Province to the General at Rome, and in the following year to read lectures upon rhetoric at Olinda<sup>6</sup>. The five next years of his life were spent in the more congenial employment of ministering among the Indians and Negroes, for which purpose he made himself master, not only of the Tupi, but also of the Angolan tongue. It was his earnest wish to give up the pursuit of all scholastic studies, and devote himself wholly to the Indians; but his superiors were now well aware of his popular talents, and would not thus dispose of a subject, who was qualified to shine in cabinets and courts. Being ordained Priest in 1635, he lectured on theology at Bahia, and when the news of the Ac-

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Company of Jesus. Expressions of hope would easily be made to appear like prophecy when they were remembered in after years; and if the Provincial only said that the child might live to do honour to the Company, such words from one whom he was taught to revere as a man of God, would deeply impress a religious and imaginative mind. *Andre de Barros, Vida de Vieyra, L. 1, § 7, 8.*

<sup>6</sup> There he composed commentaries upon Seneca's Tragedies and Ovid's Metamorphoses. Both were lost during the wars which ensued, and he himself in riper years regretted the latter. He began also a commentary, literal and moral, upon the Book of Joshua, and another upon Solomon's Song, of which he gave five different explications.

clamation arrived, the Marquis de Montalvam sent him to Portugal with his son D. Fernando Mascarenhas, and F. Simam de Vasconcellos<sup>7</sup> to congratulate the King on the recovery of his royal rights. The Marquis is said to have chosen Vieyra, from a conviction that his talents would be essentially useful to the new Government. This nomination had nearly proved fatal. D. Fernando's brother had adhered to the Castilian King in the revolution; when therefore Fernando landed at Peniche and it was known who he was, the people attacked him, wounded him, and would have murdered him unless the Conde de Atouguia had rescued him from their hands. Disappointed of this victim, they fell upon Vieyra, for whom it was crime enough to have arrived in such company; but happily, instead of putting him to death, as they wished to do, they were persuaded to be contented with arresting him and delivering him over to justice, that he might suffer in the course of law. Thus he was conducted to Lisbon as a criminal; it was then easy for him to obtain audience of the King, and Joam IV. immediately saw and duly appreciated his wonderful talents. Of the political business in which he was employed something has already been said; but the greater part of his life as a statesman belongs to the history of the Mother Country. He was soon appointed Preacher to the King, and his sermons then produced him the highest reputation. They are indeed the most extraordinary compositions of their kind: nothing can exceed the absurdity of their typical and allegorical parts, except it be the ingenuity which is thus perverted; but with these there is mingled a political freedom equal to that of Latimer, and frequently resembling him in manner as well as in fearless honesty, . . . a poignancy

*Andre de Barros,  
Vida de Vieyra. l. I.  
§ 7-32.*

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<sup>7</sup> The Jesuit historian who has so often been quoted in this history.

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of satire, a felicity of expression, a power of language, and an eloquence proceeding from the fullness of a rich fancy and a noble heart, which have made his writings, notwithstanding all their alloy, the glory as well as the boast of Portugueze literature. On one topic he was decidedly insane, connected with, and springing from the strange belief of the Sebastianists; it brought him under the rod of the Inquisition, and it leavens many of his writings; but upon all other subjects it left his brilliant intellect unclouded, .. and Vieyra must ever hold a place, not only among the greatest writers but among the greatest statesmen of his country.

*Vieyra envied for his favour at Court.*

The favour which he enjoyed at court, .. for no man possessed more entirely the confidence and friendship of the King, .. naturally made him many enemies: even the Jesuits themselves became envious. It was rumoured that he intended by means of his influence to attempt some change in the constitution of the Company; and in consequence of this charge, whether well or ill founded, he apprehended that they were about to expel him. Upon this the King offered him a Bishoprick, thinking, says his biographer, that a mitre might be the Santelmo of this tempest: but Vieyra replied, that he would not give up his frock for all the mitres in the Portugueze monarchy; and that if he were dismissed from the Company he would never leave their doors, but persevere in soliciting readmittance, if not as a Religioner, at least as a servant of those who were so. This jealousy on the part of his Superiors was at length removed, and Vieyra was employed during several years in the most important political embassies till, in 1650, he returned to Lisbon. Soon afterwards he was sent in his religious capacity to itinerate about Torres Vedras, in company with F. Joam de Sotto-mayor; and the old desire of devoting himself to the Indians returned upon him, partly it may be supposed in consequence of the conver-

sation of his comrade. Vieyra knew that neither the Prince nor the King would consent to part with him; he was most unwilling to offend them, or to shew the slightest disrespect toward persons whom he regarded not merely with a common feeling of loyalty, or of gratitude, but with personal affection, and a devotion which had its root in superstition and madness: yet was his heart so set upon the mission, that he made his arrangements for embarking without their knowledge. Maranham was the scene to which he was destined. There was but one vessel in the Brazil fleet bound for that State, and it was arranged that he and F. Francisco Ribeiro should accompany the last Jesuits who embarked, as if to take leave of them on board. As they were on their way they learnt that the ship was detained to carry out a Sindicant; Vieyra went to the King and obtained permission for it to depart without waiting for this officer: when this obstacle was removed the wind would not serve for crossing the bar; the Captain determined to take the morning tide, and Vieyra and Ribeiro returned home, the better to conceal their purpose. That purpose however was now suspected; and at day-break he received an order from the Palace to wait upon Prince D. Theodosio. The Prince was to be bled that morning, and desired him to wait till the operation was over. Vieyra perceived that this was a device for delaying him: he slipt away and hastened with all speed to the ship. When he joined her, he found that the Master had been ordered to the Palace, and the Jesuits readily understood the cause for which he was thus summoned.

There was but one other ship in the river ready to sail. Vieyra dispatched his companion to ask if she were to touch at Madeira, and would land a passenger there; he then landed at Belem, and returned to Lisbon. At the door of the Palace he met the Master, who said the King had sent for him to tell him

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*He prepares to embark secretly for Maranham as a missionary.*

*The King prevents him from sailing with the fleet.*

CHAP. he would have him hanged if F. Antonio Vieyra sailed in his  
XXVI. ship : he learnt also that the Bishop of Japan had been ordered  
1652. to bring him from the ship, and the Captain to set sail as soon  
as he was out of it. Upon this he went to the Prince, (the King  
being at table,) told him resolutely that he was going, and must  
go, to Maranham ; and endeavoured with all the vehemence of  
a man whose conscience was interested in the result, to obtain  
his assent : it was in vain. Theodosio assured him that no con-  
siderations would induce his father to consent. Vieyra, seeing  
how little he could prevail upon the Prince, was convinced of  
this : he had still the hope of obtaining a passage from Madeira,  
and thought it better to embark for that island without seeing  
the King, as the disregard of his pleasure would be less flagrant  
than if he had received a positive interdict from his own lips.  
Leaving the Prince, therefore, he returned to Belem, and met  
Ribeiro on the way, with information that the ship would touch  
at Madeira, and land him there : Ribeiro, however, and another  
Jesuit who was with him, dissuaded him from his intention, but  
Ribeiro argued like a man who spake against his own inward  
judgement : they represented to him the danger of his losing the  
King's favour ; he reasoned that the more he risked it for the  
service of God, the more reason was there that the King should  
continue it towards him, and the more confidently might he  
expect its continuance, as deserving it the more. Accord-  
ingly he embarked. They were weighing the last anchor ; the  
wind freshened at the moment in such a manner that they  
could not turn the capstern ; . . the tide was thus lost, and they  
were compelled to wait till the morrow. Meantime Vieyra had  
been seen when going on board by the Provincial of S. Joam de  
Deos, who, happened to pass him in a boat : the Provincial  
making a visit to the Countess of Obidos, told F. Ignacio Mas-  
carenhas, whom he met there, . . Mascarenhas sent word to the

Conde de Castanheda, the Count to the Prince, the Prince to the King, . . . and officers of justice were dispatched in search of him to all the ships which were about to leave the river. In the morning the ship was under weigh, when one of these officers boarded her, and put into Vieyra's hands a paper signed by the King, commanding him immediately to come and speak with him upon business of importance, and enjoining the Captain and Master of the vessel, if he made the slightest demur, to cast anchor, on pain of the consequence of direct disobedience to the royal orders. There was now no alternative. On his way to shore he past the Maranham ship, then under sail, and took leave of his brethren: presently he met F. Manoel de Lima, following the ship in an open boat with all speed of oars and sail; of him also he took leave in great agitation, promising by some means or other soon to join the mission. When he arrived at the Palace, the King and the Prince received him in the best manner, jesting at having intercepted him in his flight, and delighted with having done so. For himself, he declares that he never was more truly grieved; and he expressed his regret, and the sense of duty and conscience upon which it was founded, with all his natural eloquence. But it was now too late: the fleet had sailed, and he gave up all hopes of the mission for that season. The following morning came a note from Manoel de Lima, saying that though he had followed the ship many leagues over the bar, he had not been able to overtake her, and that he was now bargaining for a caravel to carry him to Madeira, where he might yet join her. A new hope flashed upon Vieyra with these tidings, and he made one effort more, making it a matter of conscience with the King and with the Prince how they opposed his strong desire, and warning them that they must become answerable for the perdition or salvation of so many souls, as might depend upon his presence in Maranham. Theodosio

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He obtains  
 permission  
 to follow it.

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was in ill health, and a fear, which the event proved to be but too well founded, was entertained for his life; this made him more accessible to such arguments, to which indeed his disposition and his habitual piety inclined him. He yielded; and when Joam saw that his beloved son, in that state of bodily infirmity, was troubled in conscience upon this score, his own feelings and sense of religion overcame all other personal or political considerations. If, says Vieyra, I made any sacrifice to God in the course of this mission, it was in accepting the King's permission when it was now conceded, for he gave it me with more than fatherly expressions of affection.

*Carta de Vieyra. Andre de Barros. 105—113.*

*Powers granted to Vieyra.*

It was not merely a passport which the King now granted him; it was a permission signed with his own hand, authorizing him, as Superior of the Mission, to found what churches and establish what missions in the interior he might think good; and enjoining all men in authority, all corporate bodies, and all persons whatsoever, to supply him with Indians, canoes, guides, interpreters, and all things needful for his expeditions. The provision was dated on the twenty-first of October; and Vieyra remarked, as a thing worthy of special notice, that this was the day of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, who were the patron saints of the State of Maranham. The previous accidents, which he had before thought so unpropitious, seemed now so many means ordained by Providence for the benefit of the mission. The whole circumstances are curiously characteristic of the mind and manners of the age and country, as well as of the illustrious personages to whom they relate: the sequel is not less remarkable. While Vieyra was waiting for a wind, the King and the Prince, living in daily intercourse with him, began to regret the permission which they had given; and his own enthusiasm, as was natural after it had been raised to so high a point of excitement, abated also. His thorough knowledge

*The King repents the permission which he has given.*

of the political interests of the country for which he was so admirably qualified to act in those perilous times, and his personal attachment to the Royal Family, who felt his approaching departure both as a private affliction, and a public loss, began to prevail over his desires for a missionary life; and when the King, after long struggles within himself, declared that he could not resolve, even after all that had past, to deprive himself of such a friend and counsellor, Vieyra no longer objected to his will:..neither among men nor angels will this weakness be imputed to him as a fault. What had past was however so public, that it was prudent to avoid the appearance of inconsistency; and that the revocation might seem like a sudden impulse in the King, it was agreed to keep it secret till the last, and that when he was on the point of embarking, or actually on board, he should be stopt by a peremptory order to remain on shore. On the day before the Caravel was to sail, he informed the King and the Prince, and they told him that they would immediately give directions to have the counter-order drawn out: all day he expected to hear of it; but instead, there came at night a summons from the ship to embark at day break. Immediately he sent word of this to the Prince by the Bishop of Japan, the only person who at such an hour could have access to him, and also, because if he had sent a messenger to the palace, it would have given cause for suspecting collusion to some persons who were watching Vieyra's actions, and already had their suspicions. There came no message from the Court, and he set out for the shore, lingering as much as possible upon the way: on the shore however he was informed, that the King had said he should not depart, and that the Sindicant who was to sail for Maranham in this vessel, had orders so to inform him when he should have embarked: he supposed of course that the King had determined

*Vieyra con-  
sents to re-  
main in  
Portugal.*

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*and sails for  
Maranham  
without in-  
tending it.*

upon this mode of proceeding; . . . got into a boat, and reached the ship. The Sindicant was on board, but said nothing upon this subject, having received no instructions, and being indeed ignorant of all that had past: the ship weighed anchor and set sail, the tide served, the wind was fair, she crossed the bar, and Vieyra to his astonishment found himself fairly under weigh for Maranham. “From the hour in which the ship left the river,” says he in a letter to Prince Theodosio, “I have been confounded at the strangeness of the case, not knowing how his Majesty and your Highness will receive it, since it is not possible that you should know all the circumstances, which were such, that it was not I who embarked, but circumstances which carried me on board.” After explaining what those circumstances had been, he pursued; “The sails were set, and I remained in the ship, and out of myself, as I still am, and shall be, till I am assured that his Majesty and your Highness acknowledge the sincerity of my intentions, and that through all the fatality of this event, there has been on my part neither act, nor thought, nor wish contrary to what his Majesty had finally enjoined, and I had promised. I know not, Sir, what to say in this case; but that either it has pleased God that I should have no merit in this mission, or that it should be known that the whole work is his; seeing that first I embarked against the will of his Majesty, but with my own; and now I have departed against his Majesty’s and my own, by mere accident or force; so that if there be any will herein, it is that of God alone, which verily I have perceived on many occasions with as much evidence as if the Lord himself had revealed it to me. It only remains now, that I should not be wanting to so clear a call from Heaven; for in fine, God has prevailed: I go for Maranham willingly as to my first intention, by compulsion as to my second, but fully resigned and obedient, and with great hope that this chance

*Vieyra.  
Cartas.  
T. I. C. viii.  
Dec. 25.*

hath not been chance, but the most high disposition of Divine Providence."

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*Vieyra ar-  
rives at St.  
Luis.*

This letter was written from Porto Praya, in the Cape de Verd Islands, . . the first land which the ship made. They remained there four days, during which Vieyra preached twice, and with such effect, that the people after they had in vain petitioned him and his companions to remain among them, offered a large bribe to the master of the vessel, if he would slip his cable and leave them on shore. When they reached Maranham, two of the brethren from whom he had parted in the Tagus, came off in a canoe, in the faint hope of finding him on board; . . if, says Vieyra, any thing on earth may be compared to the joy of entering Heaven, it was this. His disposition, and that of the people of Maranham, were soon exhibited in a singular manner. Two persons disputed the office of Vicar-General; the one who was ejected had carried his complaint to Portugal, returned with an order from the King for his re-establishment, and presented it to the Governor: his competitor having procured a local sentence against him during his absence, arrested him upon that sentence, and put him in irons. He appealed to the Governor and the Governor assembled a junta, to which the chief civil officers and Religioners were called. The populace without were clamorous in behalf of the man who held the office, and threatened to burn his opponent, if the decision should be contrary to their wishes. To this opinion thus forcibly expressed, the Junta were disposed to yield, when Vieyra observed, that they had no authority to decide in such cases; that the only persons in Maranham who could put an end to the dispute were the competitors, and that they ought to be called upon for the sake of the public peace to settle it themselves. The proposal was immediately admitted, and the acting Vicar

*Anlve de  
Barros, §  
140-3.*

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*Dispute for  
the office of  
Vicar-Gen-  
eral.*

CHAP. accompanied him to the prison. Vieyra then addressed them  
 XXVI. both, represented the evil of inflaming the people by their dis-  
 1653. sentions, and the duty which as Clergymen they were called  
 upon to perform; for how was the Gospel to be preached  
 among the heathen by whom they were surrounded, if the  
 ministers of that Gospel were thus inflamed against each other?  
 I and my brethren, said he, have left Europe for the love of  
 our Redeemer, to work as labourers in this uncultivated land; . .  
 in the name of that Redeemer I beseech you not to plant more  
 thorns where there are already so many, but to set your flock  
 an example of that charity which you preach. The appeal was  
 made to their worldly prudence as much as to their sense of  
 duty; it produced its full effect, and they referred the decision to  
 him. He pronounced, that as the civil authority of the State was  
 now divided, so should the ecclesiastical be; that the occupant  
 should retain his situation in Maranham, where he was domes-  
 ticated, and the claimant hold the same office in Para, where  
 he also had his home. Satisfied with this arrangement, and  
 ashamed of the scandal which had been occasioned, they em-  
 braced each other, and he who had been most violent in the  
 contest, knelt at the other's feet and took off his fetters.

*Andre de  
 Barros. 5  
 188-196.*

*First letter  
 of Vieyra to  
 the King.*

Vieyra soon saw the wretched state of the country as to  
 morals and religion. Heathens and Christians were living in  
 equal blindness for want of instruction; there being, says he,  
 none who catechize, none who administer the sacraments, while  
 there are those who enslave, there are those who tyrannize, and  
 what is worse, there are those who approve all this, so that  
 Portugueze and Indians are alike going to Hell. Let his  
 Majesty see to this state of spiritual neglect, said he to Prince  
 Theodosio, and let your Highness see to it also, for the  
 sake of Christianity, and for your own souls' sake; for of all  
 these souls an account will be required from the King of Portu-

gal, and from your Highness as Prince of Brazil. I do not ask for appointments, I do not ask provision for those who come, . . . God will provide ; . . . what I ask is that they may come, and that they be many, and of great zeal ; for though we who are here are doing and will do all that we can, without sparing toil or peril, the harvest is great, but the labourers are few ; and as Christ hath said, Ask ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he send labourers into his vineyard, so I ask them of you, who are Lords of this vineyard in his place. The Provincials of both provinces have been applied to, but I do not rely upon them, unless your Highness interpose your royal authority, commanding the Superiors to send us subjects by every ship, and commanding it also by a peremptory order. Be assured, my Prince, that the armies of souls who shall be converted here, will be of more avail for defending and establishing your throne, than the soldiers whom you raise. " There is no King that can be saved by the multitude of an host ; neither is any mighty man delivered by much strength."

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1653.

*Cartas de  
Vieyra. 1:  
viii.*

*Psalm 33.  
v. 16.*

This was the first outpouring of his heart on his arrival : but the feeling was heightened when he understood more fully the utter neglect of all forms of religion, the miseries of the Indians, and the crimes of the Portugueze. Many of the colonists neither heard a sermon, nor attended at a mass throughout the year ; they did not know the holydays to observe them, and those who did know, observed them not ; it was a common thing to die without confession. In the whole Captaincy of Maranhã, there were but two Churches with resident Priests, one on the main land, the other on the island, which was seven leagues in length, and as many in breadth, and peopled in all its parts. One Priest could not possibly administer to such an extent of ground, especially as there was neither horse, mule, nor ass in all that country. Worse even than the want of

*State of the  
inhabitants,  
and systems  
of oppres-  
sion.*

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1653. Priests, was the character of what there were; they either came there as banished men for their misconduct, or to seek a living which they could not get elsewhere; and they were virtually under no jurisdiction; for they were in the Bishop of Brazil's diocese, who resided at Bahia, five hundred leagues off, with the Dutch between, and no means of communication except through Portugal. To a sincere and pious Catholic, such as Joam IV., this evil would appear as important as it did to Vieyra. Divested of all superstitious considerations, it was sufficient to excite his serious concern; for where the common observances of religion are disused, its influence will not long survive in more momentous things. But his attention was called to a more crying evil. The Portugueze of Maranham and Para were pursuing the same course of oppression, by which the Indians had been exterminated from the shores of the older Captaincies. The laws allowed, that Indians taken in just war were slaves, and also those who having been made prisoners in war with each other, had been purchased by the Portugueze, .. these latter, as having been destined to be eaten, were called Indians of the cord, .. in allusion to the *mussarama*. From hence all the immeasurable evils of a regular slave-trade necessarily arose. Every Captain of a fort made war upon the nearest tribes whenever he chose, with or without a pretext, for the mere purpose of making slaves. The mode of purchasing, served even more easily to cover the most atrocious acts of violence. The traders returned with all they could seize by force or fraud <sup>s</sup>, presented them for the forms of examination as

See Vol. 1.  
 p. 219.

<sup>s</sup> One Captain having got the Chief of an Indian village in his power, fastened lighted fusees to each of his fingers, .. which were to burn there till he delivered himself from the torture, by giving a certain number of slaves.

Cord-Indians, and compelled them by threats and torments to give such answers, as were readily accepted by judges who were themselves implicated in similar transactions. But in this general system of wickedness, none were more wickedly treated than those who had submitted to the Portugueze, and living apart in villages of their own, were called free Indians, and as such contemplated by the law. These people were in a more cruel state of servitude than those who were actually slaves; the Governor or Capitam Mor for the time being, regarding them as cattle in whose preservation he had no interest, and by whose labour he was to enrich himself as much as possible during the three years for which he held his office. They were chiefly employed in raising and preparing tobacco, which was accounted the severest labour in Brazil: and many resenting the injustice of their treatment more keenly than those who having been originally taken in war, whether justly or unjustly, resigned themselves to its consequences, died of grief and indignation. The men thus employed, were allowed no time to raise produce for their own families, who were left to starve, .. and the women also were taken from their husbands and children, and distributed among such Portugueze as had interest to obtain them from the Governor. Some ruffian of half or of whole blood, was placed in the villages of these Indians as Captain, to be the instrument of this oppression, and oppress the miserable inhabitants himself, .. and thus the work of depopulation went on. This state was so much worse than actual slavery, that some Indians voluntarily went from their villages to live with the domestic slaves, marry among them, and share their condition, thinking it better to become slaves where some rest was allowed<sup>9</sup>, and some huma-

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<sup>9</sup> So also of the Encomienda Indians among the Spaniards. Muratori (55) says, *Certamente fa orrore il mirare, come que' miseri son piu oppressi che gli stessi*

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nity experienced, than to endure this inhuman and unremitting tyranny. The men in office justified these proceedings, saying their appointments had been given them as a reward for their services, that they might enrich themselves, and this was the only means of doing it. The remedy which Vieyra advised was, that no Governor or Capitam Mor should be allowed to engage in any species of cultivation for the purpose of trade, openly or covertly; nor to allot the free Indians for any other work than fortifications, or other business of the King's service; nor to appoint Captains in their villages; but that they should be left under their own Chiefs, who would hire them to serve the Portuguese freely at the customary stipend. If this were done, he said, if the free Indians were really treated as freemen, if the expeditions into the interior were made peaceably, and the religion of Christ Jesus preached without any other intent or object than that which Christ came into the world to seek, . . . which was the salvation of souls, . . . then would the State feel no want either of labourers or defenders, and this work of piety and justice would be the surest foundation for the strength and prosperity of Portugal.

*Cartas de  
Vieyra, T.  
1, C. IX.*

*Dispute with  
the Capitam  
Mor.*

Before Vieyra arrived at St. Luiz, F. Joam de Sotto-mayor had gone to Belem, where he was teaching Latin, and reading lectures on rhetoric to the Religioners of N. Senhora das Mercês. He required assistance in his duties, and Vieyra appointed two Fathers to join him; but as they were stepping into a canoe, they were forbidden to proceed by an order from the Capitam Mor, Balthazar de Sousa, because they had not applied

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*Mori schiavi; e ciò perche i Mori comperati in Affrica si riguardano come mercanzia e roba propria de chi puo averne: laddove gl' Indiani siccome persone prestate dal Re, possono da un giorno all' altro passare ad altri Commendatori col variarsi de' Padroni.*

for his permission. Vieyra who was taking leave of them at the waterside, wrote to the *Capitam Mor*, saying, that the offence had been committed in ignorance, inasmuch as they did not know any such form was necessary, apologizing for the unintended neglect, and requesting that he would be pleased to send the permit while the tide served: no other answer was vouchsafed than an order for the elder Missionary to return to his cell. There was something peculiarly offensive in this arrogance, because Balthazar de Sousa had courted the Jesuits at Lisbon to obtain the appointment for him, and had presented his memorial to the King by the hands of the very Missionary, over whom he now assumed this insolent authority. Vieyra upon this went to him, clearly perceiving that he wished to quarrel with the Jesuits, and being fully determined not to quarrel with him. This temper gave him as much advantage as his natural superiority; and after hinting that no such authority as he arrogated over the Religioners could exist, he proved to him that the Jesuits had twice called at his door to take their leave. The real offence however appeared to be, that one of these Missionaries on the preceding day had preached without asking permission: it never could have been imagined that permission was required for this, but Vieyra seeing that this was the grief, and finding from Sousa's complaint that the other Orders had introduced the custom, immediately said that though he had intended to pass the Lent among the villages, he would remain at St. Luiz, and preach with his leave on the following Sunday, for the purpose of showing that the former omission had proceeded from mere inadvertency. Just at this time two men in authority came in, who were among the staunchest advocates for slavery; they fell upon that topic, and Vieyra, taking advantage of Sousa's gracious humour, for the weak man had been compleatly propitiated by this offering to his vanity, entered

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CHAP. with equal art and ardour into the argument, and succeeded  
 XXVI. in persuading them that their interest and their conscience might  
 1653. be reconciled at a very slight expense. The result was, that  
 they requested him to make this the subject of his sermon:  
 and the *Capitam Mor* exclaimed, Ah Father Antonio Vieyra,  
 who could have hoped from the beginning of our conversation,  
 that it would have ended thus! But this shows that it is God's  
 work, and that he will prosper it.

*Andre de  
 Barros, 2, §  
 4.*

*Vieyra's  
 first sermon  
 at St. Luiz.*

*Sermon da  
 primeira  
 Domingo da  
 Quaresma,  
 t. 12, p.  
 316.*

Vieyra had never before preached in Maranham, but his reputation was so well known, that all the Portugueze came to hear a preacher who was the delight and pride of the Court of Lisbon. He took for his text the words of the Tempter: "All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me!" and he began by dwelling upon the worth of the human soul, . . . winning the attention of his hearers by his own peculiar manner. Things, said he, are estimated by what they cost; . . . what then did a Soul cost our Saviour, and what did the World cost him? The World cost him a word, . . . "he spake, and it was made!" A Soul cost him his life and his blood. But if the World cost only a word of God, and a Soul cost the blood of God, a Soul is worth more than all the World; . . . thus Christ thought, and thus the Devil himself cannot fail to confess. Yet we value our souls so cheaply, that you know at what a rate we sell them. We wonder that Judas should have sold his master and his soul for thirty pieces of silver, . . . but how many are there who offer their own to the Devil for less than fifteen! Christians, I am not now telling you that you ought not to sell your souls, for I know you must sell them; I only intreat that you would sell them by weight: weigh first what a Soul is, weigh first what it is worth, and what it cost, and then sell it and welcome! But in what scales is it to be weighed? Not in the scales of human judgement, . . . no, for they

are false, "The children of men are deceitful upon the weights." But in what balance then? You think I shall say in the balance of St. Michael the Archangel, wherein souls are weighed. I do not require so much. Weigh them in the Devil's own balance and I shall be satisfied! Take the Devil's balance in your hand; put the whole World in one scale, and a Soul in the other, and you will find that your Soul weighs more than the whole World, "All this will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me." Let us suppose that the Devil spake truth in his offer, and that he could give the whole World, and meant to give it; let us suppose also that Christ had not been God, but merely man, and so weak a one, that he could and would have fallen into this temptation: . . . I ask you if this man had taken the whole world, and remained Lord of it, and given his soul to the Devil, would he have been a good merchant? would he have made a good bargain? Christ himself hath said, "What is a man profited if he give the whole World and lose his own Soul?" Alexander and Cæsar were lords of the world, but their souls are now burning in Hell, and will burn there for all eternity. Who will tell me now how to ask Cæsar and Alexander what it profits them to have been masters of the world, and if they find that it has proved a good bargain to give their souls in exchange for it? Alexander! Julius! was it good for you to have been masters of the world, and to be now where now you are? They cannot answer me, . . . but answer me ye who can! Would any one of you chuse at this time to be Alexander the Great? Would any one of you chuse at this time to be Julius Cæsar? God forbid that we should! How? were they not Masters of the World? They were so, but they lost their own souls. . . . Oh blindness! and it seems ill to you, for Alexander and for Cæsar to have given their souls for the whole world, . . . and it seems well to you to give your own souls for what is not the world, nor hath the name of it! . . . At how different

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*Ditto, p.*  
320—2.

CHAP. a price now, he proceeded, does the Devil purchase souls from  
 XXVI. that which he formerly offered for them, . . . I mean in this coun-  
 1653. try. The Devil has not a fair in the world where they go  
 cheaper! In the Gospel he offers all the kingdoms of the earth  
 for a single soul: he does not require so large a purse to  
 purchase all that are in Maranham. . . It is not necessary to offer  
 worlds, it is not necessary to offer kingdoms, it is not necessary  
 to offer cities, nor towns, nor villages; it is enough for the  
 Devil to point at a plantation<sup>10</sup> and a couple of Tapuyas, and  
 down goes the man upon his knees to worship him. Oh what  
 a market! A Negro for a Soul, and the Soul the blacker of  
 the two! This Negro shall be your slave for the few days that  
 you may have to live, and your Soul shall be my slave through  
 all eternity, as long as God is God; . . . this is the bargain which  
 the Devil makes with you!

*Ditto, p.*  
324.

Vieyra then said it had been his determination not to preach  
 among them, because he could not preach without giving dis-  
 pleasure if he spake the truth: and on the other hand, to go  
 into the pulpit and not speak the truth, was against his pro-  
 fession, his duty, and his conscience, especially in one who  
 had spoken such great truths, with such perfect freedom to the  
 ears of such great personages. He had however been per-  
 suaded by persons to whom he owed every respect, to change  
 his determination, and having promised them that he would  
 preach, he had repented that promise ever since. On the  
 yesterday he had said mass in hopes that God would enlighten  
 him; and in reading the portion of scripture for the epistle,  
 God had indeed directed him what to do, in the words of the

<sup>10</sup> "*Basta acenar o Diabo com hum tujupâr de pindoba.*" I do not understand these latter words.

prophet Isaiah; "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions!" The King's proclamation, said the preacher, has been made known by beat of drum, and God now commands that his should be proclaimed by sound of trumpet! Be not alarmed, Sirs! it is God's proclamation: it will be more lenient than the King's. And would you know wherefore I will that you should undeceive my people, and wherefore I will that you should declare to them their sins? Because, saith the Lord, they are men who seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinances of their God: because while they are committing the most enormous sins of injustice, they live with as little fear as if they were in my grace. Of what then, Lord, am I to undeceive this people, and what am I to announce to them on the part of God? See what the same scripture says: "Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loosen the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free?".. Do ye know, Christians, do ye know, nobles and people of Maranham, what is the fast which God requires of you this Lent? It is that ye loosen the bands of injustice, and that you set those free whom you hold captives, and whom you oppress. These are the sins of Maranham; these are what God commands me to announce: "Shew my people their transgression!" Christians, God commands me to undeceive you, and I undeceive you on the part of God! You are all in mortal sin! you are all living and dying in a state of condemnation, and you are all going straight to Hell! Many are already there, and you also will soon be there with them, except you change your lives!.. Then touching upon the calamities of war, famine, and disease which the State had suffered, and which he imputed to their sins, he spake of the punishment of Pharaoh and his host for having refused to

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*Ditto, p.*  
325-7.

CHAP. let the Israelites go : . . . “Thou didst blow with thy wind, the  
 XXVI. sea covered them : they sank as lead in the mighty waters.  
 1653. Thou stretchedst out thy right hand, the earth swallowed them.”  
 How? said he ; if the sea covered them, how did the earth devour them? Thus it was : these men, like us, had body and soul ; their bodies the water covered, because they remained in the depth of the sea ; their souls the earth devoured, because they descended into the abyss of Hell. All went to Hell, without one escaping, because where all persecute and all enslave, all are condemned. Is not the example good? Now mark the reasoning. Every man who holds another unjustly in servitude, being able to release him, is certainly in a state of condemnation. All men, or almost all men in Maranhã, hold others unjustly in servitude ; all, therefore, or almost all, are in a state of condemnation. You will tell me, that even if it were thus, they did not think of it, nor know it, and that their good faith would save them. I deny it! They did think of it, and did know it, as ye also think of it and know it ; and if they neither thought of it nor knew it, they ought to have thought of it and to have known it. Some are condemned for certainty, others for doubt, others for ignorance. They who were certain are condemned for not making restitution ; they who were in doubt are condemned for not examining ; they who were in ignorance are condemned for not knowing what it was their duty to know. Oh if these graves could open, and some of those who have died in this miserable state might appear among us, how certain it is that you would read this truth clearly by the light of their devouring flames! . . . Would you know why God does not permit them to appear to you? For the reason which Abraham gave to the rich man when he besought that Lazarus might be sent to his brethren : “They have Moses and the Prophets ; it is not necessary that one should come from Hell to

tell them the truth." My brethren, if there be any who doubt upon this matter, here are the Laws, here are the Lawyers, .. let the question be asked. You have three Orders of Religioners in the State, and among them so many subjects of such virtue and such learning: ask them ... examine the matter ... inform yourselves. But Religioners are not necessary: go to Turkey, go to Hell, .. for there can neither be Turk so beturked in Turkey, nor Devil so bedevilled in Hell, as to affirm that a free man may be a slave. .. But you will say to me, this people, this republic, this state cannot be supported without Indians. Who is to bring us a pitcher of water or a bundle of wood? who is to plant our mandioc? Must our wives do it? must our children do it? In the first place, as you will presently see, these are not the straits in which I would place you: but if necessity and conscience require it, then I reply, yes! and I repeat it, yes! you and your wives and your children ought to do it! We ought to support ourselves with our own hands; for better is it to be supported by the sweat of one's own brow than by another's blood. O ye riches of Maranham! What if these mantles and cloaks were to be wrung? they would drop blood!

*Ditto, p.  
329-31.*

Then having dwelt upon the duty of losing all, like Job, if it were required for conscience sake, he told them, that after studying the business well, and following the most lax and favourable opinion, he found how a slight temporal sacrifice might save their consciences; and thus it was. All the Indians in the State were of three kinds, either domestic slaves, or free Indians of the King's villages, or who had been purchased in the interior by that sort of sale which was made with a pistol at the vendor's breast. As to the first class, certain it was that their slavery was in every instance unjust, and it would be no small indulgence to pardon the past injustice. Nevertheless, as many of these slaves had been bred in their houses and with their chil-

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dren, no one had any right to take them from their service if they chose to remain. Those who chose to remove should be placed in the King's villages, and then serve upon the terms presently to be stated. Every year an expedition for ransoming prisoners should be made, but the business should be conducted fairly, the Governor, the Auditor-General, the Vicars of Maranham or Para, and the heads of the four Religious Orders deciding upon the captives. They who had been taken by their enemies in lawful war, and had really been redeemed from the cord, should be distributed among the inhabitants as lawful slaves at their prime cost. They who had not been lawfully taken in the first instance, should be either placed in the villages already established, or formed into new ones; and the free Indians of all these villages should serve the Portugueze as labourers six months in the year, for two months at a time, and at the customary wages, which, he said, would be laughed at in any other part of the world. The currency in that State, or rather what supplied the place of any better circulating medium, was cotton cloth; and the ordinary wages for which a free Indian served, was two varas, or ells of that cloth per month, which were worth two testoons, or less than a halfpenny per day: . . . a thing, said Vieyra, unworthy to be mentioned, . . . but more unworthy is it that there should be men of understanding and of Christianity, who rather than pay this price, chuse to condemn their own souls and go to Hell!

*Ditto, p.*  
332-4.

After pointing out the temporal and spiritual benefits of such an arrangement, he exclaimed, "What man can there be so mistaken, what man can there be so forgetful of God, so blind, so devoid of faith, so much his own enemy, as not to be contented with what is so just and useful, as not to like it, not to approve it, not to embrace it? Christians, by the reverence which is due to Jesus Christ, and by the love with which

Christ suffered himself on this day to be tempted, that he might teach us to overcome temptation, let us today put down the Devil under our feet; let us resolutely overcome the cruel temptation which has carried so many from this land to Hell, and is carrying us also! Let us give this victory to Christ, let us give this glory to God, let us give this triumph to Heaven, let us give this vexation to Hell, let us give this remedy to the country in which we live, let us give this honour to the Portuguese nation, let us give this example to Christendom, let us give this fame to the World! Let the World know, let the Hereticks and the Heathen know, that God was not deceived when he chose the Portuguese for conquerors and preachers of his holy name! Let the World know that there is still truth, that there is still the fear of God, that there is still a soul, that there is still a conscience, and that interest is not the absolute and universal lord of all! Let the World know that there are still those who for the love of God and of their own salvation will trample interest under foot! Lord Jesus, this is the mind, and this the resolution of these your faithful Catholics from this day forth! There is no one here who has any other interest but that of serving you; there is no one here who desires any other advantage but that of loving you; there is no one here who has any other ambition but that of being eternally obedient and prostrate at your feet! Their property is at your feet, their interests are at your feet, their slaves are at your feet, their children are at your feet, their blood is at your feet, their life is at your feet, that you may do with it, and with all, whatever is most conformable to your holy law. Is it not thus, Christians? It is thus; I say thus, and promise thus to God in the name of all. Victory, then, on the part of Christ! victory, victory, over the strongest temptation of the Devil! <sup>11</sup>

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*Ditto, p.*  
337-40.

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1653.

*The people  
consent to an  
arrangement  
concerning  
the slaves.*

The whole of this extraordinary discourse was so lively, so striking, addressed at once to their understandings and their passions, their interest and their vanity, that it produced all the immediate effect which Vieyra desired. Balthazar de Sousa convened a meeting in the church that same afternoon, and then called upon the preacher to propose formally the plan which he had recommended from the pulpit. It was universally approved, and in order to carry it into execution, two advocates were appointed, one for the Slave-holders, the other for the Indians, who were first to make a list of all the persons held in a state of slavery; then to collect evidence respecting the history of each, which was to be adduced before the members of the *Senado*, or Senate, and the *Sindicant*, and they were to decide

“ The conclusion of this passage is untranslatable, and in justice to Vieyra I must here give the whole concluding paragraph in his own inimitable language. “ *Senhor Jesu, este he o animo, e esta a resoluçam, com que estou de hoje por diante estes vossos tam fieis Catholicos. Ninguem ha aqui que queira outro interesse mais que servirvos; ninguem ha que queira outra conveniencia mais, que amarvos; ninguem ha que tenha outra ambiçam mais que de estar eternamente obediente e rendido a vossos pès. A vossos pès está a fazenda, a vossos pès estão os interesses, a vossos pès estão os escravos, a vossos pès estão os filhos, a vossos pès está o sangue, a vossos pès está a vida, para que corteis por ella, e por elles; para que façais de tudo, e de todos o que for mais conforme a vossa Santa Ley. Nam he assim, Christaons? Assim he; assim o digo; assim o digo, e prometo a Deos em nome de todos. Vitoria pois por parte de Christo, vitoria, vitoria contra a mayor tentaçam do Demonio! Morra o Demonio, morram suas tentaçoens, morra o peccado, morra o inferno, morra a ambiçam, morra o interesse; e viva só o serviço de Deos, viva a Fè, viva a Christandude, viva e consciencia, viva a alma, viva a Ley de Deos, e o que ella ordenar, viva Deos, e vivamos todos; nesta vida com muita abundancia de bens, principalmente os da graça, e na outra por toda a eternidade os da gloria.” Ad quam nos, &c.*

SERMOENS, T. 12, p. 339.

as judges. A deed, expressing the consent of the people to this arrangement, was immediately drawn up in legal form, and signed by the Capitam Mor, and by all the chief persons of the place. The Jesuits desired that the examination might begin with their own Indians, . . . for they also had slaves; it was carried on with justice while the impression lasted, and very many of these poor people were restored for a time to that state of comparative liberty which the law provided for those who were settled in villages, as subjects of the King of Portugal.

Vieyra, taking advantage of the influence which he now possessed, established a public lesson for the Indians on Sundays, which was made as attractive as the poverty of the land would allow. They assembled at the Jesuit College, and from thence were marched in procession to the Mother Church, the Students of the College singing Our Lady's Litany as they went. A white banner, with the effigy of St. Ignatius Loyola, was borne in the rear, and last of all Vieyra closed the train. When they reached the church he drew them up in two lines, the men on one side, the women on the other, and walking in the aisle between them, he pronounced prayers which they repeated after him; and then he examined them in the mysteries of the faith, for which purpose he drew up a catechism. He introduced also what is called the Devotion of the Rosary, a superstitious practice, in recommendation of which some of the most audacious fables have been propagated that were ever imposed by impudence upon credulity. Vieyra, with all his intellectual powers, believed in these legends as entirely as his hearers, and related them as unquestionable truths in sermons which he preached every Saturday upon this subject. Such sermons, embellished as they were by his consummate eloquence and marvellous ingenuity, delighted the people; the Church was not large enough to contain those who flocked to hear him, and crowds stood lis-

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*A de Barros, 2, § 16, 25.*

*Religious ceremonies at St. Luis.*

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XXVI.

1653.

The Capitam  
Mor de-  
ceives Viey-  
ra, and  
evades the  
laws.

tening round the door. In the evening the altar of N. Senhora da Luz at the Jesuits' Church was drest, two of the best singers began the service, and Vieyra in his priestly vestments stood between them, and explained the mysteries of the bead-string. Follies of this kind are as epidemic as fashions; the practice was introduced as a domestic devotion, and hymns in honour of the Virgin and her beads were for a season to be heard in every house.

But the impression which had been produced upon such a man as Balthazar de Sousa was not of a nature to be lasting. Vieyra had made arrangements for going on a missionary expedition up the river Tapicuru, among the Ybirajarás, or Bearded Indians, (*Barbudos*) who were supposed to be descended from some shipwrecked Europeans. The Capitam Mor, whose duty it was to supply him with canoes and Indians, according to the King's orders, promised them for the month of June; but when the last ship had sailed for Portugal, and no complaint could be sent home for twelve months, he called a *Junta* of such persons as he thought proper, while Vieyra was absent among the villages, and upon the pretext that the season was too far advanced for ascending the river, made them sign a paper to justify him for preventing the expedition. The reason for this was, that Sousa, who was needy and covetous, had made extensive plantations of tobacco, and chose to employ in his own service the Indians whom Vieyra required. Having thus been disappointed here, Vieyra went to Belem, meaning to ascend the Orellana; but when he communicated his intentions to the Capitam Mor, Ignacio do Rego Barreto, that Governor told him, that a nation called the Poquiz, whose country lay about two hundred leagues from Belem, upon a branch of the River Tocantins, had shown a disposition to settle among the Portuguese, and receive instruction. Vieyra seeing this fair opening, pre-

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pared to take advantage of it. But it was not long before the sinister purposes of Ignacio do Rego began to be disclosed; first he endeavoured to bribe Vieyra, saying that he meant to distribute these Indians among the inhabitants, and that the Jesuits might take as many as they pleased for their villages in Maranh and Para. Vieyra replied, the King's orders were that all the Indians who voluntarily placed themselves under his protection should be settled in villages of their own, in such situations as might be most suitable for their conversion and well-being: any other mode of proceeding would be manifest violence and injustice. Another point upon which he insisted was, that before these Indians were brought from their own country, provision should be made for them, that they might not, like so many of their countrymen, perish for want: for this was one cause of the enormous depopulation which was going on. A Governor, when he knew that a horde was willing to come and settle among the Portugueze, did not trouble himself to prepare stores for supporting them till they should be able to raise plantations for themselves, because his term being only for three years, he had no time to lose in enriching himself by their labour: it would be of no advantage to him if he left things in such a train for his successor that the State should receive an addition of several thousand willing and happy labourers; but on the contrary, if he hurried them down, and only fifty survived when five hundred died of hunger, he should get something by the survivors. Ignacio do Rego was villain enough to reply, when the probability of such a mortality was pointed out to him, that the dying of such people was of no consequence; and it was much better they should die among the Portugueze than in the interior, because they would be baptized. By the King's orders Vieyra was to have the sole and exclusive management of all expeditions of this kind, and the entire disposal of the

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Indians thus reduced, the Governors being directed to supply him with canoes, men, and every thing necessary. Rego totally disregarded these orders, and with the most flagrant disobedience appointed a blacksmith to command the expedition, who was instructed to inform Vieyra of all which he meant to do, . . . an aggravation of the insult rather than a limitation of his powers. It was in vain that Vieyra remonstrated and produced the King's orders, whereby laymen were absolutely prohibited from going on such expeditions, and in vain that he required Rego in the King's name and in the name of God not thus to disturb the affairs of the missions. Such representations were useless; the expedition was to be a slaving party which Rego had planned, the Vicar-General (forgetful of the prison-scene at St. Luiz) was his accomplice, and the blacksmith was a fellow in all respects fit for such employers and such an employment. He endeavoured to prejudice the Poquiz against the Jesuits by saying they would deprive them of their women; and partly by promises, partly by threats, partly by making them drunk, he got about a thousand of the Indians, nearly half the tribe, into his power; some he took for his own share, others he distributed among the soldiers of his party, and turned the rest into a settlement called Morajuba, where no provision had been made for them, but which was near Rego's tobacco-plantations. As soon as Vieyra perceived how this ruffian was acting, he left his companions, and hastened back to Belem to remonstrate with the Capitam Mor; the result only convinced him that in the present state of things it was impossible to proceed with the conversion and civilization of the Indians so long as the civil authority had any power over them.

*Vieyra Cartas, t. 1, xi.  
A de Barros, 2, 5  
51-54.*

*Vieyra writes to the King.*

His first impulse was to inform the King of all which had past, and propose what he thought the only means of preventing such enormities. His advice was, that the Governors and Chief

Captains should have no authority whatever over the Indians, whether converted or unconverted, except in time of actual war, when they were bound to serve, and that then a certain number should be allotted for military service: that the Indians should have a *Procurador Geral*, or Advocate General, in every Captaincy, annually elected, and independent of the Governor, or Capitam Mor: that they should be exclusively governed by Religioners, as in Brazil, where experience had demonstrated that this was the best and only method of reducing and preserving them: that at the beginning of every year lists should be made of the Indians in the villages of every Captaincy, and of the Settlers, and the Indians then divided among the Settlers by their Procurador and the Superior of the Religious Order; neither Governor nor Chamber nor any person being allowed to interfere, and the poorer settlers being provided first because of their necessity, lest they should perish: that no Indian should work for a settler more than four months in the year, in terms of two months each: and that none should go to work either for an individual or for the King's service, until his wages had been placed in deposit, to be delivered to him when he should produce a certificate of having worked the allotted time: that every week, or every fortnight, there should be a public market or fair for the Indian villages, held in rotation at each, where they should bring what they had to sell, . . . a common benefit to them and the Portugueze: that no savages should be brought from the interior till plantations had been prepared for them; nor made to work after their arrival till they were thoroughly recovered from the journey, and had received some instruction: that a body of soldiers, to be called the Company of the Propagation of the Faith, should be formed of the best-disposed and most religious men among the troops, to protect the Missionaries in their expeditions up these rivers, and to be under the Superior's

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CHAP. orders, except in time of actual war: that military titles should  
 XXVI. not be multiplied in the Indian settlements, but that there be  
 1654. only, as in Brazil, their Chief and *Meirinhos*, and one Captain,  
 and at most one Sargento Mor; but that no Indians holding  
 any title at present be deprived of it: that to prevent jealousies  
 and contradictions, one religious Order should have the whole  
 charge of the Indians, and that Order be not allowed to employ  
 them either as slaves or free labourers in any plantations or  
 works of their own, having only an allotment for the service of  
 the Convent, like the other Orders: it did not become him to  
 say which Order would be most suitable, because he was a Je-  
 suit. But by this means the State might be preserved and im-  
 proved, and every thing there depended upon Indians.

*Vieyra Caritas, 1, xii.*  
*Success of the deputies at Lisbon.*

Joam IV. admired and loved Vieyra, and Vieyra, though  
 never forgetful of his rank, wrote to him with all the unreserved  
 warmth and sincerity of a friend. But after he had thus given  
 vent to his feelings, the evil appeared to his brethren so great  
 upon mature deliberation, that they unanimously requested him  
 as Superior of the Mission to go himself to Portugal, and expose  
 to the King in person the iniquities which were practised by his  
 officers. Meantime the deputies from Maranham and Para had  
 reached Lisbon, and by their representations obtained a repeal  
 of that decree for emancipation which had excited tumults in  
 both Captaincies. A new edict was sent out, enacting that the  
 existing slaves should be examined by the Chambers of the re-  
 spective Captaincies, in presence of the Sindicant or the *Ouv-  
 idores*, to ascertain who might be conscientiously considered as  
 being in a lawful state of slavery. Those persons were to be in  
 this predicament who had been made prisoners in just war;  
 and it was a cause of just war if the Indians had impeded the  
 preaching of the Gospel, had taken part with the enemies of the  
 Crown, acted against the Portugueze, or failed to act in their

defence, committed robbery by land or water, or impeded the traffic and communication of the settlers ; if, being vassals of the King of Portugal, they had refused to pay the appointed tribute, or neglected to appear when summoned either to bear arms against his enemies or labour for his service, or if they had eaten human flesh since they became his subjects, . . all such persons were liable to slavery ; as were those also who having been lawful slaves in the possession of other savages, had been purchased by the Portuguese ; or being in the cord, had been ransomed, or rescued by force of arms. Expeditions were to be made for the purpose of thus obtaining slaves, and the persons entrusted with the command chosen by the votes of the Camera, the Superiors of the Religious Orders, and the Vicar General : and to prevent all sinister views on the part of the Governors or *Capitaens Mores*, no person holding the chief authority was to engage in the culture of tobacco, or of any other produce whatsoever, and the Indians in their villages were to be under their own chiefs, who were to portion them out among the Portuguese, voluntarily, for the usual wages, the Governor being never to employ them, except for public or approved works. This edict<sup>12</sup>, which afforded a triumph to the slave-party by derogating from the powers that had been granted to Vieyra, might have occasioned him to sail for Portugal if that measure had not previously

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<sup>12</sup> It was registered in the Chamber of Belem, June the 3rd, and on June the 13th Vieyra preached his Fish-sermon. Berredo says that he was sent to Lisbon on account of this edict. I think his determination was made before its arrival. Andre de Barros in his panegyric, and Berredo in his Anti-Jesuitism, are equally guilty of omissions. But every way unworthy as this Barros was to have been the Biographer of Vieyra, more truth is to be collected from his injudicious and ill-digested eulogy than from the malicious and mutilated account which Berredo gives of these transactions.

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been thought necessary. He returned to Maranham, and prepared secretly for his voyage. A few days before the ship was ready he preached at St. Luiz upon St. Antonio's day. The impression which he had produced upon the people in the preceding year had passed away, and the agreement which they had then signed served only as a proof how little men are bound by promises and deeds when the conscience is perverted or laid asleep. He now, in allusion to the famous legend of St. Antonio, said, that since men would not profit by his preaching, he would imitate the Saint and preach to the fishes; then addressing his discourse to the fishes, he delivered a sermon of the keenest moral and political satire.

*Berredo, § 982.  
A. de Barros, 2, § 58.*

*Vieyra's danger upon the voyage.*

On the voyage home, when they were near the Azores, they encountered a dreadful tempest, which, though the ship was going under bare poles, laid her on her beam ends. In this state she remained, water-logged, the men clinging on the outside, and expecting nothing but death. Vieyra's enthusiasm was at that hour raised to the highest pitch; death and eternity were less the object of his thoughts than those poor Indians to whose cause he had devoted himself; and having given a general absolution to his companions, he raised his voice amid the storm, and exclaimed, "Guardian Angels of the Souls in Maranham, remember that this vessel is going in search of their remedy and their salvation! Do what ye can and what ye ought! . . . that which is due, not to us, for we deserve no such miracle, but to the poor friendless souls who are under your charge! Look to it, . . . for they are perishing here with us!" It was his own firm belief that the prayer was heard, and that the ship<sup>13</sup> was miraculously preserved. The masts were cut away,

*Sermoens, t. 4, p. 277.*

<sup>13</sup> He relates the story himself in a sermon preached in the Isle of St. Mi-

she rolled and righted, but lay like a log upon the water, and the storm continued : on the following day the crew were taken out by a Dutch privateer, who plundered them of every thing, and landed them upon the isle of Graciosa. The name of Vieyra was so famous throughout all the Portugueze dominions, that he found no difficulty in obtaining credit for means sufficient to support the whole crew, more than forty persons, during two months, and providing them with a passage and sea-stores to Lisbon.

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*A. de Barros, 2, 59  
—79.*

Joam IV. was lying dangerously ill at Salvatierra when Vieyra<sup>14</sup> arrived in the Tagus; he was, however, immediately

*His interview with the King.*

chael's after his escape. “*A quem acontecèo jà mais depois de virado o navio, e depois de estarem todos fóra della sobre o costado, ficar assim parado, e immovel por espaço de hum quarto de hora, sem a furia dos ventos descompor, sem o impeto das ondas o sossobrar, sem o pezo da carga e da agua, de que estava atè o meyo alugado, o levar a pique; e depois dar outra volta para a parte contraria, e pôrse outra vez ãreito, e admittir dentro em sy os que se tinham tirado fóra? Testimunhas sam os Anjos do Ceo, cujo auxilio invoquey naquella hora, e nam o de todos: senam daquelles somente que tem a sua conta as Almas da Gentilidade do Maranham. Anjos da guarda das Almas do Maranham, lembrayvos que vay este navio buscar o remedio e salvaçam dellas! Fazey agora o que podeis, e deveis, nam a nos que a nam merecemos, mas áquellas tam desemparradas Almas que tendes a vosso cargo. Olhay, que aqui se perdem tambem comnosco! Assim o disse a vozes altas que ouviram todos os presentes, e suprio o merecimento da causa a indignidade do orador. Obiaram os Anjos, porque ouvio Deos a oraçam: e nam podia Deos deixar de a ouvir, porque orava nella o mesmo perigo. Sabe o mesmo Senhor, que por nenhum interesse do mundo, depois de eu ter tam conhecido, e tam deixado, me tornara a meter no mar, senam pela salvaçam daquelles pobres thesouros, cada hum dos quaes val mais que infinitos mundos. E como o perigo era tomado por amor de Deos, e dos proximos; como podia faltar a segurança no mesmo perigo? O mesmo perigo nos livrou, ou se livrou a sy mesmo. Os perigos da charidade sam riscos seguros, e nos riscos seguros nam pode haver perigo. Assim que, Senhor, mudo o estylo, e nam vos dou jà as graças por me livrares do perigo, senam por me meteres nelle.”*

<sup>14</sup> His own passage was very perilous, and he describes it with his usual

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summoned thither: the King's illness took a favourable turn, and as soon as he was able to attend to business the Jesuit had audience upon the affairs of Maranham. He spake with his usual ardour. In the hope of converting infidels to the church, he said, and for the love of God, he had, as in that Court was well known, left the love of such a King, the favour of the Queen and of the Prince, persons whom there were few in the

power in his *Sermam da Quinta Domingo da Quaresma*, 1655. "In my last voyage," he says, "from the Islands to Lisbon, a passage which in the winter season is one of the most troublesome, the ship belonged to heretic owners, and the pilot and the sailors were heretics: we passengers were some Religioners of different Orders, and a great quantity of those musical islanders, who come here to compose a choir of four voices with our nightingales and goldfinches, canary birds and blackbirds. The weather was worse than ordinary, and the effects which I observed in it were truly admirable. We Religioners were all employed in prayers and litanies, making vows to Heaven and exorcisms to the waves, throwing relics into the sea, and above all in acts of contrition, confessing many times, as if at the point of death. The sailors, like heretics, when the hatchets were lying at the feet of the masts, ate and drank more merrily than ever, and mocked at what they called our ceremonies. The little birds at the same time, at the sound which the wind made in the rigging, as if those cords had been the strings of some musical instrument, exerted their strength in singing. God help me! if labour and fear had not taken off all attention, who would not in this situation have admired effects so various and so opposite, the cause being the same? What, . . . all in the same ship, all in the same storm, all in the same danger, and some singing, some mocking, some praying and lamenting? Yes. The birds sung because they had no understanding, the heretics mocked because they had no faith, and we who had faith and understanding, we cried out to Heaven, and beat our breasts, and lamented our sins!"

The application which he makes is not the less happy for being obvious. "This is what I saw and went through, and this same thing is what we do not see, being in the same, and worse, and more perilous state. The voyage is from earth to heaven, from life to eternity; . . . the sea is this world, we are all passengers, &c.

*Sermoens*, T. 11, p. 436.

world to equal ; and he had seen his hopes frustrated by the Portugueze, who obstructed the preaching of the faith, despised the missionaries, broke all laws divine and human, and outraged and trampled upon the King's orders. The King might establish a most ample dominion in that country, and acquire millions of vassals ; but the avarice which enslaved one drove away a thousand : they who were driven away, dying in their heathen state, and the poor slave remaining little better than a heathen, without sacraments, without instruction in life, and after death even without burial ! The Kings of Portugal possessed those regions by the covenant that they should extend the faith there, the knowledge of Christ, and the boundaries of the Catholic Church ; and in the name of those wide regions he came to represent to his Majesty this his strict obligation, that he might be pleased to help the poor souls who would flock in shoals to the nets of the Church, if the Portugueze did not drive them away. There was an Original Sin in that country, . . . the practice of enslaving the natives : it was the King's duty to deliver them, and it was no new thing for *him* to become a Deliverer. Love of the souls of these poor people, said Vieyra, tore me from Portugal ; their wants, their oppressions, their forlorn condition, have made me return ; and now, prostrate at your Majesty's feet I lay before you . . . not gold, not the precious produce of the conquests, . . . but injured innocence, . . . but lamentations, sufferings, injustice, blood, and murder, which call upon you for compassion and for redress ! . . . He pleaded before a just judge. Joam IV. was a man whose feelings were always right, and who would most willingly have put a stop to the iniquities of the Inquisition at home, and of slavery in the colonies ; but Governments unhappily ever find more obstacles when they seek to do good than when they are doing evil. The Deputies from Maranham and Para were still in Lisbon ; neither corruption nor falsehood was

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*A. de Barros, 2, §  
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*Arrange-  
ments re-  
specting sla-  
very refer-  
red to a Jun-  
ta.*

spared in support of the slave-party, and some of the cabinet ministers were in favour of the existing system with all its abuses. The King, however, ordered that a Junta should be assembled of men learned in theology and the laws; the President of the Council of the Inquisition, who was Archbishop elect of Braga, being one, and the Duke of Aveiro presiding at their meetings, as President of the Palace. First they heard all the edicts read, ancient and modern, respecting the liberty of the Indians; the memorials of the Deputies from Maranham and Para, the opinions of the Ultramarine Council, the Pontifical briefs, and whatever other documents might serve to elucidate the subject. Vieyra then pleaded his own cause, requesting that when they had weighed well all that the Deputies could alledge, they would determine upon what should be most advantageous for the Portugueze, always saving the liberty and natural rights of the Indians. He rested the question as much upon worldly policy as upon principles of humanity and religion; and the Junta, after having employed eight days in examining the matter, gave their opinion decidedly in his favour, declaring that the system of the Jesuits was that which ought to be observed. This step being gained, Vieyra wisely procured that the Provincials of the several Orders which were established in Maranham and Para should hold a meeting, and being informed of the decision which the ablest casuists in the kingdom had pronounced, that they should instruct the members of their respective communities to act in conformity thereunto: for nothing had proved more injurious both to Indians and Portugueze, than the factious and jealous opposition of the other Religioners to the Jesuits. His next object was to establish a *Junta*<sup>15</sup> *das*

*A Mission-  
ary Board  
established.*


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<sup>15</sup> He touched upon this subject in a sermon preached before the Court on

*Missoens*, or Missionary Board, who should at all times watch over the interest of the Missions.

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*A. de Barros*, 2, §  
93—101.

the first Sunday in Lent, .. the anniversary of his triumphant sermon to the people in Maranhã; the text was necessarily the same, every Sunday in the Portuguese Church having its appropriate subject and text prescribed to the preacher: he dwelt therefore upon the same topic, the infinite value of the human soul, and wound up the discourse thus. "At this moment innumerable souls are perishing in Africa, innumerable souls in Asia, innumerable souls in America, for whom I come to solicit help, .. and all through our fault and our negligence. Verily there is not a more pious kingdom than Portugal, and yet I can neither understand our humanity, nor our faith, nor our devotion. For the souls which are in Purgatory there are so many Brotherhoods, so many Associations, so many Expences, so many Solicitors, (*Procuradores*) so many who plead for them day and night; and the poor souls who are going to Hell have none of these! The souls in Purgatory, though they are suffering, are secure of Heaven at last; those who live and die in Heathenism have not merely Heaven doubtful, but Hell and condemnation certain, and yet none to assist them! Is not this, then, the greatest work of compassion? Why therefore is there no Brotherhood, why therefore is there no Association, why therefore is there no Junta, why therefore is there no Solicitor for these poor souls?" Then addressing himself alternately to the Crucifix and to the King there present, he proceeded; "Lord, are not all these souls redeemed with your blood? .. Sire, are not all these souls redeemed with the blood of Christ?—Lord, have you not given the conversion of these souls in charge to the Kings and Kingdom of Portugal? .. Sire, are not these souls given in charge with this Kingdom by God to your Majesty?—Lord, is it well that these souls should be lost, and go to Hell against your desire? .. Sire, is it well that these souls should be lost and go to Hell through our fault?—I do not expect this either from the Divine or the human Majesty! Now when there are so many Boards for the affairs of the world, let there be a Board also for the affairs of souls, for they are worth more than all the world. Let us be undeceived! by how much the more the business of the salvation of souls shall proceed, so much better will the affairs of the world proceed also. The Devil\* offered all the kingdoms of the world for the perdition

\* Alluding to the text of the day.

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*Decree in  
favour of  
the Indians.*

Vieyra had to contend with the Donatories, the colonial landholders, the merchants, those who held offices in these Captaincies, and those who were pretending to them; but he possessed the King's entire confidence, and the arrangements which he proposed, (being all that he dared contend for,) gave the colonists so much, that where any decent respect for equity was observed, their advocates could not without flagrant and impudent injustice require more. A decree was issued, declaring that all the Indian settlements in the State of Maranhão should be under the direction of the Jesuits; that Vieyra, as Superior of the Missions, should direct all expeditions into the interior, and settle the reduced Indians in such places as he might think best: that the chief of every ransoming party must be approved by the Jesuits; that these Missionaries should have a vote upon

of one soul; and Christ, because he acted for the salvation of souls, is at this day Lord of all the kingdoms of the world. Thus it will happen to us also, and thus I promise in the name of God. Let me sanctify the words of the Devil, and place them in the mouth of Christ. He showed him all the kingdoms of the world: . . . God is showing us all the kingdoms of the New World, which in his bounty he gave us, and of which through our fault they have taken from us so great a part; and pointing to Africa, to Asia, and to America, he says, All these will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me! . . . Kingdom of Portugal, I promise thee the restoration of all the kingdoms which paid thee tribute once, and the conquest of many other and more opulent ones in this New World, if thou, whom I have chosen for this end, wilt make them believe in me and worship me, . . . if thou wilt fall down and worship me. This I promise from the goodness of God, . . . this I hope from the great zeal and charity of his Majesty, . . . this I trust in from the christianity of all his ministers. And if we shall labour for the souls of others, this means, which is so much for God's service, will be most efficacious towards obtaining the service of our own, in this life with great increase of grace, and in the next with the reward of glory."

*Sermoens, T. 2, p. 83—5.*

the examination of the ransomed Indians; and that they who were thus ransomed should be slaves for five years and no longer, their labour in that time being an ample compensation for their original cost. The free Indians were not to work more than six months for the Portuguese, in spells of two months each, and at the wages of two *varas* of cotton cloth per month, according to the terms proposed at St. Luiz by Vieyra, and accepted by the people.

When Vieyra was in Maranham the King had written to him, asking his opinion whether it was better to have two *Capitaens Mores* in that State, or one Governor. His reply was, two thieves are worse than one; and one honest man is more easily found than two. Of the two existing Captains, the one had nothing, and nothing could satisfy the other; and he knew not which was the greatest temptation, neediness or avarice. It is notorious, says Vieyra, that every thing in Para except the land itself is not worth 10,000 *cruzados*; and yet from this Captaincy Ignacio do Rego will extract 100,000 in three years, in the way he is going on: all this must be from the sweat and blood of the Indians, whom he treats so entirely as slaves that they have neither liberty not to serve him, nor to serve any one else. When there were any Indians to be allotted, the men in power had them all, and the poor were left to perish. Vieyra said that he confessed a poor woman, one of the settlers brought from the Azores, who told him, that of her nine children five had died of want in the course of three months; and when he attempted to console her for the death of these five, she replied, "Father, it is not for them that I weep; it is for the four who are left, whom I have no means of supporting, and whom I daily pray God to take also!" The principal and only talent requisite for a Governor there, he said, was conscience; and if a Governor could not be found with that qualification, as hitherto

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Question  
respecting  
the Govern-  
ment of Ma-  
ranham.

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 XXVI. yer sufficed for administering justice, the Camera for political  
 1655. affairs, and for war the Sargento Mor, . . . one of the country, not  
 of Elvas or of Flanders. If these persons looked merely to their  
 own interest, still it was with some degree of moderation, and  
 what they gained remained in the country; they did not ex-  
 haust the land and then leave it like tenants, which was what  
 the men did who came from Portugal. But the main evil would  
 be cut up by the roots if the Indians were made independent  
 of the Governor.

*Vieyra.  
 Cartas.  
 T. I. x.*

*Vidal ap-  
 pointed  
 Governor.*

*The King  
 wishes to  
 keep Vieyra  
 in Portugal.*

Remote colonies tend too naturally toward republicanism for  
 this advice to be followed in its full extent. The King, however,  
 found one man of tried talents and integrity, whom he appoint-  
 ed to the Government; it was Vidal. This point being settled,  
 he would fain have prevented Vieyra from returning; but that  
 he might not seem to act merely from his own inclinations, and  
 that he might incur no scruples of conscience, he referred it to  
 the triennial meeting of the Jesuits of the Province, then about  
 to be held at St. Roques, to determine whether or not a man  
 whose services were so important at home ought to be sent as a  
 missionary among savages. The Rectors of all the Colleges,  
 and the elder Members of the Company, to the number of forty,  
 assembled, and Vieyra demanded a hearing before they formed  
 their opinion. He then protested it was his firm belief that God  
 had called him to that mission, and that the early vow which he  
 had made to live and die among the Indians was by the particular  
 inspiration of Heaven. He exhorted them to remember how much  
 the character of the Company was at stake upon their decision.  
 His resolution, he said, was founded upon no human motives;  
 envy, which had persecuted him once, was now either extinct or  
 ashamed: he was in the fair breeze of favour at Court, and if  
 he turned away from that prosperous fortune, it was because he

was impelled by a higher power; . . . the manner of his former departure had clearly shown that it was the will of a Prince who had for vassals all the Kings of the World. He bade them weigh well the consequences of compelling him to remain in Portugal. "What (said he) will they say whom I excited to the work and carried to Maranham, if they see that I led them to the labour and then returned to rest? What will they say who at my instigation have exchanged their country for the woods and wilds, if I leave them in the woods and wilds and remain in my country? What will the Indians say who regard me as their shield, and to whom I said that I was going to seek relief for them, . . . what will they say if I remain in the Court, and break my promise that I would speedily be with them again? Oh how false will they think me, . . . even as great a deceiver as the other Portugueze whom they have so often found wanting in justice and in humanity! Oh how will they call themselves disconsolate, and of all men most unhappy! Oh how will those who are already converted (being an inconstant generation) give up the faith, perhaps, and return to the forest, spreading among all those innumerable nations the fame, or the infamy, that even the Fathers are traitors; seeing the greatest of them all, in spite of his word, had forsaken them! I do not speak of the souls whom this unworthy instrument might convert to salvation; . . . does this weigh or does it not? I do not speak of the example which the youth who are now growing up in our Colleges might take from my resolution to abandon all for the sake of saving souls; . . . has this reflection any force or has it not? I do not speak of the manner in which the people of Maranham and Para will scoff at my retreat; . . . is it fitting that the Company should have to endure this among their other wrongs? May sound discretion, zeal for salvation, love for the objects of the Company, and above all, the Light of the Holy

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*Vieyra  
obtains  
permission  
to return to  
Maranham.*

*André de  
Barrus, 2. §  
107—20.*

Spirit, inspire this so holy and religious an assembly with that decision which may be most for the glory of the Most High!" Having thus spoken he withdrew. Some of the elder fathers were so affected by his zeal, and at the same time so unwilling that the Company should lose the full advantage of his brilliant talents, that they knelt to the Provincial, and offered in tears if Vieyra might be ordered to remain in Lisbon, to go upon the mission in his stead; but the Provincial replied, that their instructions were to deliberate whether Vieyra should go, not to provide substitutes for him. The votes were given in secret, and the majority agreed that for the glory of God and the salvation of souls Vieyra ought to go upon the mission: and that the sacrifice which the Company made in thus foregoing the honour which they derived from his genius, would deserve from God the reward of new members who should in like manner adorn it hereafter. The King submitted to this decision, and Vieyra himself rejoiced in it with devout sincerity. His presence was of great importance to explain, and as far as possible enforce, the King's orders; he knew that the Provincial of Brazil had been applied to, to revoke the leave which he had given him of going upon the mission, and the application was from a person whom he could not refuse: some of the Jesuits who were in Maranham would not remain there unless he returned; finally, he felt that it would be an ill example to turn back after he had once gone; and he believed that God had called him to the office, and that in it he might with more certainty expect to work out his own salvation than he could possibly do in the Court. With these feelings, after having been only four months in Portugal, he embarked again for Maranham; and the voyage was so prosperous that in twenty-five days they saw land, and on the thirty-first cast anchor at St. Luiz.