

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Treaty of Limits. The War of the Seven Reductions. Annulment of the Treaty.

CHAP. The intermarriages between the royal families of Spain and
XXXIX. Portugal had not produced the slightest mitigation in those feelings of contempt and hatred which Philip V. and Isabel Farnese his wife always cherished against the Portugueze: but the effects were perceived when Ferdinand VI. succeeded to his father's throne. Mere state considerations have seldom, or never, united in marriage two persons so perfectly suited to each other, as the Prince of Asturias, and the Portugueze Infanta, D. Maria Barbara. He was a valetudinarian and a hypochondriac by inheritance. His only fault was that he was sometimes subject to violent fits of anger: the humility which arose from a deep and painful conviction of his incapacity for business, and the sense of his own unfitness for the awful situation in which he was placed, must be accounted among his virtues: he was humane, honourable, and conscientious, and desired peace and tranquillity above all things. The Queen had never any pretensions to beauty, and the gracefulness of her youthful form was soon lost, for she became excessively fat. Her understanding was

*Character of
Ferdinand
VI. and his
Queen.*

good, her disposition affectionate, and her manners winning because of their remarkable gentleness and benignity: she was highly accomplished, and delighted in music, for which she possessed an hereditary and cultivated taste; the King also was passionately fond of the same art. So entirely had she obtained his affection and his confidence, that she might have ruled him with absolute sway; but though her superior understanding naturally gave her great influence over him, she had no such ambition, being wise enough to be warned rather than stimulated by the example of her mischievous predecessor. She too was an invalid, and could thus the better sympathize with her husband's infirmities; and he on his part loved and admired her the more for the equanimity with which she endured long and habitual sufferings.

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The Queen was believed by the Spaniards to favour her native country more than was consistent with the interest of Spain; and to her influence they attributed a treaty which was now made for adjusting the long disputed limits in America. No such treaty would have been concluded if an amicable disposition had not existed on both sides; and that disposition had certainly been produced by this happy marriage. But that the terms were framed equitably for both parties may be presumed from the fact, that in the succeeding reign, when a friendly disposition no longer existed, both were equally ready to condemn them. By the preliminary article of this memorable treaty, all former treaties, and all pretensions founded upon the Bull of Pope Alexander, were annulled. The demarcation which was now determined, began at the mouth of a little stream which falls into the sea, and rises at the foot of Monte de Castilhos Grande; from thence it proceeded in a straight line to the mountains, following their summits to the sources of the Rio Negro, and continued, still upon the ridge, to those of the

CHAP. Ybicuy : it then kept the course of that river to its junction with
xxxix.
1750. the Uruguay, traced the Uruguay upward till it reached the
Pepiri, and then the Pepiri to its principal source : there, leaving the rivers, it again took the line of highest ground, till it came to the head of the first stream which flows into the Yguazu ; the boundary followed this stream first, and then the Yguazu to its junction with the Parana : it went up this great river to the Igurey, and up the Igurey to its source ; then once more it took the highest ground as far as the first stream that runs to the Paraguay, which it was supposed would probably be the Corrientes, . . for the negociators were proceeding here without any accurate knowledge of the country : the water then became the line, and so from its junction with the Paraguay along what in the dry season is the main stream, through the *Pantanaes*, which are marked in maps as the Lake of the Xarayes, to the mouth of the Jauru ; and here some discretionary power was given. From the mouth of the Jauru the line was to be drawn straight for the south bank of the Guapore, opposite the mouth of the Sarare ; but if the Commissioners should find between the Jauru and the Guapore, any other river, or natural boundary by which the limits might be more clearly and conveniently appointed, they might use their own discretion, reserving always to the Portugueze the exclusive navigation of the Jauru, and the road which they were accustomed to take from Cuyaba to Mato Grosso. But wherever the line reached the Guapore, it was to follow that stream to the Mamoré, and the Mamoré to the Madeira, and the Madeira to a point half way between its mouth and the mouth of the Mamoré ; then it struck East and West, across unknown ground, till it touched the Javari, followed that river to the Orellana, and went down this great receiver of a thousand streams to the western mouth of the Japura : here it ascended, taking the middle of the stream ; and

here again it entered a country of which the negociators possessed an imperfect knowledge, for their vague language is, that the line should ascend this river and the others which join it and approach nearest to the North, till it reached the summits of the Cordillera between the Orellana and the Orinoco, and then it was to go eastward along those summits, as far as the territories of the contracting powers extended. The Commissioners were to be especially careful that the demarcation took the most westerly mouth of the Japura, so that it might leave untouched the Portugueze settlements upon the shores of that river, and on the Rio Negro, and the communication or channel which they used between the two. Here the Spaniards were not to interlope; nor were the Portugueze on their part to ascend to the Orinoco, nor extend themselves toward the Spanish territory, whether peopled or waste: and the line was to be drawn as much toward the North as possible, by lakes and rivers where that could be done, without regarding whether much or little fell to one power or the other, so that the object of tracing a distinct boundary ¹ could be effected. Where the line of a river was taken, the islands in it were to belong to the nearest shore.

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*Tratado dos
Limites. §
4—10.*

Do. §. 11.

The Commissioners were to design a map as they traced the limits, and jointly to impose names upon those rivers and mountains which had not yet been named: they were respectively to sign the two copies of this map, which might be appealed to as authority in any future dispute. But to prevent all disputes in future, his most Faithful Majesty ceded Colonia to Spain,

¹ Ibañez calls it *une ligne royale et tres visible, . . . puisqu' elle seroit formée par des chaines de montagnes qui dureront autant que le monde, et par des fleuves tres profonds qui ne peuvent éprouver aucun changement.* T. 2. p. 18.

CHAP. and all the territory on the North shore of the Plata as far as the
 XXXIX. point where the line was now determined to begin, with all
 1750. places, ports, and establishments therein, and renounced all
 right to the navigation of the Plata, which thenceforward was to
 belong exclusively to Spain. On the other side, his most Catholic
 Majesty ceded to Portugal all that was occupied by, or by any
 right or title appertained to Spain in any part of the lands from
 Monte de Castilhos Grande, its southern skirts, and the coast,
 to the source of the Ybicuy; and all settlements which Spain
 might have formed in the angle between the North bank of the
 Ybicuy and the East bank of the Uruguay, and all on the
 Eastern shore of the Pepiri; and the *Pueblo de Santa Rosa* (a
 word rendered *Aldea* by the Portuguese) and any other which
 Spain might have established upon the Eastern bank of the
 Guapore. And Portugal ceded the track from the Western
 mouth of the Japura, lying between that river and the Orellana,
 and the whole navigation of the Iza, and every thing from that
 river westward, and the *Aldea*² de S. Christovam, and whatever
 other settlements Portugal might have made westward of the line
 which was now determined.

*Tratado dos
 Limites. §
 13. 14. 15.*

§ 15 The artillery, arms, stores, and government vessels might be
 withdrawn from Colonia; the place in other respects was to be
 given up as it stood, and the inhabitants might either remain
 there, subject to the laws of Spain, or remove with their move-
 able property, and sell the rest. The Missionaries were to mi-
 grate from the settlements which Spain ceded on the Eastern
 side of the Uruguay, taking with them all their goods and

² In the great Spanish map this place is marked upon the Ovaripana, a
 river the course of which seems to have been little known to the geographers;...
 about half way between the Japura and the Iza.

effects, and their Indians, whom they were to settle within the Spanish territory ; and the Indians also were to carry away their goods moveable or self-moving, and their arms, powder, and ammunition. The Reductions were then to be delivered up to the Crown of Portugal, with their houses, churches, and edifices of every kind, and the property and possession of the land. The settlements to be ceded by either party on the Pequiri, the Guapore, and the Orellana, were to be delivered under the same circumstances as Colonia, and the Indians might either migrate or remain, at their choice ; but they who should migrate must lose that property which was not moveable, if they possessed any such. Portugal might fortify the Monte dos Castilhos Grande, and maintain a garrison there ; but no other settlement was to be formed there, and the bar or bay which the sea made at that point, and where the limits began, was to be open to both nations. The navigation and fishery of the liminary streams were also declared common. All trade between the two nations was forbidden ; nor might the subjects of one Power enter the territory of the other, without previous permission from the Governor or Superior of the district to which he was going, except on public business, and with passports, on pain of arbitrary imprisonment. No fortifications were to be erected along the liminary rivers, nor on the tops of the liminary mountains, nor any settlements made there.

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§ 16.

§ 17—20.

In case of any future war between the two contracting Powers, which, said the Treaty, may God forbid ! the two Sovereigns desired that their respective subjects in South America might continue in peace, without committing the slightest act of hostility, either by themselves alone, or jointly with their allies. And in case this stipulation were broken, the movers of any invasion, however trifling in itself, should be punished with death, irremissibly, and any plunder be fully and faithfully restored. Nor

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should either Power permit the use of its ports to the enemy of the other; still less should it allow a passage through its dominions, though they might be at war in other parts of the world. This perpetual peace and good neighbourship was to hold good, not only on the land, but in all the rivers, ports, and upon all the coasts South of the Isle S. Antam, one of the Cape de Verds. And neither Power should admit into its ports, ships, or merchants, allied or neutral, who meant to carry on a contraband trade with the subjects of the other. . . The cession of Colonia, and the settlements East of the Uruguay were to be made within a year after the signature of the Treaty. And none of these cessions were to be considered as equivalents one for another, but as arrangements which, upon a view of the whole, had been considered and agreed to as beneficial to both parties.

§ 21.

§ 22.

§ 24.

The language and the whole tenour of this memorable treaty bear witness to the sincerity and good intentions of the two Courts; . . the two contracting Sovereigns seem indeed to have advanced beyond their age. They proceeded with an uprightness which might almost be considered new to diplomacy; and in attempting to establish a perpetual peace in their colonies, whatever disputes might occur between them in Europe, they set an example worthy of being held in remembrance as a practicable means of lessening the calamities of war. But there was a fatal fault committed in the treaty, and Spain, and Spanish America, and Brazil, feel at this day its baneful consequences.

*Seven Reductions
ceded in this
treaty by
Spain.*

The portion of territory eastward of the Uruguay, which was ceded to the Portuguese, contained seven flourishing Reductions, inhabited by about thirty thousand Guaranies, not fresh from the woods, or half reclaimed, and therefore willing to revert to a savage state, and capable of enduring its exposure, hardships, and privations; but born as their fathers and grandfathers had been, in easy servitude, and bred up in the comforts of regular

domestic life. These persons with their wives and their children, their sick and their aged, their horses and their sheep and their oxen, were to turn out, like the children of Israel from Egypt into the wilderness, . . . not to escape from bondage, but in obedience to one of the most tyrannical commands that ever were issued in the recklessness of unfeeling power.

Yet Ferdinand must be acquitted of intentional injustice. His disposition was such that he would rather have suffered martyrdom than have issued so wicked an edict, had he been sensible of its inhumanity and wickedness. He perhaps, if he reflected upon the subject for a moment, thought it as easy for the Jesuits to transplant a Reduction, as for his Court to remove to Aranjuez or S. Ildefonso: and his Ministers, by whom the treaty was framed, conceived that in so wide a country there could be no difficulty in such a removal, because they were ignorant of all the local circumstances. Moreover it had often happened in Spanish America, that towns and cities had been moved from one situation to another; but this was when the former site had been found inconvenient, and while the settlement was in its infancy; . . . the precedent therefore was not applicable, and yet undoubtedly it was considered to be so. But injurious as the stipulation was, it originated in a regard to the feelings of the very persons whom it affected so cruelly: for the Guaranies were proud of the services which they had rendered to Spain; they were far more inimical to the Brazilians than were the Spaniards themselves, so that the names of Portugueze and Enemy were synonymous with them; and therefore to have transferred them as subjects to the Crown of Portugal would have been ungrateful and ungenerous, and in the highest degree offensive to their spirit. Besides, that measure would have cut them off from their own countrymen, with whom, in case of a future war between the two nations, (an event too possible

CHAP.
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*Reasons for
ordering the
inhabitants
to remove.*

CHAP. and too likely to occur, notwithstanding the meritorious attempt
 XXXIX. in the treaty to prevent it) they would be engaged in unnatural
 1750. hostility. The negociators therefore, if they perceived any
 hardship in the stipulation, would think it the least of two evils ;
 but it was inexcusably aggravated by the unreflecting haste
 which declared that the cession was to be made within a year
 after the signature of the treaty.

*This part of
 the treaty
 imputed to
 Gomes
 Freyre.*

The Marquis of Valdelirios was sent from Spain to Buenos Ayres, to see the treaty carried into effect on that side. Gomes Freyre was intrusted with the same charge on the part of the Portugueze. This distinguished Fidalgo, who still retained his appointment as Governor of Rio Janeiro and Minas Geraes, is said to have been the first projector of the treaty. The undefined limits of his own wide government touched upon the Spanish territory along the whole line, from the Plata to the Mamore; to him therefore it was especially desirable that all causes of dispute upon that subject might be prevented by a demarcation. But it has been asserted also, that his great object was to get possession of the country in which the seven Reductions were situated, because he believed that it abounded with mines; and this assertion is both gratuitous and absurd. The Portugueze at that time were in no want of mining ground. Had they been greedier of gold than the first plunderers of Bogota or Peru, their appetite for it would have been satisfied with the treasures of Minas Geraes, Goyaz, Cuyaba, and Mato Grosso; and if they had not already found what they sought in such abundance, they were too much experienced in mines to seek for them in the low lands upon the Uruguay. The motives for the treaty lay upon the surface; they were obvious and they were just: it was concluded with good faith on both sides, and with an equitable regard to the convenience and interest of both, according to their common notions; had the same equity been observed

toward the Guaranies, it might have been carried happily into effect.

The cruel stipulation which regarded these people was not enforced quite so precipitately as it was made, and as the letter of the treaty required; for the Spanish Commissioners did not arrive in the Plata till two years after it had been signed. Meantime the Jesuits of Paraguay addressed a representation to the Royal Audience of Charcas, and obtained from that tribunal a memorial in their favour. They applied in like manner to the Audience of Lima, and the Viceroy, by the advice of the Audience, forwarded one copy of their representation to the Court of Spain, and another to the Governor of Buenos Ayres, that he might deliver it to the Commissioners on their arrival, and that they might take this statement into consideration, and determine, with the facts before them, how to act in conformity to the King's intentions. Perhaps the Jesuits relied too confidently upon the merits of their case, upon the influence which they formerly possessed at the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon, (not knowing that that influence had now been undermined,) upon the likelihood that any change of ministers, or of temper, might produce a change of politics in the two Courts; and upon the chances of events. Nevertheless they prepared to obey the treaty, if obedience should ultimately be required. The Provincial assembled the senior Missionaries; they declared, with one single exception, that they did not think it would be possible to do what was required of them; he however instructed the Jesuits in the seven unfortunate Reductions to use all means for persuading the people to obedience, and he wrote to the King, representing to him the injustice and cruelty of the stipulation, and the difficulty, or what might almost be called the impossibility, of enforcing it. The Superior of the Missions went through the seven Reductions, and in each, as prudently as he could,

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*The Jesuits
remonstrate
against the
stipulation.*

*Ibáñez.
2. p. 24—7.*

CHAP. made the King's pleasure known to the Chiefs of the Indians.
 XXXIX. Long accustomed to implicit submission, and never yet having
 1752. been called upon to act or think for themselves, they all ap-
 peared to acquiesce except a Cacique at S. Nicolas : his appre-
 hension was quicker than that of his countrymen, and he some-
 what sullenly replied, that they had inherited from their forefathers
 the land which they possessed ; but he added, that he knew not
 whether this his answer were wise or foolish. The Superior
 must have felt, that if a spark of this feeling were elicited it
 would spread like fire in the dry grass ; and when he transmitted
 to the Provincial the promise of the Guaranies to obey, he gave
 it as his opinion, that because of the temper of the people the
 removal would be impossible.

Apologia.
MS. § 39.
Sullen ac-
quiescence of
the inhabit-
ants.

Muriel.
Supplement
to Charle-
voix. p. 338.

The country
reconnoitred
in search of
places for the
new settle-
ments.

The intention of the Government was, that these Guaranies should occupy the country south of the Ybicuy. It was desirable that Spain should secure possession of the ceded territory ; and moreover it was the nearest land, and therefore appeared to persons who were not acquainted with the localities, most convenient for the emigrants. But the Jesuits knew the country, and that it was not suitable for their establishments : indeed, whatever brought them into nearer connexion with the Spanish settlements, would have rendered it more difficult to keep their people in subordination, and in those habits which, if not examples of Christian perfection, as their encomiasts have described them, were at least decent and inoffensive, and in all respects infinitely superior to those of the Spanish population. Reconnoitring parties however were sent out from each of the Reductions, under the direction of a Jesuit ; but after a painful search, having explored the wilderness for between four and five hundred miles, they returned without having found any place accommodated to their purpose. Perhaps men who were desirous of finding what they sought, might have been more successful :

but situations which could have suited a common colony, consisting of a few hardy and volunteer adventurers, willing and able to depend upon the woods and waters for their first supply, would not afford subsistence for multitudes like these. Extensive pastures were indispensable for the myriads of cattle which they were to bring with them. The Jesuits had experienced the fatal consequences of a hasty emigration when they were driven from Guayra by the Paulistas; and the remembrance of that tragedy, which could not have been unknown among the Guaranies, made them the more solicitous that no avoidable evils should be incurred upon the present removal. Would it be possible to find room on the north of the Uruguay, in the land of the Reductions, between that river and the Parana? The Missionaries on that side were very desirous of receiving their brethren in this their season of distress; . . . but already their pastures were fully stocked, their population was increasing upon them, and they were thinking of sending out colonies themselves. The urgent necessity of the case prevailed over such prudential considerations: other explorers were sent, and situations were discovered, which, if not desirable in themselves, at least afforded the requisites indispensable for such settlements as were intended. It was agreed that the people of S. Luiz should remove to a site between Lake Ybera, the Mirinay, and the River S. Lucia. For those of S. Lorenzo, a large island was proposed in the Parana, beginning above the Falls and extending below them; but they preferred returning to S. Maria Mayor, from whence they had gone forth as a colony. The people of S. Miguel were to occupy a situation in a different direction, to the south-east, upon the River Negro: those of S. Juan a site between the Parana, the Paraguay, and the great marsh, or *Pantanal*, of the Neembucu. The people of Los Angeles had ground assigned them to the north of the Reduction

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See vol. 2.
p. 316.

CHAP. of Corpus Christi. Land upon the Queguay, to the south, was
 XXXIX. allotted to the emigrants from S. Francisco Borja: and to those
 1752. from S. Nicolas, a situation beyond the Parana, in the bend of
 the river, between Itapua and S. Trinidad. Five of these pro-
 posed situations seemed unobjectionable; but one was evidently
 an unhealthy spot, and another was exposed to the Charruas,
 whose depredations upon the cattle would for awhile be a greater
 evil than even their direct hostility.

Apologia.
M.S. § 42.
Muriel.
Supplement
to Charle-
voix. p. 338.

The Spanish
Commis-
sioners ar-
rive in the
Plata.

Thus much had been done when the Marquis de Valdelirios arrived in the Plata. F. Luiz Altamirano came out with him, having full powers from the General of the Company over all the Jesuits in South America; and as a farther precaution, F. Joseph Barreda was removed from Peru to be Provincial in Paraguay, because, being a stranger to the people and the country, he would not be influenced by any personal feelings in executing the will of the Sovereign. Valdelirios had no sooner landed than he received from the Governor, D. Joseph de Andoanegui, the representations of the Audiencias of Charcas and Lima, and memorials to the same effect from the Bishop of Cordoba, the Governor of Paraguay, and from the town of S. Miguel in Tucuman. These memorials concurred in representing the stipulated cession of the seven Reductions as a measure injurious to the interests of Spain; and some of them advised that the article should be annulled. The Jesuits in whose College the Marquis took up his quarters, did not thus directly oppose the obnoxious and oppressive measure: but they pointed out what difficulties there were to be overcome; they urged the necessity of employing an armed force in behalf of the intended settlement upon the River Negro, to clear that part of the country from the Charruas, before the emigrants should remove; they represented that time should be allowed for erecting places of shelter for the multitude when they should arrive upon their allotted

They precipitate the removal.

ground, and that some accommodations also would be needful on the way for harbouring at night, if not the hale and the adult, at least women and infants, and the sick and aged. When they should have reached the end of their journey, a year must elapse before the earth would return its fruits; one year therefore was plainly necessary to prepare for this by raising a double crop; but they petitioned for a delay of three: in the course of that time houses might be erected and land brought into cultivation. Valdelirios abruptly answered³, that he would not give them three months.

Valdelirios however perceived that the execution of the treaty was not so easy as he had expected. He went therefore to Castilhos Grande, to confer with Gomes Freyre, and he dispatched Altamirano to the Reductions that he might exert his authority over a people who had been taught to consider implicit obedience to their spiritual teachers as the first duty. When the Father reached Yapeyu, a Reduction upon the right bank of the Uruguay a little below the spot where it receives the Ybicuy, he found that a spirit of resistance had shown itself. It began among the S. Nicolites, who were dissatisfied with the situation which had been chosen for them: it was unhealthy;.. the land, they said, which they had received from God and their fathers, was better; they had good pastures where they were, they had a good town and a fine church, and they would not leave them to make room for the Portuguese. Patient as they had at first appeared, they now turned like the trodden worm. And their resentment was inflamed by a person who happened at that time to be in the Reduction, having recently travelled in Brazil,..

CHAP.
XXXIX.
1752.

Ibañez.
t. 2. p. 46—
56.

Apologia.
MS. § 38.
42.

Muriel.
Supplement
to Charle-
voix. 338.

Insurrection
at S. Nico-
las.

³ The author of the Supplement to Charlevoix says, "*indicta nihilominus est emigratio, ut ambigas num magis cæca tunc fuerit Jesuitarum obedientia, quam præceptio.* P. 338.

CHAP. either an Indian, or one of mixed blood, sufficiently intelligent
 XXXIX. to have been curious concerning the treaty, and to have made
 1752. himself acquainted with such facts or rumours relating to it as
 were current among the Brazilians. It was not the Portugueze, he said, by whom they were injured; the Portugueze wished the demarcation to be drawn from behind the Jacuy to the mouth of the Plata, a line which would have given them Maldonado, and left the land of the Missions untouched: but the Spaniards had rather chosen to give up the seven Reductions, and it was by the Spaniards that they were sacrificed. The spirit which had broken forth at S. Nicolas presently assumed a character of regular resistance; they deposed their magistrates, and elected in their stead those persons who manifested the most determined resolution to maintain their rights.

Apologia.
MS. § 43.
Muriel.
Supplement
to Charle-
voix. p. 339.

The emigra-
tion from S.
Miguel is
begun.

This news occasioned a great ferment in S. Miguel. Preparations had been made there for beginning the removal, and the first division actually set out, . . . four hundred families, with an hundred and fifty waggons carrying their stores and tools, under the direction of Father Joseph Garcia, an old Missionary whom they highly venerated. There was loud lamentation when they set forth, both on the part of those who went, and of those who remained behind; and voices were heard which commended the people of S. Nicolas for their resolution. A willingness to follow their example was indicated; but it proceeded as yet no farther, and the emigrants began their journey into the wilderness. Their difficulties and sufferings were increased by a continuance of heavy rain. An old man and four children died upon the way: their deaths, if not occasioned by fatigue and exposure, were imputed to this cause, and probably accelerated by it; and the people declared that if they went on they should all perish, and therefore, they said, they would advance no farther. Just at this time a messenger overtook them with intelligence that their fellow

The people
revolt and
recall the
emigrants.

townsmen had changed their minds and were determined not to forsake their birthplace. The absence of Garcia and the thought of what those who were on the way were suffering from the weather, may perhaps have hastened this resolution. Garcia's opposition was to no avail. They returned immediately, with more speed and better will than they had advanced, and the Jesuit was compelled to follow them. And here the insurrection took a more ferocious character. The people were about to kill Christoval Payré, their chief magistrate, because he attempted to oppose them: some person saved him at the critical moment, by observing that the Rector F. Miguel de Herrera was the more guilty. Herrera learnt his danger in time, got on horseback, and fled: he sent back an Indian to fetch his breviary, and the poor fellow was murdered by his furious countrymen. Herrera never dared return. F. Lorenzo Balda was sent to supply his place: the Guaranies received him; but he found himself in more danger among them than he had ever been in all his expeditions among the savages.

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Apologia.
MS. § 43.

The S. Borjans set out under F. Miguel de Soto, reached their appointed place upon the Queguay, began to build, and continued there six months: wearied with the unaccustomed labour then, and discouraged by the frequent attacks of the wild Indians, they returned in spite of all Soto's efforts to detain them. The people of S. Juan advanced as far as the Uruguay; then their suspicions and their temper broke out. They told the Jesuit that they understood his designs; . . . he had sold their town and their fields to the Portuguese, and now he meant to deliver them up as slaves to the Spaniards, who were waiting with boats in the Parana to carry them off. The Jesuit endeavoured to laugh them out of this notion; but when he retired among the trees to his devotions, they moved in silence over a little rising ground, and having thus got out of sight, hastened back

*The people
of the other
Reductions
determine
not to give
up their
towns.*

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with all speed. Before he reached the Reduction they had chosen new magistrates, and were in a state of organized insurrection. The people of Los Angeles also went as far as the Uruguay; a journey of sixty leagues exhausted their patience, and, telling the Jesuit that they had done enough to show their obedience to the King, they returned, and were welcomed by their fellows with the loudest demonstrations of joy. The division from S. Luiz crossed the Uruguay; they met the Charruas, whom the Jesuits conciliated by means of gifts; but when they had passed the Yapeyu, others of these savages appeared ready to attack them: their perseverance then failed; they set out on their return, and on their way passed by S. Thomas, where Altamirano saw them pass, and was then convinced that the authority of the Jesuits was at an end. The party from S. Lorenzo were the only Indians who gave proof of a constant obedience. They reached the island which had been allotted them, .. for they could not be received at S. Maria Mayor; .. they built a church, and went on steadily with their new town; but the Lorenzites who remained behind followed the example of the other Reductions, and sent them notice that if they wanted food they must come for it, for none should be sent them. Desertion then began; till the Jesuit, finding that only fifty persons were left in his company, retired with them to the Reduction of S. Cosme, on the right bank of the branch which forms the island.

Apologia.
MS. § 44.

*Appeal of
the Guaranies
to the
Spanish Go-
vernor.*

These unsuccessful attempts proved the obedience of the Jesuits; they proved also that, injurious as the removal was, it might possibly have been effected had there been sufficient time allowed and due precautions taken; .. if the Charruas had first been pacified, and houses built, and land brought into cultivation upon the new ground, before any migration was attempted. Valdelirios was chiefly culpable for this precipitance. Had the

necessity for delay been fairly represented to the Spanish Government, that Government, inveterately prone as it was to dilatory measures, would hardly have issued peremptory orders for the immediate evacuation. And if the appeal which the Guaranies made to Andoanegui had found its way to Ferdinand, even the reasonable suspicion that its form and arguments had proceeded from the Jesuits would not have rendered so good and humane a man insensible to its force. "Neither we nor our forefathers," said they, "have ever offended the King, or ever attacked the Spanish settlements. How then, innocent as we are, can we believe that the best of Princes would condemn us to banishment? Our fathers, our forefathers, our brethren, have fought under the King's banner, often against the Portugueze, often against the savages: who can tell how many of them have fallen in battle, or before the walls of Nova Colonia, so often besieged! We ourselves can show in our scars the proofs of our fidelity and our courage. We have ever had it at heart to extend the limits of the Spanish empire, and to defend it against all enemies; nor have we ever been sparing of our blood, or of our lives. Will then the Catholic King requite these services by the bitter punishment of expelling us from our native land, our churches, our homes and fields and fair inheritance? This is beyond all belief! By the royal letters of Philip V. which, according to his own injunctions, were read to us from the pulpits, we were exhorted never to suffer the Portugueze to approach our borders, because they were his enemies and ours. Now, we are told that the King will have us yield up to these very Portugueze, this wide and fertile territory, which the Kings of Spain, and God, and Nature have given us, and which for a whole century we have tilled with the sweat of our brows. Can any one be persuaded that Ferdinand the son should enjoin us to do that which was so frequently forbidden

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1752.

CHAP. by his father Philip? But if time and change have indeed
 XXXIX.
 1752. brought about such friendship between old enemies that the Spaniards are desirous to gratify the Portugueze, there are ample tracts of country to spare, and let those be given them. What, shall we resign our towns to the Portugueze, . . . the Portugueze, . . . by whose ancestors so many hundred thousand of ours have been slaughtered, or carried away into cruel slavery in Brazil? This is as intolerable to us, as it is incredible that it should be required. When, with the Holy Gospels in our hand, we promised and vowed fidelity to God and the King of Spain, his Priests and Governors promised to us on his part, friendship and perpetual protection; . . . and now we are commanded to give up our country! Is it to be believed that the promises, and faith, and friendship of the Spaniards, can be of so little stability!"

Dobrichhofer. 1. 19.

Perilous situation of the Jesuits.

Andoanegui felt the iniquity of the measure, and was well disposed to second these remonstrances, if he had been permitted; but Valdelirios would suffer no delay. Altamirano also is blamed by his brethren for using his power with similar indiscretion; and the Bishop of Buenos Ayres increased the evil by fulminating an interdict against the contumacious Reductions, and forbidding the Jesuits to administer any of the Sacraments, . . . not even baptism, . . . not even extreme unction; . . . orders, says the Apologist of the Paraguay Missionaries, which F. Altamirano and the Bishop ought, as ecclesiastics, to have known were impieties, neither lawful for them to impose, nor for the Jesuits to obey, and which in their effect were like pouring oil upon the fire. The seven Reductions were now in a state of declared resistance to the treaty, and there appeared a disposition in the other twenty-four, not merely to sympathize with them, and approve their resolution, but to support them in it. It was publicly proclaimed that the Jesuits, forgetful of the love which was due to the Guaranies as their children, had sold their towns

Apologia. MS. § 45.

and possessions to the Portuguese: the newly-elected magistrates forbade all persons, on pain of death, from even talking of obedience, and from listening to the Jesuits upon that subject, . . . for the Fathers were not to be suffered to address them upon any other matter than the laws of God. The Jesuits were now little better than prisoners where they had lately enjoyed such absolute authority, . . . that authority too founded upon the love and devotion of the people, . . . so great a change had been produced by the strong resentment of injustice. An opinion arose, that Altamirano was not one of the Company, but a Portuguese who had assumed that character and came to take possession of the country. Three hundred men set out from S. Miguels for the purpose of putting him to death: a messenger whom F. Lorenzo Balda dispatched with information of the danger outstript them on their march, and Altamirano escaped to Buenos Ayres.

At this time fifty Portuguese troops and as many Spanish, with a full complement of officers, chaplains, surgeons, and men of science attached to the Commission, and with a convoy of waggons and beasts of burden conveying stores for a six months' expedition, arrived upon the frontier of the land of the Missions, to make the demarcation. The part assigned to them was from Castilhos on the coast, to the mouth of the Ybicuy; and in the execution of their charge they came to S. Thecla, an *Estancia* belonging to the Reduction of S. Miguel, where there were a few herdsmen, and a Chapel which was visited by one of the Missionaries from time to time. The S. Miguelites who were in pursuit of Altamirano heard of this party, and forsaking their first object as being of less importance, they hastened toward S. Thecla. Sepé Tyarayu, the Alferes of the Reduction and leader of the detachment, happened to know the Captain of the Spaniards, having once been his fellow traveller. He sent a messenger to this officer, desiring that he would meet him in the

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1752.

Apologia.
MS. § 46.

Do. § 48.

The Guaranies compel a party of the Commissioners to retire.

CHAP. Chapel. They had an interview there: and according to the statement which the enemies of the Jesuits published, when he was exhorted not to oppose the King's orders, he replied, that the King was a long way off, and the Guaranies acknowledged no other authority than that of their holy Fathers; they were acting in obedience to the instructions of the Superior and the Rector; God and St. Michael had given them the lands which they possessed; if the Spanish Commission and the Spanish troops chose to proceed, they were welcome and should receive every assistance; but the Portugueze should not be permitted to enter the country, for such were the Superior's orders. If this language were really held by Sepé Tyarayu, proof would yet be required that it had been authorized by the Jesuits: but the calumny, that they designed to keep the land for themselves, is confuted in this very instance by the conduct of the Guaranies; for they would have admitted the Spaniards, and the resolution which they expressed was, that they would not surrender their country to the Portugueze.

Muriel.
Supp. to
Charlevoix.
p. 339.
Relaçam. Ab-
breviada. p.
5.
Ibãez.
2. 109—38.

War is de-
clared a-
gainst the
seven Reduc-
tions.

The Captain of this detachment and Altamirano arrived about the same time at Buenos Ayres. Valdelirios had returned thither from a conference with Gomes Freyre. It was manifest that the Guaranies would not yield up their country to their old hereditary enemies, unless force were employed against them; and the Commissioners, instead of endeavouring to prevent farther ill by representing to their respective Courts the inconveniences and injustice of the measure, and the difficulty which there would be in effecting it, issued a formal declaration of war against the people of the seven Reductions. Altamirano then addressed a circular letter to the Jesuits in this disturbed country, enjoining them without delay to destroy the gunpowder in their respective towns, to prevent the making of spear or arrow-heads, or weapons of any kind at their forges: and if by a cer-

tain day they could not persuade the people to conform to the treaty, they were in that case commanded to consume the wafers, destroy the sacred vessels lest they should be subject to profanation, take up their breviaries, and forthwith repair to Buenos Ayres, that it might not be said that the Jesuits had fomented the rebellion.

CHAP.
XXXIX.
1753.

Ibañez.
2. 151—65

Valdelirios came from Europe strongly prejudiced against the Jesuits; so much so, that on his arrival he had proposed to the Bishop and the Superiors of the other Religious Orders at Buenos Ayres, that they should send Secular Priests and Friars to supersede them in these Missions till the treaty should be executed. They however well knew how invidious and how dangerous this substitution would be, and refused to take upon themselves the charge. But now, when the Guaranies were in open rebellion, and war had been declared against them, the Provincial of the Jesuits, knowing in how painful and perilous a situation the Missionaries were placed, how unavailing their efforts for persuading the people to submission had proved, and if the individuals should happily escape with life, how certainly advantage would be taken of that circumstance to calumniate the Order, addressed in the name of the Company a resignation of their charge, not in the proclaimed district alone, but in all the Guaraní Reductions, to the Governor Andoanegui, and to the Bishop, as the chief civil and ecclesiastical authorities upon the spot, . . . thus giving up their power to the Crown of Spain, from which they had received, and under which they had held it. But the Governor and the Bishop refused to accept the resignation, and Valdelirios at this time insisted that the Jesuits should not be ordered to withdraw. Perhaps he did not chuse to render himself responsible for the consequences of removing them: perhaps he hoped that they might still produce some good by remaining upon the spot: perhaps, prejudiced as he

The Jesuits offer to resign their authority in the Reductions.

Apologia.
MS. § 47.

CHAP. was against them, he was determined that they should take their
 XXXIX. lot with the Guaranies, supposing that by this means they would
 1753. be driven to act openly instead of covertly, and thus to afford
 unequivocal proofs of their participation in the insurrection.

*Commence-
 ment of hos-
 tilities upon
 the Rio
 Pardo.*

The first hostilities occurred upon the Rio Pardo. A detach-
 ment of Portugueze had fortified themselves there with an
 estacade, and the Guaranies of S. Luiz, to whose territory the
 place appertained, set out to dislodge them. The Portugueze
 sallied to disperse them, but were fain to retire within their
 works from a shower of arrows, by which they lost some men:
 the discharge of the cannon soon made the Guaranies desist
 from their enterprize; but after awhile they returned in greater
 force, having obtained assistance from S. Miguel, S. Lorenzo, and
 S. Juan: they brought with them four pieces of cane artillery,
 and approached near enough to feel the effect of better guns more
 skilfully served. Their leader, among others, was killed, and
 about fifty of them fell into the ⁴ hands of the Portugueze. The
 prisoners were terrified, and answered in the affirmative to any
 questions that were asked: they said there were Jesuits in their

⁴ In this war, as in the affair of Cardenas, the statements of both parties
 are to be received with extreme suspicion, for neither the Jesuits nor their ene-
 mies scrupled at any falsehood which might give a better appearance to their
 case. The Apologist says, that these Guaranies were retiring after their repulse,
 when a white flag was hoisted on the fort, and about fifty of them were per-
 suaded to enter; wine was given them, which being the first fermented liquor
 they had ever tasted, presently intoxicated them, and they were bound in their
 sleep, ..like so many Samsons. An improbable story in all its parts: ..there
 was no occasion for treachery in the first instance, when prisoners might so easily
 have been taken among a routed and cowardly enemy: ..if the Guaranies had
 been decoyed within the estacade, it would have been just as easy to seize
 them when sober as when drunk; for they were compleatly in the power of the
 Portugueze, and too much in fear of musquets to have made much resistance:

company; and being asked, wherefore when they killed a Portuguese they always cut off his head, they are said to have replied, that the Jesuits directed them so to do, because however grievously wounded the Portuguese might be, many of them would recover unless the Guaranies in this manner made sure work ⁵. These men were sent to ⁶ Rio Grande de S. Pedro,

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Apologia.
MS. § 52—
54.
Relaçam Ab-
breviada. 6.

but the mention of wine is sufficient proof against the truth of the story. Wine is not the growth, therefore not the liquor, of Brazil. It may reasonably be doubted whether a single bottle ever found its way to the Rio Pardo; . . . but that the soldiers there should have had it in sufficient quantities to make fifty Guaranies drunk, is plainly impossible.

⁵ José Basilio da Gama, in the notes to his Poem, improves upon this story: he says they were taught to believe that all the Portuguese were sorcerers; that each had a devil within him, and that the only means of preventing them from returning to life after they were killed, was to cut off the head and deposit it at a certain distance from the body. (*O Uruguay*, p. 13.) Even such calumnies against the Jesuits as this, were not too gross to pass current! I possess a minute and faithful journal of the campaign of 1756; and it happens, that though that journal notices some abominable barbarities on the part of the Guaranies, in not a single instance did they decapitate the dead.

⁶ Their guards are said to have treated them with great barbarity, and murdered more than two thirds by the way; . . . to have brought only fourteen of the prisoners alive, and presented the heads of the rest to Gomes Freyre, for which they were severely reproved, but not punished. (*Apologia*. § 53.) There is a very different account in the *Ephemerides*, published by Ibañez as the work of F. Thaddeus Ennes (*T. 3. 290—293*). There it is said that the prisoners attempted to escape on their way, when they were ascending the Rio Pardo, and killed the Captain of their escort and two of his men; but they were finally overpowered, and about forty perished, some in the conflict, others in the water. Gomes Freyre liberated the survivors, and entrusted them with letters to the Reductions, with the answers to which they were to return. There is a story in the *Apologia*, of a theatrical scheme for intimidating them so as to make them confess whatever was desired; . . . but notwithstanding this silly fabrication, the Apologist admits that the Portuguese Commander treated them with humanity.

CHAP. there to be questioned by Gomes Freyre himself; and there,
 XXXXI. being still under the same impression of fear, they confirmed all
 1753. that they had said upon their first examination.

*Capture and
 escape of
 Sepé Tyar-
 ayu.*

The Guaranies made another expedition to the Rio Pardo, and carried off some horses belonging to the Portugueze, . . . the kind of hostility for which they were best adapted when not under the direction of European leaders. Sepé Tyarayu, who was their Chief, was persuaded to enter the enemy's quarters and treat concerning a ransom: about thirty of his men followed him. They were seized, and the Portugueze then sent to let the Guaranies know that they would exchange their countrymen for the horses. The loss of Sepé, who was commander of the artillery, and a man of more than common courage and capacity, was severely felt; and yet it was not easy for the Guaranies to effect the proposed exchange. Their party consisted of adventurers from various Reductions, and the sense of their common danger was not sufficient to make them give up the consideration of particular interests: some refused to give up their share of the booty; and if this difficulty could have been overcome, no person would so far trust the Portugueze as to conduct the cattle and transact the exchange, with so recent an example of their bad faith before his eyes. The Portugueze, thinking to expedite the business, sent Sepé himself, under a guard of twelve horsemen; he was on horseback also, but naked and without arms or spurs. A river was between them and the Guaranies: Sepé desired that he might cross it to confer with his countrymen; when this was refused, he asked how it was possible for him to settle the affair unless he were allowed to communicate with the persons concerned? But with that cunning which is part of the savage character he told them, as though in a sportive bravado, that if he chose he could go to his countrymen in spite of any efforts to prevent him. They laughed, and asked him in mockery how it

was to be done. In this manner! replied Sepé; and exciting his horse at once by the scourge and the voice, he set off at full speed. Before they thought of pursuit, it was too late; they fired, and missed him; he got into the woods, dismounted, swam the river, and just at night-fall entered the Guarani camp, shivering and almost exhausted with cold. Rather than leave his followers in captivity, he proposed to make up the number of horses from those which belonged to his own Reduction. The difficulty of transacting the exchange still occurred; and this disorderly army could agree upon nothing but to break up, and retire every man to his home.

CHAP.
XXXIX.
1754.

Ephemerides. 254—
276.

More serious operations were now to commence. It had been concerted between Gomes Freyre and Valdelirios, that the Spaniards should advance against the rebellious Guaranies (as they were termed) from Buenos Ayres, and the Portugueze from Rio Grande de S. Pedro. The Spaniards under Andoanegui set forth in May, at the commencement of the winter season. They proceeded by land upon the left bank of the Uruguay, while a flotilla under D. Juan de Echavarria kept pace with their movements. But when they had advanced as far as the river Ygarapuy, the want⁷ of pasture and the failure of stores induced the Commander to retire from an expedition which he was supposed to have undertaken with no good will. Echavarria is said to have

The Spaniards enter the country, and soon retreat.

⁷ The Apologist (§ 58,) says a plague of insects had poisoned the country, so that the cattle could neither eat the grass nor browse upon the trees. According to the Continuator of Charlevoix's history (p. 340), a long drought had parched the land, and it was impossible to find food for thirty thousand horses and head of cattle, which were in the train of the Spaniards. Ibañez says, there would have been no difficulty if they had gone on the other side the river; and he charges the General with treachery. But this man's testimony is always invalidated by his virulent malice.

CHAP. remonstrated against this retreat, and the Spanish General has
 XXXIX. been accused of acting in collusion with the Jesuits. The charge
 1754. is as false as is the fable that the Jesuits were attempting to
 establish an independent Republic of their own. But it is likely
 that Andoanegui believed this part of the treaty would be annulled,
 whenever its inconvenience should be understood by the Court, and
 therefore was desirous of doing as little evil as possible in the attempt
 to enforce it. Yapeyu, the nearest Reduction to which he approached
 in his march, was not within the limits of the ceded territory, and
 the inhabitants, though they warmly sympathized with their countrymen,
 had hitherto taken no part in the insurrection. But the soldiers carried
 off some of their cattle, and then their indignation burst forth. The
 Jesuits, being unable to repress this spirit, would have left the place
 and gone to the Spanish Camp. The people would not permit this; and
 when the Rector, under pretence of visiting the sick in one of their
estancias attempted to escape down the river, he was intercepted and
 brought back with a rope round his neck. The boatmen in his company
 were fastened all night upon the ground, with their heads and feet tied
 to four stakes, and flogged with stirrup leathers in the morning. They
 contented themselves with frightening the Father, by firing at him
 without shot; but when the Chief of the Guaranies for the time being,
 heard of what had past, he sent to deliver him from his perilous
 situation, and apologized for the indignities to which he had been
 exposed. This new Commander was a certain Nicolas Neenguiru, a
 good, humble, inoffensive man, and an excellent fiddler, who was
 no more desirous of the appointment to which he was chosen than he
 was fit for it, and who little imagined that he was ever to become
 notorious in European gazettes by the title of King Nicolas of
 Paraguay! The people of Yapeyu ventured to attack a party of
 Spaniards who were left near the

*Proceedings
 at Yapeyu.*

Ibañez.
 2. 186—
 200.
Ephemerides. 311.
 319.
Muriel.
Supp. to
Charlevoix.
 340.

falls of the Uruguay: they drove away some of their horses, but they were pursued and overtaken; and the Commander, D. Thomas Hilson, with less forbearance than his General would have shown, put two or three hundred to the sword.

CHAP. XXXIX.
1754.

This severe execution seems to have exasperated their countrymen. There were still Jesuits in the Reduction endeavouring to allay their personal resentment, and persuade them to submission: instead of attending to these admonitions, they took from them their keys, and divided among themselves the stores of the magazines, cotton and wool, linen and calico, tobacco, knives, spurs, bridles, and Paraguay-tea. These Jesuits were recalled from their state of durance as soon as their situation⁸ was known; and the Rector of Concepcion, F. Joseph Cardiel, came with one companion to succeed them. Cardiel was received with every mark of honour; the bells were rung, the guns fired, the banners displayed, the keys and all the other symbols of authority laid at his feet. They promised to obey him in every thing, except the single point of submitting to the treaty; and he remained among them to perform the ceremonies of religion, and keep up as far as he could the appearance and the habit of subordination. At S. Nicolas, F. Carlos Tux attempted to read from the pulpit a letter exhorting the people to obedience: as soon as its purport was apprehended they compelled him to break off; and when he came down, the obnoxious paper was taken from his bosom and burnt in the market place.

Ephemerides. 321.
325.
Muriel.
Supp. to Charlevoix. 240.

Meantime Gomes Freyre advanced from the coast. When

Advance of the Portuguese to the Jacuy.

⁸ In the Ephemerides it is said that they made them fast four days, allowing them only a single dish of *bouillé* every day. Ibañez, in the malignity of his feelings toward the Jesuits, did not perceive that this foolish interpolation betrayed itself.

CHAP. he came to the Ybicuy a party of Guaranies appeared on the
 XXXIX. opposite bank; they fell back at the first discharge of the
 1754. enemy's artillery to the main body, which was encamped not far
 distant, . . . for it was on this side that they were most apprehensive
 of danger, and hither they had brought their chief force. Yet,
 as it appears, under a persuasion that the stipulation which so
 injuriously affected them, would be annulled by the two Courts
 when its injustice and cruelty should have been fairly repre-
 sented, they readily communicated with the Portugueze, and even
 assisted⁹ them in their passage of the river. As the Portugueze Ge-
 neral advanced, they moved in a parallel direction till he reached
 the woods upon the Jacuy, where he resolved to wait till he should
 receive advice of the movements of the Spaniards. The Guara-
 nies encamped also: they were in a state of wretched insubordi-
 nation and disunion, . . . the state of perpetual pupilage in which
 they had been held by the Jesuits rendering them miserably in-
 capable of acting for themselves in cases where decision and
 promptitude were required. The people of one community were
 for breaking up and going to their homes; those of another were
 for keeping their station; and they were many times in danger
 of turning their arms against each other. Amid these dissen-
 sions they frequently challenged the Portugueze to give them
 battle: and if Gomes Freyre had accepted this repeated defiance,
 he might have slaughtered them like sheep; but there is some
 reason for supposing that he gave them credit for more ability
 and more courage than they possessed. The skill and vigilance

⁹ According to the Ephemerides this was done with a treacherous intention. But if the Guaranies were politic enough to have formed any scheme for entrapping the Portugueze, they made no attempt to execute it. This insinuation therefore seems to be one of the falsehoods which Ibañez has interpolated.

of their archers might have produced such an impression, . . . they suffered no man to expose himself beyond the lines with impunity ; and by this activity they rendered an unintended service to the Portugueze General, for they effectually prevented his men from deserting, to which a great proportion of them were inclined because of the excessive hardships which they endured. The rainy season commenced ; and in spite of floods and scarcity Gomes Freyre kept his station, unwilling that the expedition should be frustrated after so much fatigue and cost. It is said, that as the waters rose he made his troops encamp in the trees, after the manner of the roosting tribes, making huts or tents among the branches, and forming floating lines of communication with their canoes : and thus they were quartered for two months out of the three of their continuance. At the expiration of that time three boats were perceived coming up the Yacuy : the Guaranies brought their cane-cannon to bear upon the river, and sunk them ; but the Portugueze dispatched assistance, and saved most of the crew. They proved to be the bearers of dispatches, by which Andoanegui advised the Portugueze Commander of his retreat. Gomes Freyre then thought it expedient to ¹⁰ treat with the Guaranies. They readily consented to let him retire without molestation ; and knew so little how to profit by

CHAP.

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1754.

O Uruguay.
pp. 15. 16.Gomes
Freyre
makes a
truce and
retires.

¹⁰ It is admitted, in the *Relaçam Abbreviada*, that Gomes Freyre was compelled to solicit this treaty : but the treaty itself is worded as if it were an act of condescension and compassion on his part toward the Guaranies. This may easily be understood. The poor Guaranies were desirous that the Portugueze should retreat, and heartily glad to retire themselves. The treaty gratified them in both points ; they knew this, and this was all they knew. The Portugueze therefore drew up the agreement just as they pleased, and represented the Caciques as imploring Gomes Freyre that he would suffer them to retreat without molestation, . . . the object being in reality precisely the reverse.

CHAP. the fair occasion which had been offered them, that they sold
 XXXIX. cattle and other provisions to their enemies for buttons and such
 1755. trifles. The Portugueze were thus enabled to return in safety,
 and the Guaranies separated, each to his own Reduction, where
 they gave thanks to S. Francisco Xavier, and betook them-
 selves to their wonted occupations, as if all danger had been at
 an end.

Apologia.
MS. § 56.
Ephemerides. 304—
 310. 315—
 319. 325—
 335.

*Hopes of the
 Jesuits.*

The Guaranies in this campaign, if so it may be called, had shown neither skill, nor enterprize, nor unanimity. But the mere difficulties of the country had baffled both the invading armies; time had been gained, and the Jesuits hoped yet to procure a revocation of the treaty by their influence at Madrid. Their hopes were strengthened by news that Carvajal the Spanish Minister was dead, an event which might easily draw after it a change of measures. Some of their enemies at Lisbon too had been removed by death, judicially, as they according to their customary spirit believed, by the interposition of Providence. While they exerted every means to interest earthly powers in their favour, they acted upon the feelings of the Spaniards in Tucuman and La Plata, and of the Guaranies, by calling loudly upon the Saints to intercede for them and protect them against their calumniators. The festival of the Bohemian St. John of Nepomuc was celebrated by them at S. Fe with greater magnificence than had ever before been displayed in that country, the ladies of the place lending all their jewels and precious stones to adorn his image: and favourite Saints in the Reductions were supplicated with processions and festivals in their honour, . . . ceremonies which tended to excite and animate the people, and in some degree to keep up the authority of the Fathers. They were too cautious and too wise to encourage them by any overt act, or even to express the secret wish for their success, which it is scarcely possible that they should not have entertained, and which if it had

Ephemerides. 340.
 352.

not arisen from a laudable indignation at the cruelty of the intended expulsion, would have had its root in a desire that the impolicy of the measure might be demonstrated, and the accuracy of their own judgement approved. But the hope that in the interval which had been won, a change might take place in the Spanish counsels, was delusive; and not less fallacious was the dependance which they had placed upon their habitual influence in the Courts of the Peninsula. That influence had received its mortal wound. The enemies of the Company were more active than they had ever been, having now a likely prospect of accomplishing their end; for the progress of reason and of irreligion (then unhappily inseparable from each other in Catholic countries) had given them a host of efficient allies. All forepast crimes, errors, and offences of the Jesuits were recapitulated against them with terrible effect. Old calumnies were impudently revived, and new ones more impudently invented. They were accused of having established an empire in Paraguay, as their own exclusive dominion, from which they derived enormous riches. It was affirmed that they were defending this empire by force of arms, and that, renouncing all allegiance to the Kings of Spain, they had set up a King of their own, Nicolas by name. Histories of King Nicolas were fabricated and published. And with such zealous malignity was the falsehood propagated, that money¹¹ was actually struck in his name, and handed about in Europe as an irrefragable proof of the accusa-

CHAP.
XXXIX.
1755.

*Efforts of
their ene-
mies.*

*Fable of
King Nico-
las.*

¹¹ In the Apologia (§ 11) it is said, that many of these coins, bearing the head of Nicolas, are preserved in European collections. Dobrizhoffer says, they were struck in Quito, and that no person who saw them could doubt the existence of the King whose superscription they bore. "*verum patuit fraus denique. Ipse harum monetarum cusor I. C. 1760 anno, 20 Martii, literas ad Regem dedit, quibus fatetur occultis mordacis conscientiae stimulis compelli se ad detegendum flagitium.*"

"Me veo forzado (*verba sunt Hispani*) por unos secretos remordimientos de con-

CHAP. XXXIX. tion. The contrivers of this nefarious scheme were ignorant that money was not in use in Paraguay, and that there was no mint in the country. But they succeeded in prejudicing the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon against all representations in behalf of the seven unfortunate Reductions; and the Jesuits were now the victims of falsehoods and impostures scarcely less audacious than those whereby they had obtained so much of the authority and influence which they once possessed. Dispatches were for-

1754.
 Dobrizhofer. 1. 27.
 Peranas.
 Escandonii
 Vita. § 40.

ciencia a descubrir esta iniquidad." Hoc scripto detegitur venalis fidei et profli-gatæ conscientia vir, a quo ad cudendos Nicolai Regis nummos fuerat instigatus. Nomen hujus, et cognomen, totâ licet Hispaniâ pervulgatum, P. F. M. M. reticendum putavi, ne illi hominum classi, ad quam pertinet, maculam adspergerem. Gaditanâ in urbe versabatur anno 1768. . . The initials certainly indicate a Priest, and apparently a Friar. In the Italian Life of Pombal (T. 1, P. 127), the coins are said to have been forged by D. N. Lac —, a Cavalier, and Fr. N. Mag —, a Dominican.

A History of Nicolas I. speaks of medals instead of money. "*On frappa même à cette occasion plusieurs Medailles, qu'on a vues avec indignation en Europe. La premiere de ces Medailles représenta d'un côté Jupiter foudroyant les Geans, et de l'autre on voit le buste de Nicolas I. avec ces mots, Nicolas I. Roi du Paraguai. La seconde Medaille représenta un combat sanglant, avec les attributs qui caractérisent la fureur et la vengeance. Sur l'exergue on lit ces mots; La vengeance appartient à Dieu, et à ceux qu'il envoie.*" I do not suppose that any such medals ever existed: the book in which they are described does not contain a single syllable of truth in any other point, and may therefore be presumed to be consistently false in this. Its title is, *Histoire de Nicolas I. Roi du Paraguai, et Empereur des Mamelus. A Saint Paul. 1756.* It appears to have been printed in * Germany, and is the fabrication of some needy and ignorant impostor, who wrote, not for the purpose of injuring the Jesuits, but in the hope of making money by duping the curiosity of the public. He makes Nicolas Roubiouni a Spaniard by birth, a rogue by breeding, and a Jesuit by profession, who raises a rebellion among the Indians at Nova Colonia, storms the citadel, proclaims himself King of Paraguay, marches into that country at the head of an army, deposes and murders the Missionaries, is invited to S. Paulo by the Mamalucos, and there fixes the seat of his Government and takes the title of Emperor. This

* The copy which I possess was procured, in sheets, at Geneva, in 1817.

warded to Valdelirios, saying, it had been ascertained that the Jesuits were the sole cause of the rebellion of the Indians; that for this reason the King had dismissed his Confessor, who was one of the Company; and that if the Fathers did not deliver up the Reductions without farther resistance, they should be held responsible to God for all the lives which might be lost, and to the laws civil and ecclesiastical for the crime of high treason.

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1755.

Relaçam Ab.
7.

It had been concerted between the two Generals, that they should form a junction at S. Antonio o Velho, and enter the Guarani country by way of S. Thecla. Early in December Gomes

*Second cam-
paign.*

is set forth as a true history, and the Bookseller asserts in a Prefatory Advertisement, that all which the Gazettes have published upon the subject is false.

Dobrizhoffer imputes the fable of this King either to Gomes Freyre or Pom- bal, I know not which: "*Nicolaus Rex illius tantum in cerebro fuit natus, qui totâ nos Paraguariâ exturbatos dudum peroptavit; ut nobis Hispanicæ dominationis illâ in provinciâ acerrimis defensoribus amotis, Uruguayensem, quanta est, regionem Brasiliæ adjiciat finitimis.*" But this is merely gratuitous. The man himself was of so little importance that his name occurs but once in the history of the war, which is when he interfered in behalf of the poor Jesuit at Yapeyu. In that circumstance, perhaps, the whole fable originated. He held some military rank at Concepcion, and Dobrizhoffer says that the Guaranies have but one word for King, Captain, or any Commander (*Mburubicha*) which gave some colour for the tale. The proof of his insignificance is conclusive. When the insurrection was suppressed, he went voluntarily to Andoanegui in the Spanish camp to answer for himself, was patiently heard, and not only dismissed without any punishment, but restored to his former office in the Reduction. Dobrizhoffer knew him well, and had often seen him driving cattle to the shambles, and clearing wood in the market-place. And many a time had Nicolas kissed his hand, and begged him to lend him some new music which he might copy for his fiddle.

Dobrizhoffer says that the whole story of this King was officially declared to be a fiction in the Madrid Gazette; he had seen the paper, and unless he was greatly deceived, its date was in October 1768. I do not doubt his veracity, but his memory deceived him concerning the date. The Gazettes for that month, and for some time before and after, were examined for me, through the kindness of D. Manuel Abella, and no such notification could be found.

CHAP. Freyre began his march from Rio Grande, thirteen months after
 xxxix. his retreat. His force consisted of fifteen hundred ¹² men : and
 1756. for this force, besides sixteen hundred draught oxen, three thousand head of cattle were taken for slaughter. An oriental army has scarcely more incumbrances. The Jesuits could have little expectation either from the vigilance or the courage of the Guaranies ; but if they really desired to see this second expedition frustrated, they might have relied with apparent reason upon the difficulty of bringing artillery, baggage-train, and herds of cattle, through a country without roads, where there were rivers and mountains to cross, and woods through which a way must be opened by the axe. No cost had been spared in the equipment of the Brazilian force : the troops were in good order, and in a state of better discipline than was usual in Portuguese armies : Gomes Freyre had succeeded in giving some of his officers a proper military feeling and sense of duty. Orders were issued that mass should be performed every morning at two o'clock, and the camp in motion at four. Before they

¹² A manuscript journal of the expedition, by an officer, gives the detail. There were two regiments, or divisions of foot, one consisting of three hundred and eighteen men, the other of two hundred and ninety-two : three hundred and twenty-five dragoons, one hundred and thirteen horse volunteers, sixty-two foot volunteers *que serviam como de gastadores*, . . men for any service, . . pioneering, &c. two hundred and forty men attached to the baggage, and one hundred and forty-nine other persons, including officers, serjeants, drummers, commissariat, and carpenters ; in all fourteen hundred and ninety-nine persons, drawing rations ; three thousand head of cattle, sixteen hundred draught oxen, three thousand seven hundred and fifty horses, one hundred and six baggage mules, one hundred and forty-five waggons with provisions. Besides these there were fifty-nine private baggage waggons, and two hundred and eighty followers of the camp, including slaves ; and these persons had their cattle, horses, and beasts of burden. The artillery consisted of seven brass two pounders, three one pounders, twelve artillery carts, and three powder waggons.

reached the place appointed for meeting the Spaniards, they were in imminent danger; . . . the grass in their rear took fire by some act of criminal carelessness when they were encamped upon a wide plain; men and officers were roused to the greatest efforts by the imminent peril in which they saw themselves, and they extinguished the blazing grass (says one who was present) more by their bodies than by the green boughs with which they beat it down. It burst out a second time; and had the wind risen, the whole country would presently have been covered with flames, and every creature would probably have perished. Once, when the wind favoured them, they employed fire to open their way through a thick wood; but no sooner had the flames begun to spread, than so many wild beasts and venomous reptiles were dislodged, that they were obliged to break up the camp and retire in all ¹³ haste. In the middle of January the junction was effected. Orders were given that the soldiers of one army should not game with those of the other, that being a sure cause of quarrels and bloodshed. The armies were equal in number, and the Spaniards brought with them a proportionate train of cattle. There was the utmost courtesy and cordiality between the two Commanders, and the troops agreed well; but the Portugueze regarded their allies with great ¹⁴ contempt: they prided themselves upon their superior discipline and equipment; and their national feeling was not a little gratified by comparing the two Generals, . . . for Gomes Freyre was a man of military appear-

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1756.

*Danger of
the Portu-
gueze army
from fire.*

*Junction of
the Span-
iards and
Portugueze.*

Diario. MS.

¹³ This curious incident is related upon oral authority, on which I can with perfect confidence rely.

¹⁴ The troops from Corrientes, they said, resembled the Tapes in every thing, . . . and those of Paraguay, Santa Fe, and the Belendangues were worse: the Portugueze officer adds, "*com aquella vulgaridad veyo o General Espanhol ao nosso campo.*" Ibañez mentions the Blandengues, . . . *gens formidables a cheval, et originaires des villes Espagnoles.* I do not know the origin of the name.

CHAP. ^{XXXIX.} 1756. ance and activity, always on horseback and on the alert, ready to gallop wherever his presence might be required; but Andoanegui performed the journey in a coach.

*Inactivity
of the Gua-
ranies.*

S. Antonio o Velho, where the two expeditions were united, was in the territory of S. Miguel's, and perhaps the most remote of all its *Estancias*, being about ninety leagues from the Reductions. Under the most favourable circumstances, the troops could never advance faster than the cattle were able to accompany them; but there were so many difficult passes of woods, waters, and mountains, that more than four months were consumed in performing a march of less than four hundred miles. It would almost have been impossible for them to have accomplished it, if they had been engaged against vigilant and enterprising enemies. The country might have been burnt before them, so that the cattle upon which they depended for support must have perished: or if opportunity had been duly watched for setting the grass or the reeds on fire in favourable situations, they might have been enveloped in flames without the possibility of escaping. It is not to be believed that these obvious ¹⁵ means of distressing the invaders would have been neglected, if the Jesuits had directed, or interfered in the defence of the country. But the Guaranies relied blindly upon their numbers and their Saints; and the only persons who felt their animosity were the miserable stragglers who fell into their hands, and experienced that the discipline which had deprived them of savage courage had not eradicated their savage cruelty.

*Death of
Tyarayu.*

Sepé Tyarayu was the only leader who displayed any kind

¹⁵ Jose Basilio da Gama, in his poem, represents the Guaranies as using both these means of annoyance; but it is certain that they did not avail themselves of either.

of military talent. This man was both crafty and courageous. By showing a white flag and pretending friendship, he decoyed an officer ¹⁶ with a foraging party of sixteen men into his power, and massacred them when they were in a situation where they could make no resistance. The treachery which he himself had experienced would have justified him for this baseness in his own mind, if he had suspected that it required a justification. He cut off a few others in fair warfare at different times, but his career was soon terminated. The troops were encamped upon the Vacacay, a river which runs into the Yacuy, and so into the great Lagoa dos Patos. Two of the Portugueze foot soldiers venturing incautiously to some little distance from the advanced guard, were seized by the Guaranies in sight of their companions, and pierced with wounds wherever there was space enough to thrust a spear into their bodies. Upon this the Governor of Monte Video, D. Joseph Joaquin Viana, was dispatched with three hundred troops to chastise the enemy: it was perceived that they were in great force, and therefore a second detachment of five hundred was ordered to support him; but before the reinforcement arrived a skirmish had taken place, in which Sepé fell. He fell like a brave man; . . . a Portugueze dragoon overthrew him man and horse, and wounded him with a spear, but not without receiving a hurt himself; and Sepé ¹⁷ might per-

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1756.

Feb. 7.

Diario. MS.

¹⁶ The author of the Apologia, (§ 60) asks triumphantly, . . . if they were all massacred, how the circumstance of the white flag could be known by the Portugueze; and he proceeds in a sarcastic strain, as if he had demonstrated the absurdity of the relation. The facts were learnt from some prisoners who were taken a few days afterwards. (*Diario. MS.*) When will men learn, that a dishonest argument can never be used without eventually disgracing its author, and injuring the cause which it was intended to serve?

¹⁷ The Apologist endeavours to prove that the Guaranies never acted on the offensive; and for the sake of supporting this absurd position, he says, Sepé

CHAP. haps have escaped if Viana had not come up and pistoled him
 XXXIX. before he could rise. Night was coming on, and by favour of
 1756. the darkness the Indians escaped farther loss.

*Letter found
 after his
 death.*

Two letters, both in Guarani, were found upon the slain Chieftain: one was from an officer of the *Estancia* of S. Xavier. . . For the love of God, said this writer, I beseech you do not suffer yourself to be deceived by these people, who hate us. If you write to them, express how greatly you resent their coming, and let them know how little we stand in fear of them, and what a multitude we are; and that even if we were not so numerous we should not fear them, because the Most Holy Virgin and the Holy Angels are in our company. I send you a banner with the Image of Our Lady of Loretto. You may place great confidence in the prayers of all in this place, and especially in those of the innocent children, who are all employed in supplicating God in your behalf. It was farther said, that the Rector had received his letters, and that he said mass for the troops every day before the Image of Our Lady of Loretto; and that the good Father Thaddeus and the good Father Miguel did the same, and that the Rector charged them frequently to pay their devotions to Mary the Most Holy, and to their patron S. Michael, and immediately to let him know if they wanted anything. . . The passages wherein the Jesuits are thus distinctly

was killed in the woods by a chance cannon ball. (Jose Diarariui, he calls him, . but beyond all doubt it is the same person, *Sepe* appears to be the Guarani, as *Pepe* is the Spanish, abbreviation of Joseph; and Diarariui, and Tyarayu, different modes of writing the same Indian name.) Echavarrri (2. 235.) makes his hero Viana encounter him, and kill him in single combat, by a pistol shot. The Ephemerides, say that his horse fell in one of those holes which the wild cattle make in the ground, and that being thus thrown he received several spear wounds, and was dispatched by a pistol, . . an account which sufficiently verifies that of the Journalist, in the text.

inculpatated may have been interpolated in the translation, to serve the purpose of the Portugueze Minister, by whom they were published: or they may have actually formed part of the original, as an artifice intended to encourage the Guaranies: but if the Jesuits had taken the decided part which is here ascribed to them, it is scarcely possible that the Spanish Government should have forborne from punishing them, when the facts, if facts they were, might so easily have been proved.

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1756.

*Relaçam
Abbreviada.
Documen-
tos. No. 2.*

The second letter was without a signature. Like the other, it exhorted the soldiers to the frequent use of prayer and of their beads. "As soon as these people who abhor us approach," it said, "we must invoke the protection of Our Lady, and of St. Michael and St. Joseph, and all our Saints, and if our prayers be hearty they will attend to them. We must avoid all conference with the Spaniards, and still more with the Portugueze, who are the cause of this evil. Remember how, in old times, they slaughtered many thousands of our fathers, and how they did not even spare the innocent children, and how in our Churches they defiled the holy Images which adorn the altars dedicated to our Lord God! And now they would again do this to us and to ours. We do not want this Gomes Freyre and his men here, who by the instigation of the Devil bear such hatred against us. It is he who has deceived his King and our good King, and therefore we will not receive him. We have fallen in the King's service, fighting for him at Colonia and in Paraguay, and yet he tells us that we are to forsake our houses and our country! This command is not from God, it is from the Devil; but our King always walks in the ways of the Lord, not of the Devil: this we have always been told. He has ever loved us as his poor vassals, and never sought to oppress us, nor to do us wrong; and when he knows these things we cannot believe that he will order us to abandon all that we have and give it to the Portu-

CHAP. gueze; .. we will never believe it. Why does he not give them
 XXXIX. Buenos Ayres, S. Fe, Corrientes, and Paraguay? Why must
 1756. the command fall only upon us poor Indians, that we should
 leave our houses, our churches, all that we have and that God
 has given us? If they want to confer, let no more than five
 Spaniards come: the Father who is for the Indians will inter-
 pret. In this manner things may be done as God pleases; and
 if not, they must go as the Devil will." The ablest memorial
 could not have expressed their sense of the injustice with which
 they were treated, more livelily than this genuine epistle.

*Relaçam
 Abbreviada.
 Documen-
 tos, No. 2.*

*Slaughter of
 the Guara-
 nies at Ca-
 aibata.*

Feb. 10.

The death of Tyarayu was a severe loss to the Guaranies; for though he had not taken all the advantages which were offered, he had never exposed his people. Cunhata of S. Nicolas, who succeeded him in the command, was not equally cautious; and on the third day after the skirmish the allies came in sight of the Guarani force, in the country between the sources of the Caziquay and of the Vaccacay Guazu. They were posted upon a hill called Caaibata, in respectable order. The allies drew up upon an eminence, at the distance of about musquet shot; nor, as they were engaged with such unskilful adversaries, did they regard that the ground which they took up was commanded by the enemy's position. The Guaranies sent a messenger, proposing that the General should write to the Fathers and Caciques, and suspend hostilities till their answers should arrive, which might be on the following day. It is affirmed that they made this proposal in order to gain time for their reinforcements to come up, and also with the hope that an opportunity might be afforded for falling upon the invaders by night: .. the latter motive is not likely to have influenced men so destitute of all military spirit. Andoanegui replied, he would allow them one hour for deliberation; and if they retreated before that hour was elapsed, no injury should be offered. Orders were now

issued that every Chaplain should absolve his regiment, as if a severe action had been expected. The hour elapsed: the Guaranies still kept their ground, .. certainly not from courage, but from irresolution, or stupidity, or a blind confidence in the strength of their position. The first discharge of the enemy's cannon frightened them; they threw down their weapons, took flight, and were slaughtered like sheep by their merciless pursuers. The poor wretches, who to escape from the sword or the lance took shelter in the trees, were brought down like birds or squirrels, by the musquet. Fifteen hundred were put to death, and only one hundred and twenty-seven prisoners taken. It appeared from the account which they gave, that not five hundred could have escaped; but when this massacre was represented as a victory, their ¹⁸ numbers were magnified to twelve thousand. It was published also, that the artillery of the rebels was taken; and the kind of artillery was not describ-

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¹⁸ An eye witness, as the author of the *Diario* was, could make no such mistake as to estimate the enemy at only about two thousand, if they had in reality been twelve: and he speaks also upon the report which the prisoners gave of their numbers. Concerning the slain, he agrees with the *Relaçam Abbre- viada*, in stating them at twelve hundred. The Apologist says that there were only six hundred Guaranies upon the spot, who were without any preparation for defence, not having taken up a position, but being without any kind of order or array, on the high road; and that by the rolls of the Jesuits it was proved that only four hundred were missing after that day's action. Unluckily for his credit, the Commissioners, in 1759, found a wooden cross with an inscription in Guarani, which the Jesuits had erected as a monument for those who fell in this war. That inscription is printed in Cazal's *Corografia Brazilica*, and is sufficiently intelligible to show that the men killed on the 10th of February are reckoned at fifteen hundred. (*Vol. 1. p. 123.*) In the brief account which Cazal gives of these transactions, he supposes Andoanegui and Valdelirios to be the same person.

This action is called an obstinate combat, in the *Relaçam Abbre- viada*. The

CHAP. ed, lest the effect should be weakened which there was an inten-
 XXXIX. tion to produce. The guns were made of a large cane, called
 1756. *taquara* by the natives: it grows beside the brooks, and exceeds
 all the trees of the country in height: it is seven years only in
 attaining its full growth, and in the second year the root pushes
 out suckers. These canes, covered with crude hides, and hoop-
 ed with iron, carried ¹⁹ a pound ball, and if well served were
 capable of doing considerable execution.

Diario. MS.
Relaçam.
Abbrev. 8.
Apologia.
MS. § 8.
Azara. 1.
 108.

*They conti-
 nue still in
 arms.*

Only twenty-eight of the allies were wounded, and three
 killed. Cunhata was among the slain: but the Guaranies, not-
 withstanding the slaughter which had been made among them,
 evinced no disposition to submit, and the enemy began to feel
 the inconveniences which it is always in the power of a people
 to inflict upon an invading army: their dispatches were inter-
 rupted, and it was necessary to take measures for securing a

Journalist in his honest narrative equally disproves this, and the impudent state-
 ment of the Apologist. He describes the Guaranies as entrenched after their
 manner, and having a second line of works, to which they fled, but without
 finding security there: and he confesses the cruelty with which the pursuit was
 carried on. He says that letters were found upon the slain, proving that the Je-
 suits fomented and directed the insurrection, and deceived the people by promising
 to maintain them in their republican condition. They who invented these charges
 against the Jesuits must have had great confidence in the ignorance as well as
 the credulity of those whom it was intended to deceive, or they never could have
 hoped to make them believe that any notion of Republicanism had ever entered
 the head of a Guarani!

¹⁹ The Apologist, with his usual indiscretion, (perhaps I might say, his
 usual insincerity,) says that these guns were only intended to frighten savages,
 and to be fired upon holy days; and that they would carry no balls but such as
 were made of cotton. Perhaps they had not been intended to carry any other;
 but in this real war, the Guaranies, stupid as they were, had sense enough to
 try whether they would not carry something of greater weight and solidity.
 Wooden cannon were used by the Catalans in the late war against Buonaparte.

supply of provisions, which were not to be obtained in the country while the Guaranies kept the field. It was determined, therefore, to fortify a position upon the Jacuy, by which stores might be received from the Rio Pardo. This being effected, they continued their march. In the plain of the Vacacay Mirim, near the Serra, they found a notice written upon a post, that eight thousand ²⁰ Indians were awaiting them; they however continued their advance for many days without meeting even an appearance of resistance. Toward the end of March they approached the foot of a lofty Serra, which they had to cross. The Guaranies had thrown up entrenchments, and seemed determined to defend the pass; but after a few shot had been fired at them, and they saw the troops, under guidance of a prisoner, issuing from the woods and ready to begin the attack, they fled as usual, and so immediately upon the first appearance of danger, that they escaped without losing a man. Two more of their guns were abandoned in this position, and lances were left in their flight, very few of which were headed with iron. The body of a Negro who had deserted from the army was found here, and it was evident that he had been horribly tortured by the wretches into whose hands he had fallen.

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Diario. MS.

The troops had now to attempt the passage of Monte Grande, the range of mountains from whence the eastern waters flow into the Lagoa dos Patos, and the Lagoa Miri; and those of the western side by the Ybicuy and Uruguay into the Plata. There

*Pass of
Monte
Grande.*

²⁰ That night the Portuguese were roused at midnight by a call to arms. The cause of the alarm proved to be, that one of the Spanish centinels had fired his piece, to light the agaric which he used for kindling his cigarr. The Portuguese Journalist observes on this occasion, *e esta he a gente com quem estamos fazendo huma campanha com o inimigo a vista todos os dias!*

CAHP. is an easy pass called Santiago, but no person in the expedition
 XXXIX.
 1756. knew this; and in that of S. Martin, which they took, the diffi-
 culties were so great, and the labour so excessive, that the horses
 perished, and most of the ²¹ volunteers deserted. The troops
 also began to suffer severely from cold ²², against which they
 were ill prepared with clothing. While they were employed in
 this arduous passage, letters came from F. Innocencio Herbas,
 Rector of S. Luis, saying, that at length he had succeeded in
 persuading the people of his Reduction to obedience; they con-
 fessed, and lamented how fatally they had erred, requested
 pardon for their offence, intreated that their countrymen who
 had been taken prisoners might be released, and petitioned that
 some assistance might be given them for their ²³ removal. An-

Ibáñez.
 2. 245.

²¹ The Portugueze officer seems to consider their loss as no evil to the army: he says, "*E assim hira toda esta casta de gente, que nam conhece honra, nem sabe mais que obrar vilezas.*" Many of these deserters were cut off by the savages.

²² *Que he a peyor cousa que pode haver para os pobres soldados, que sam homens em quem ha pouca ropa, e muito trabalho.*

²³ At the same time another Indian brought a curious epistle from Miguel Arayechi, a Guarani of S. Miguel, who held the rank of Lieutenant-General, to the Governor of Corrientes. It is inserted in the manuscript journal. "Sir Corrientine Lieut.-General! Praise be to the most holy Sacrament! God Our Lord give you his manifold blessings, and deliver you from the Devil, who desires to cast us into Hell. Sir Lieut.-General, we wish the same to all the men in your company. Sir Lieut.-General, this which we say is true. Sir, look well, it is a well known thing that since our Lord God in his infinite wisdom created the Heavens, and the Earth with all which beautifies it, which is to endure till the day of judgement, we have not known that God, who is the Lord of these lands, gave them to the Spaniards before he came into the world. Three parts of the earth are for them, namely Europe, Africa, and Asia, which are to the East; and this remaining part, in which we dwell, our Lord Jesus Christ, as soon as he died, set apart for us. We poor

doanegui replied, that the King's indignation was not to be appeased by mere words; there was no other way to the royal clemency than by sincere submission. It became his Reverence, with the Cabildo of his town, to set an example. His Majesty's pleasure must already have been well understood from the various

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Indians have fairly possessed this country during all these years, as children of God, according to his will, not by the will of any other living being. Our Lord God permitted all this that it might be so. We of this country remember our unbelieving grandfathers, and we are greatly amazed when we think that God should have pardoned so many sins as we ourselves have committed. Sir, consider that this which you are about is a thing which we poor Indians have never seen done among Christians. Sir Lieut.-General, we live in the lands which God has given us: and we have stolen nothing from him who is in His place, which is King Ferdinand VI; neither from him who is in the place of the King, which is the Governor. Sir Lieut.-General, if the Governor has brought you here it is only to deliver you into the hands of the Devil; and though he be Governor, he has no power to deliver you out of Hell: and when the miserable case shall come that you find yourselves there, he it is who will have the greatest torment by reason of his authority, and because of the things which were done during his government. Sir, look what a great error you have committed against God! There are no riches that can be compared with Christianity, which is the fruit of the redemption by Jesus Christ. And look, Sir, as we shall deserve God's forgiveness, we are speaking here for the lives of our children. If he pleases I would confer with the Governor upon this matter; and if not, . . . there will be a reward in Hell for this great wrong. We pray to God in his great power to favour us all, and to the Most Holy Virgin to deliver us from the hands of the Devil. You see that the Governor has his people at the gate of Hell, and many are already within it. I never thought that you would have come here. In the days past, Gomes Freyre said to us upon the Jacuy, with an oath, that the business was at an end; and now we know that he mocked our Lord God when he made peace in that manner; and God will not turn away his anger from you, since he forgives them only who know how to forgive. Sir, if there be any child of God among you who is like me, and knows in what manner we ought to love our neighbours, let him come and talk with me upon this matter. Sir Lieutenant-General, I am a poor Indian of this country, and a child

CHAP. dispatches which had been conveyed to them; and for himself,
 XXXIX. he had manifested his disposition by the slowness with which he
 1756. prosecuted his march.

*Letter from
 the Reduc-
 tions to the
 Spanish Ge-
 neral.*

The Spanish General had from the beginning heartily disap-
 proved the cession of this province; he is said to have shed tears
 at beholding the carnage at Caaibata, which it was not in his
 power to prevent: he foresaw that the arrangement with Portu-
 gal would not be permanent, and would certainly have rejoiced
 if, by the dilatoriness of his movements, he could have pro-
 tracted the time till the Court should understand the cruelty of
 its orders, or the poor Guaranies discover the danger and inuti-
 lity of resisting them. But in passing the Serra his progress was
 necessarily slow. All the cattle sunk under their excessive la-
 bour, and the waggons were drawn up by windlasses. While
 they were thus employed, a messenger brought a letter in reply

of the holy Church, chosen by God to be Lieutenant-General in my own land. I have travelled through all these towns, and am lately arrived from them. Come and confer with me; and if not, we shall soon see ourselves all in Hell. Sir, this letter is all that I write. Sir Lieut.-General, I Lieut.-General of S. Miguel, Miguel Arayechi, 28 March, 1756. Our Lord bless us all, Amen."

This letter is genuine beyond all doubt. In some of the parts which I have omitted, there is an obscurity, as if the translator had not understood the original. The reason why it was not published in the *Relaçam Abbreviada* is obvious, . . . it spoke too forcibly the just feelings of the Guaranies. The suspicion expressed in a former note, that the Guaranies had not understood the treaty of the Jacuy, is more than confirmed by this indisputable document. Here it appears that they supposed peace had actually been made, and the intention of dispossessing them abandoned.

The writer's apprehensions that he and his poor countrymen, who were the injured party, would go to the Devil in consequence of this war, as well as their oppressors, must be explained (if the Portugeze interpreter has not mistaken the meaning) by a dread of dying in the field, and going into the other world without a proper clearance from the confessor.

to some of Andoanegui's dispatches; it was written in the name of the thirty Reductions, an artifice whereby the writer wished to make it appear that all the Christian Indians had engaged in the cause of their oppressed brethren. The Spanish General had exhorted them in his dispatches not to believe the Jesuits, but to listen to him; promised them other lands better than their own; and offered them, on the part of the King, four thousand *pesos*, for the property which they could not remove. This, they said, the Fathers had assured them was the purport of his letter, but notwithstanding that assurance they did not believe it. Why, said they, did you not from the beginning address us the Caciques and Cabildos, instead of the Fathers? Upon this business you ought to have addressed us only, for our Lord God gave us these lands, and the good King Philip V. gave them to us also. The Fathers have been four years persuading us to obey this command, and we have not chosen to obey, neither will we. In all things else we have obeyed what the Fathers enjoin us, and with good will; and for their love we have sacrificed our lives in obedience to our good King; and our good King has commended us to you yourself, charging you that you should regard us like the apples of his eyes, and telling you that those accursed Portugueze must not be suffered to enter our country. And you would gratify these Portugueze, who have always hated us and our good King! Why do you not give them Buenos Ayres, Santa Fe, and Corrientes? Why must you turn us poor Indians out of our possessions? All our good Kings have cherished us, and would not thus expel their beloved people; and knowing this, we do not believe that what we have been troubled with for the last four years is the King's command. Why was it not told to the Caciques and Cabildos;... why was it told to the Fathers? This land is not theirs; God gave it to us, and therefore we will not obey you in what you

CHAP.
XXXIX.
1756.

CHAP. require. Your actions, which are so different from your words,
 xxxix. have amazed us more than if we were to see two suns in the firmament.
 1756. An hundred and twenty and four years have we been
 the King's vassals, and in all that time no fault has been found in us. Likewise the Fathers-Papas have found us in nothing wanting towards God or the King; and for this we thank God, and our good King who is in his place, and every month we pray to God for him that he would deliver him from his enemies. Our Lord God commands us in his holy commandments, that we should love Him above all things, above our neighbours, our lives, and our own souls; and next, that we should love our neighbours as ourselves. What will God say to you after your death upon this account? What answer will you make in the Day of Judgement, when we shall all be gathered together? Then you will see whether these your works will bring you good or evil! So strict is the account which God will demand of us, that for the lightest sin, He will cast us into Purgatory, where his justice will keep us for many ages: this being so, for such sins He casts us into Hell, and thither it is, Sir Governor, that your works are carrying you!" In this strain the letter proceeded, not without that eloquence wherewith the strong sense of injustice will sometimes inspire the rudest speaker. It noticed with indignation the sum which he had offered as a compensation for the churches and towns which they had built, and the fields which they had cultivated. If they were to remove now, they said, peradventure the next King would blame them for giving up the land, and order them to remove again. They told him he had made the Fathers deal falsely by them, and that he must not expect to receive letters from the Fathers, for they should not be allowed to write; and were the Provincial himself to come and seek to persuade them upon this matter, he would only still more inflame their abhorrence.

After three weeks of excessive exertions the troops effected the passage of Monte Grande. They were still about two hundred miles from the Reductions, but the main obstacle was overcome. On the third of May a considerable Guarani force, well mounted, made a fair show of bravery, and galloped upon both wings of the allies, as if they meant to wheel round and charge them in flank. Two or three cannon-shot so terrified them, notwithstanding this bold demonstration, that being near a swampy thicket, they threw themselves from their horses and took shelter where the enemy could not pursue them. The armies were kept upon the alert all night²⁴; they advanced however with little molestation, and no loss, till the tenth, when they reached the little river Chiriaby. Here the Guaranies had so skilfully entrenched themselves that it was supposed some European hand had directed their operations; ..but they were remarkable for imitative talent, and there were many persons among them who had been employed both in fortifying Monte Video and in besieging Colonia. They had impeded the difficult pass to the river by cutting down trees; they had erected a fort which commanded it; they had thrown up on the opposite shore well-constructed works of stone and earth; and they had so judiciously planted a masked battery of their wooden guns,

CHAP.

XXXIX.

1756.

*Passage of
the Chiriaby
abandoned.*

²⁴ A Guarani Corregidor was killed the next day, and it is said, a letter from one of the Jesuits was found in his pockets, saying, that if the armies succeeded in crossing Monte Grande, the Reductions were lost. A party who conversed with some Corrientines a few days afterwards affirmed, that this Corregidor had risen from the dead, to tell them that both God and the King would be offended if they gave up their country, and that the Enemy would soon see this. The Indians, they said, were the white people, because they stole nothing; but they who sought to rob them of their country were worse than Negroes. *Diario. MS.*

CHAP. that it would be impossible for the enemy to discover it till they
 XXXIX. should be completely exposed to its fire. And here, the Portu-
 1756. gueze officer says, the army must have suffered a severe loss, if
 God had not been pleased to work a miracle in their favour, perhaps through the intercession of St. Teresa, to whom Gomes Freyre was particularly devoted. The miracle was, that the Guaranies who had made these works, being too cowardly to defend them, took flight as soon as they saw the enemy come resolutely forward, ran away, abandoned every thing, and when they were at safe distance stood chattering at the troops, and defying them with grimaces, like children or monkeys. Only two men were killed and one wounded in this pass.

Diario. MS.

*The armies
 come in
 sight of S.
 Miguel's.*

On the second day after this last defence of the Guaranies had been deserted, the army came in sight of S. Miguel's, from a hill-top about seven or eight miles distant. No man in this expedition was more inimical to the Jesuits than Viana, the Governor of Monte Video: but now, looking at the Reduction through a telescope, and perceiving its size, (for it contained seven thousand inhabitants) the regularity and neatness of the buildings, and the imposing appearance of the Church, he could not refrain from saying that the people at Madrid must be mad, to think of delivering up to the Portugueze a town which was second to no place in Paraguay. As the troops advanced they descried a considerable number of Guaranies, both in front and on their flanks; upon which they formed in order of battle, and marched against them. The Guaranies then fell back, keeping carefully out of gun-shot. The General was desirous of coming up with them, because he hoped now to put an end to their resistance: he made the men quicken their pace and advance before the baggage; but the enemy perceived this, and detached about six hundred horsemen, who wheeled round at full gallop, and fell upon it in full expectation of cutting it off.

*Dobrizhof-
 fer. 1. 23.*

Sufficient guard had been left, . . . indeed the slightest resistance sufficed against a people who were so easily intimidated ; and they had only time to maim a few of the cattle. But it was thought advisable to halt rather than expose the baggage to another attack ; and the troops therefore encamped about a league from the town. Parties were sent out to disperse the enemy and keep them at a distance ; and during the two succeeding days the troops did not advance, because of incessant rain. In the afternoon of the second day, a herd of milch cows belonging to the army strayed from the encampment, and the Guaranies, who were alert enough in such a vocation, drove them off. Their boldness provoked the soldiers ; . . . and the loss also was deemed serious, because the milk was for the use of the invalids. Some Paulistas were sent to take vengeance : they returned with a wounded Indian, who entreated that they would not kill him, but that he might be allowed to see a Confessor before he died. He was brought before the General, and gave him information that the Jesuits, with all the women and children, and many of the men, had forsaken the town : they had carried away whatever was of most value, and those who remained were instructed to set the place on fire. Andoanegui gave orders that the man's wounds should be dressed, and that he should be treated with proper kindness ; but he died in the course of a few hours.

CHAP.
XXXIX.
1756.

Diario. MS.

On the following day the troops advanced little more than a mile ; for they had to cross a hill and some streams which impeded the baggage, and moreover, they began their march late and concluded it early. They were now among the Miguelites' plantations, where they found grain of various kinds, roots, pulse, and other vegetables, to the great refreshment of the Portuguese, who, not being merely carnivorous, like some of their allies, had felt the discomfort of subsisting for some time

Tardiness of Andoanegui, and destruction of the town.

CHAP. upon meat alone. After they were encamped a letter was brought
xxxix. in, which an Indian had held up at a distance and then placed
1756. upon a post. It was addressed to the Spanish General, assuring
him that the people were ready to welcome him and his men as
friends, but that he must separate from the Portugueze, whom
they were determined to destroy. There came a second note in
the evening, soliciting an answer to the first, that they might
know how they were to act. Another day was past in inactivity,
because of the rain ; and on the next, which was the sixth since
the army had been within sight of the town, a prisoner was dis-
patched with a letter, saying, that if the people did not immedi-
ately return to their allegiance, and render up the seven Reduc-
tions, they should presently be put to the sword. About noon
the troops advanced, with as many precautions as if all their
movements had been observed by an enemy equal to them in
force and in military science. When they were within half a
mile of the place, they saw many Guaranies throwing away their
arms, and messengers came asking for peace ; especially, they
said, it was desired by the people of S. Luis, and S. Francisco
Borja, and they presented a letter to the same purport in the
name of their Patron, S. Michael. They were told that the
Fathers and the *Cabildos* must come and make their submission.
The army encamped on the Campo ²⁵ de N. Señora de Loretto,
and a detachment was sent to occupy the town, and prevent the

²⁵ Close to a Chapel of lime and stone, "built in the same form and of the same proportions as that which the Angels transported into Italy." When the Church of Rome shall have acknowledged the falsehood of such impudent fables as this, suppressed by its authority the superstitions which have been grafted upon those fables, and expunged nine-tenths of its Saints from the Kalendar, then we may believe that the character of that Church is not indelible, . . . that it is ashamed of the past, and may safely be trusted for the future.

Negroes and followers of the camp from doing any mischief to the Church; .. other mischief they could have no opportunity of doing: for when the injured inhabitants, being hopeless of preserving the town, had sent away their wives and children, and the Jesuits and the church vessels, they set fire every man to his own house. They also burnt the public stores, the Jesuits' houses, and the public buildings, leaving nothing except the Church. The place had been burning many days notwithstanding the heavy rain which had fallen, and it was found burning still. The characteristic tardiness of the Spaniards in their military operations had never been more manifested than in Andoanegui's conduct since he came in sight of S. Miguel's; had he pushed forward a single troop of horse, he would have prevented this ²⁶ destruction.

CHAP. XXXIX.
1756.

Diario. MS. Rel. Abbr- viada. 9. Apologia. MS. § 66. Ibañez. 250. Ephemerides. 425.

Andoanegui seems to have perceived the error which he had committed, and on that same night he dispatched Viana with eight hundred horse to take possession of S. Lorenzo, which was only two leagues distant. They entered it before day-break; many of the inhabitants were ²⁷ surprized, and three Jesuits were

The Guaranies submit.

²⁶ The author of the *Diario* excuses himself for not giving a full description of this place, for want of time and scarcity of paper; .. nobody in the camp would give him any, and they who had any to sell demanded four hundred *reis* for a sheet.

²⁷ The Dean of Cordoba (in Tucuman), D. Gregorio Funes (whose work I have fortunately obtained while this chapter is in the press) says that the Guaranies here resisted, and were beaten: but the Portuguese officer expressly says that they were surprized, and had no time for resistance. It is a great satisfaction to me to find that the view which I have taken of these transactions, and indeed of the whole history of the Paraguay Jesuits, entirely accords with the opinions expressed by this Author, whose authority is of the greatest weight both from his personal character, and his opportunities of information.

CHAP. arrested there. Father Thaddeus Ennis was one: he was be-
 XXXIX. lieved to have been more active than any of his brethren in the
 1756. rebellion; and as his papers were seized, it was expected that
 full proof would now be found against him and his colleagues:
 but when the papers were examined so little appeared to incul-
 pate any person, that he was soon discharged. On the ensuing
 day there came a letter from the Rector of S. Juan, saying he
 had now succeeded in persuading the people to submit; age
 and infirmity rendered him incapable of the journey, but his
 colleagues would come, with all the chief persons of the Reduc-
 tion, to solicit the General's forgiveness; and he added, that S.
 Juan would be a convenient place for the General to winter in.
 The other Reductions lost no time in following their example;
 but the greater part of the inhabitants, though they wanted
 conduct and courage to defend their country, had too deep a
 sense of their wrongs to submit, and they fled into the woods,
 notwithstanding the inclemency²⁸ of the season. All the people
 of S. Nicolas are said to have taken this course, without one ex-
 ception. There was no danger of wanting food in a country
 which was full of cattle, and when the Guaranies were com-
 pelled to run wild as their fathers had done, those among them
 who were young and vigorous soon acquired appetite for the
 freedom and activity of a predatory life.

*The greater
 number
 take to the
 woods.*

*Apologia.
 MS. § 43.*

*Expulsion
 of those who
 submit.*

The Spanish General readily released his prisoners at the solicitation of their relations; but such of the Miguelites as had

²⁸ It froze at the time, which is very unusual in Paraguay. The Portuguese bivouacked one night without their baggage, which stuck fast behind them in a difficult pass. Their *capotes* were in the waggons; and the author of the *Diario* says he was astonished that any one of them survived through the night, the cold being so severe, all being without shoes, and most of them almost naked and in a miserable condition.

been taken during the few last days, were considered as more criminal than the rest, and were punished each with five and twenty stripes. This was all the punishment which was inflicted. F. Lorenzo Balda, who went with his flock to the woods, whether willingly or by compulsion, when S. Miguel's was set on fire, came now and presented himself before the Commander. He was received with reproaches, and for a little while detained in custody: the disposition to criminate him certainly was not wanting, and it is not less certain that he cleared himself satisfactorily, and was employed with Ennis to superintend the migration. This was no difficult task when so great a part of the people had provided for themselves. The unhappy ²⁹ remainder were admitted into the Reductions on the Parana, and huted in such hovels as could hastily be prepared for their reception.

Gomes Freyre arrived at the Reductions with so strong a prepossession against the Jesuits, that he either feared, or affected to fear, an intention of poisoning him; and when those of S. Juan invited him and Andoanegui to dinner, he refused to eat under pretence of indisposition, and upon their drinking his health pledged them in return in his own wine. He did not long continue in this unworthy feeling: and although his authority was afterwards brought forward against the Jesuits when the Portugueze Minister had determined to extirpate the Society, his opinions concerning them seem to have been entirely

CHAP.
XXXIX.
1756.

*Muriel.
Supp. to
Charlevoix.
p. 341.*

*Diario. MS.
Dobrizhof-
fer. 29.*

*Gomes
Freyre re-
fuses to take
possession of
the ceded
country.*

Diario. MS.

²⁹ The author of the *Diario* says that they had grown fond of the Portugueze, who, they said, were good fellows and rich ones. The Jesuits say they had sufficient reason for wishing that they had suffered all the people to fly into the woods, when they saw the consequences of having an army quartered among them, of which both men and officers were alike licentious. These statements are quite consistent with each other.

CHAP. changed, now that he was upon the spot and saw the men them-
 XXXIX. selves, and the nature of the extraordinary system which they
 1756. had established. He became sensible also, whatever part he
 may have taken in originally determining the line of demarca-
 tion, that the arrangement, all circumstances being considered,
 was not advantageous for Portugal. The situation of the coun-
 try gave him a fair pretext for refusing to accept possession : it
 could not be delivered to him in peace, as had been contemplated
 by those who framed the treaty ; nor could it safely be possessed
 by Portugal while so great a number of its former possessors re-
 mained in the woods, from whence they sallied out to drive away
 cattle, and take every opportunity of revenging themselves upon
 the invaders for the losses and injuries which they had sustained.
 This was in truth a valid objection for those who were to inhabit
 their houses, and settle upon their lands ; and till this could be
 removed the Portugueze General thought it his duty to delay the
 cession of Colonia. Nor was Andoanegui more desirous of com-
 pleting a transfer which he from the first had heartily disapprov-
 ed. Both armies therefore remained quartered in the Reductions
 till the Jesuits should succeed in reclaiming their scattered flocks,
 and bringing them once more within the fold ; and both Generals
 made use of the interval to procure an alteration in the treaty.

*Zeballos ar-
 rives at the
 Reductions.*

Meantime the Spanish Government, alarmed at the failure of
 the first campaign, sent out a reinforcement of one thousand ³⁰
 men, under D. Pedro Zeballos. Such was the impression which

³⁰ They had been raised in Parma, and consisted of Italians, French, German deserters, a few Poles, and even some Russians, . . . outcasts and vagabonds of all nations. When these fellows got to the place of their destination, they deserted as fast as they could, got wives, and settled peaceably in a country where food was abundant, and they were at perfect liberty. *Dobrizhoffer*. 1. 41.

falsehoods and exaggerated representations had produced in Europe, that when the squadron with these troops on board arrived at Buenos Ayres, it was thought necessary to inquire, before any of the men were landed, whether King Nicolas were in possession of the city. The new Commander lost no time in proceeding to the Missions, whither Valdelirios accompanied him. The Superior met them on the way, and requested that Zeballos would institute a judicial inquiry into the accusations which had been made against him and his brethren. When they arrived at S. Francisco Borja, the Caciques and officers of the Reductions on the other side the river came to pay their respects, and brought with them many of their own people, and of the emigrants also. Zeballos, for the purpose of giving both solemnity and publicity to his proceedings, ordered a sort of theatre to be prepared in the Court before the Church: it was fitted up with as many decorations as the place could afford, and the report of this brought together a greater concourse of spectators. Here, on the day appointed, Zeballos took his seat with Valdelirios, Viana, and all the chief persons in the civil or military service of the Spaniards. Joseph de Villa Nova, a Captain of Infantry, and Sebastian Casacuzio, Perpetual Corregidor of Corrientes (both well versed in the Guarani tongue), attended as interpreters; and there were present eight hundred Spanish troops, and as many Indians as the place could contain. The Caciques and Magistrates made their harangues, and were answered with corresponding courtesy. But when this was done, Zeballos with an authoritative voice gave orders to interrogate them whether they had not, from the first, been apprized of the King's commands? If so, wherefore they had not thought proper to obey till they were compelled by force of arms? If any of the Jesuits had persuaded them to rebel, had encouraged their rebellion, or directed their operations during the war; and if it were

CHAP.

XXXIX.

1757.

*He inquires
into the con-
duct of the
Jesuits.*

CHAP. so, who those Jesuits were? The Caciques of the seven Redu-
 XXXIX. actions, to whom these interrogatories were addressed, replied,
 1757. that from the beginning they had distinctly understood the
 King's will, as it was then and frequently afterwards clearly ex-
 plained to them by the Fathers; that they had resolved to obey
 it and remove accordingly, and with that intention had actually
 sought for new situations; that they had departed from this reso-
 lution, because of the great love which they bore to their homes
 and their own country and their own fields; but chiefly because
 they found that sufficient time would not be allowed them for
 removing their cattle, and providing stores for their support
 during the first year in their new habitations; that being irritated
 at this, they had determined rather to die with their wives and
 children upon their own ground, than to emigrate and see them
 perish for hunger in the wilderness: that the Fathers had always
 urged and implored them to submit; the rebellion was their own
 act and deed and fault; they sincerely repented of it, and
 now publicly confessed that what they had suffered in conse-
 quence and were still suffering, was a just punishment inflicted
 on them by God for having disobeyed his Priests, and especially
 for having put them in durance, outraged them, and reported
 enormous falsehoods concerning them. When the Caciques had
 thus replied, the Guaranies who were present, men and women,
 cried out with one accord, that this was the very truth. An au-
 thenticated process of all which passed upon this public inquiry
 was drawn up, and attested upon oath by the two interpreters:
 and to this document the Jesuits and their defenders appeal as
 a full and decisive justification. The Guaranies might have
 been easily tutored for such a trial; there had been time and
 opportunity enough; and the innocence of the Jesuits would
 still be questionable if it rested upon no better evidence than this
 deposition in their favour. But though the opinion of their

Apologia.
MS. § 35.
Muriel.
Supplement
to Charle-
voix. p. 341.

guilt prevailed so strongly at Madrid that Zeballos brought out with him orders to send home eleven of the Missionaries as persons charged with high treason, if upon inquiry he should find that there were grounds for the accusation, no proceedings were instituted against any one of the Company, nor was there a single one punished, or sent out of the province, or in any way molested for his conduct during the rebellion. If they had really been guilty, proofs against them could not have been wanting; and they had enemies enough on the spot, who would have spared no exertions for convicting them. Seldom therefore as impunity can be admitted to be a sure proof of innocence, it is incontestibly so in this case. And indeed the charge against them will in itself appear incredible to those who reflect upon the character and constitution of the Company. If ever there existed a perfect unity of views and feelings in any associated body of men, it was in this extraordinary Society. The Jesuits of Paraguay, like those of every other province, were dependent upon their General: their civilized wants were supplied, and their numbers recruited, . . . from Europe. But it is not to be believed, . . . it is not possible, . . . that their General should have encouraged, or that they without his encouragement (contrary to the vital principle of their institution) should have engaged in a scheme, which, if it had been successful, would in its inevitable consequences, have separated the province from the general system, and deprived the Jesuits there of those supplies without which their Order in that country would in one generation have been extinct. They had their root in Europe; and had the communication been cut off, it would have been barking the tree.

The full acquittal of the Jesuits by Zeballos was not the only mortification which Valdelirios had to sustain. From the first he had been eager to finish his mission, that he might return to Spain without delay: four years had now elapsed, and there

CHAP.

XXXIX.

1757.

*Delays in
executing
the treaty,
and its final
annulment.*

CHAP. was no prospect of bringing the business to a conclusion. Per-
 xxxix. plexities occurred concerning the intended line of demarcation :
 1757. it was to have been formed by the Ybicuy, but they had discovered by the Jesuit's map, that in the upper part of its course there were two rivers of that name, the Greater and the Less. There was now so little disposition to remove difficulties on either side, that any difficulty appeared insuperable. Gomes Freyre could no longer be absent from Brazil. The Commissioners separated without effecting any thing : the expences ³¹ of the Commission and of the troops were felt at Lisbon and Madrid, and both Cabinets were mortified and disgusted at the embarrassments, vexations, and evils, resulting from an arrangement which had been so equitably intended, and appeared of such easy execution.

Farther delays were occasioned, .. in Portugal, by the earthquake, the attempted assassination of the King, and the persecution of the Jesuits, which became for awhile the great object of Pombal's administration : .. in Spain, by the miserable sufferings and slow death of Queen Maria Barbara, and the deadly decline into which the King sunk, broken-hearted for her loss. He survived her, as had been foreseen by all who were about his person, only a few months. The kindly feelings which during his reign had subsisted between the two Courts was then at an end, and was succeeded by a very different temper : for Carlos III. inherited the political prepossessions of his mother. They

³¹ It is stated in Lord Kinnoul's dispatches, that the expence on the part of Portugal amounted to three millions sterling, and had exhausted the finances. This appears impossible, even if the loss were taken into the account which might have arisen from suspending the trade with Colonia during the years of the dispute. But it is certain that the expences, both to Spain and Portugal, are represented as enormous.

agreed, however, in being heartily weary of the demarcation, and as if in despair of coming to any more satisfactory arrangement, they signed a convention whereby the Treaty of Limits was annulled; and all those previous treaties which had been superseded by it, were declared to be re-established in their full extent. The Portuguese thought themselves gainers, because they believed that Colonia was of greater importance to their interest than any extension of territory in that part of the interior; and the Spaniards were satisfied also, because they suspected that their neighbours had been unduly favoured in the negotiation through the national predilections of the Queen; and because they were secretly looking forward to the shorter and surer method (as they imagined) of settling the boundary by force of arms, and determining it at their own pleasure. The Guaranies, who had been so cruelly, and as it now appeared so wantonly expelled, were instructed to return to their dilapidated towns and wasted country, where the Jesuits resumed their benignant administration, and exerted themselves to repair the evil which had been done, as far as it might be reparable.

CHAP.
XXXIX.
1761.

12 Feb.
1761.

Walpole
Papers.
MSS.

CHAPTER XL.

Enmity of Pombal toward the Jesuits. His brother Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado appointed Governor of Maranhão and Pará, and Commissioner for the Demarcation. Accusations against the Jesuits for impeding that measure. The system of the Portuguese Missions subverted. Regulations concerning the Indians. Expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil.

CHAP.
XL.

The Jesuits of Paraguay, though the calumnies which had been so busily disseminated concerning their conduct in the insurrection continued to operate in Europe with great effect, obtained in their own country a compleat triumph for the time. Zeballos, who succeeded Andoanegui in the Government of Buenos Ayres, was a Spaniard of the old stamp, sagacious, brave, resolute, ambitious, unmerciful, and careless by what means he brought about his ends; but he saw far before him, and if the casuistry of the Jesuits accorded with his own rule of conduct, there was a better sympathy between them in their political views. The Missionaries in the Portuguese dominions were less fortunate; and it was on the side of Maranhão and Pará that that persecution now began, which was never intermitted till the extinction of the Company was effected. The Treaty of Limits afforded occasion for this persecution, but it was not the cause.

Sebastiam Joseph de Carvalho e Mello, well known by his subsequent title of Marquez de Pombal, was at that time despotic minister in Portugal. No other statesman of his age will hold so prominent a place in history; for to him the destruction of the Jesuits must be ascribed. It is no enviable celebrity: . . . he will be remembered more for the evil which he did, than for the good which certainly it was his desire to have done. Some of his opinions were imbibed from D. Luiz da Cunha, the ablest Portuguese of the preceding generation; and during his residence in a diplomatic character at London and Vienna, he had caught something of the spirit which then began to infect the circles of fashionable life, and the Courts of Catholic Princes. The great and laudable object of his ambition was to benefit his country, and restore Portugal, if not to the foreign empire which she had once possessed, at least to her former state of plenty and prosperity at home. Ignorance, superstition, and intolerance, were the main obstacles to the improvement which he designed; and whosoever attempted to remove these evils in Portugal would be opposed by the Clergy. But the original jealousy between the secular and regular Clergy was still subsisting: the Regulars were divided among themselves, and the only point in which all the other Orders were agreed, was in envying and hating the Jesuits. Now the Jesuits were the only persons whom Carvalho feared. If they were removed his plans would proceed without impediment: he might crush the Friars, reform the respectable Orders, lessen the influence of the Court of Rome, and place the religious establishment of the kingdom upon a footing not inconsistent with its welfare and with the progress of knowledge. Carvalho was more than fifty years of age when he entered upon his ministry. He soon acquired the favour of the Sovereign by his superior talents: extraordinary and tremendous occurrences brought those talents into full

CHAP.
XL.

Character of
Pombal.

CHAP. action, and the ascendancy which he then obtained over the
 { XL. King enabled him to carry into effect with absolute authority
 his schemes for the renovation of the kingdom. This was the
 one and worthy object upon which he was passionately bent:
 unhappily he scrupled at no means by which it might be pro-
 moted; and they who maligned his motives did not traduce
 his nature when they represented him as without conscience
 and without humanity. Seeing the miserable state into which
 every thing in Portugal had sunk, he felt the necessity of great
 changes: his temper led him to bold and violent measures; and
 though it was said of him by his enemies that he acted first
 and thought afterwards, when his measures were once taken
 he persevered in them inflexibly, whether they were right or
 wrong. He had a large portion of that national pride for which
 the Portugueze are remarkable, and he had also an overweening
 confidence in his own talents and strength of character: but
 his talents were very great;..no man ever approached him
 without feeling the presence of a powerful and commanding
 mind. He served his King faithfully and zealously; he loved
 his country; and happy might it be for him if the desire of
 public good might be pleaded in defence of actions which are
 decidedly wicked and abominable. Upon that plea however he
 rested with perfect equanimity, like Sylla, but in a far different
 retirement, when disgrace and obloquy, and the grief of seeing
 his wisest plans overthrown, were added to the evils of old age,
 and infirmity, and pain.

*His brother
 is made Go-
 vernor of
 Para and
 Maranham.*

However much Carvalho must have desired to lessen the
 power of the Jesuits, it is not probable that he had conceived
 even the most distant thought of extinguishing the Order when
 he began his administration. But when events arose which seem-
 ed to render such an attempt feasible, he pursued it with cha-
 racteristic and inhuman perseverance. The insurrection of the

Guaranies, and the calumnies which were founded upon that basis, though they furthered his views by the effect which was produced upon the Court of Madrid, gave him no pretext for interfering with the Jesuits, because the accused parties were within the jurisdiction of Spain; but in the execution of the Treaty on the North, he found the occasion which he wanted. His brother, Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, was appointed Governor and Captain General of Maranham and Para, Principal Commissioner, and Plenipotentiary for the demarcation. As soon as this new Governor arrived at Belem, he called upon the Missionaries of the various Orders, for all the Indians of service in their respective *Aldeas*, to fit out his expedition to the Rio Negro, where he was to meet the Spanish Commissioners. According to the laws, only half these Indians ought to have been drafted at one time; but Mendonça Furtado, acting with the short-sightedness as well as the temper of a despot, neither regarded the law, nor the consequences of despising it. Their own fields, therefore, were left uncultivated during the twelve months that they were thus occupied; and the plantations of the settlers also, upon which half their number of men would otherwise have been employed, were left without labourers, till at the year's end, when the preparations were completed, the poor Indians were distributed among the Portugueze for their service, instead of being sent home. It might have been foreseen, that a scarcity would thus inevitably be produced; and in fact it began to be felt during the year, to the aggravation of their other injuries. Half their wages, inadequate as those wages were, ought to have been paid them in advance: the advance was withheld with the view of preventing desertion; but this breach of the law excited suspicion and resentment in the Indians, and made them more sensible to the other wrongs which they endured, already but too galling: their ratios, because of the

CHAP.
XL.
1753.

*Injudicious
conduct on
his arrival.*

CHAP. XL.
 1754. expected dearth, were scanty, and irregularly distributed ; more labour was exacted from them than they were accustomed, or willing, or perhaps well able to perform ; and their overseers were unmerciful, and treated them as if they had been brute animals. They deserted therefore in great numbers, and this desertion was charged as a crime upon the Jesuits, as if it had been instigated by their intrigues.

Apologia
MS. § 117
 —118.

He visits the
Jesuit Al-
deas.

At length Mendonça Furtado set out with a numerous flotilla, the ostensible object of his expedition being to meet the Spanish Commissioners on the Rio Negro, and begin the demarcation from thence. The course which those persons who went up the great river from Para always pursued, after they entered the Orellana, was to make for the mouth of the Paru, and from thence keep along the northern bank : but he recrossed to the right shore, where the Jesuits had their *Aldeas* upon the streams which disembogue there from the South ; and with his fleet of canoes and army of attendants he went up all these streams, visiting every *Aldea*, as if for the double purpose of inspection and intimidation. The pretext for this visitation was, that he wanted more hands and more provisions ; and fresh cause of complaint against the devoted Company was pretended, because he was not supplied with both to the extent of his demand. But it was impossible that the Jesuits should have been prepared for such a requisition, or for the reception of these devouring guests : they did not anticipate his visit, and could not have anticipated it, because it was not only unnecessary, but manifestly injurious, both to the *Aldeas* and to the expedition ; .. to the expedition, as consuming time, and thereby creating expence in every way ; to the *Aldeas*, by exhausting stores which had already been drawn upon too largely. The Indians, being but recently returned from the compulsory service in which they had so long been employed, were busy in the plantations of

their respective Missions, when the flotilla arrived: this necessary absence was ascribed to the policy of their spiritual Lords; and the Jesuits were also accused of having forbidden them to set mandioc, or raise any kind of pulse during the preceding year, for the purpose of impeding and frustrating the expedition, though the default of cultivation had been wholly and inevitably occasioned by the requisition of labourers which the accuser himself had ordered.

At length the Governor proceeded to the Rio Negro, and took up his quarters at Maryua, one of the Carmelite *Aldeas*, where he waited for the Spanish Commissioners. From thence he sent home a list of heavy charges against the Jesuits, the recent intrigues which he imputed to them forming only the smallest part. He accused them of pursuing a diabolical system (such was the term) for the purpose of usurping to themselves the ultramarine possessions of Portugal. The means, he said, for carrying this purpose into effect, were those of excluding all Portuguese from the *Aldeas*, keeping the inhabitants in brutal ignorance, and reducing the natives to such an inhuman and miserable state of servitude, that they were almost exterminated from this unhappy country. They were charged with refusing to allow the Indians time for raising food sufficient for their families; with interdicting the use of all such food as required any preparation to render it fit for the use of man, reducing them thus, like mere animals, to feed upon raw roots and vegetables; keeping them in the woods absent from their families nine months in the year, to collect produce for the profit of the Company; concealing from them the knowledge that there was a King of Portugal, whose vassals they were, and not allowing them raiment enough even of the coarsest kind, to cover their nakedness; so that while such a tyranny was suffered to continue, there could neither be any propagation of the faith, nor social communication,

CHAP.
XL.

1754.

Apologia.
MS. § 120
—121.
Relaçam. Ab-
breviada. p.
17—19.

Accusations
against the
Jesuits.

1755.

CHAP. XL. 1755. nor administration of justice, nor agriculture, nor commerce, nor any thing which might be advantageous to the Catholic Religion and the Mother Country, nor conducive to the preservation of the Colony and its inhabitants. The avarice of the Jesuits was described as not less enormous than their ambition; and it was said, that by their usurpations and inhuman monopolies, they had possessed themselves of the produce and commerce of the State, insomuch that their system was equally injurious to Portugueze and Indians.

*Relaçam Ab-
breviada. p.
13.
Seabra.
Dehiuçam
Chronologi-
ca. p. 1. §
846—7.
853.*

*Falschood of
these char-
ges.*

These charges were eagerly received at Lisbon, notwithstanding their falsehood and palpable inconsistency. Men who had not been predetermined to condemn the accused would have inquired, how it was possible that the Jesuits, if it was their object to make themselves Lords of the country, could expect to succeed by depopulating it, and destroying the very hands on which they were to depend, not merely for the support of their intended empire, but even for their own subsistence. They would have asked, if it were likely that these Religioners, who, whatever faults had been laid to their charge, had never been accused of fatuity, would pursue measures which tended directly to ruin the commerce which they intended to monopolize. They would have doubted whether a Society, constituted like that of the Jesuits, could be actuated by the kind of ambition whereof they were accused, or could be capable of avarice. The motives by which other men are excited to aim at accumulating riches, or establishing a temporal empire, were certainly not applicable to these. The slightest knowledge of their history in America might have shown, that they acted upon no such prescribed or premeditated scheme of aggrandizement as was presumed. This was certain, because their various establishments there differed in economy and constitution. They adapted their institutions in the New World to local circumstances, and

the character of the different tribes, as they did their habit in Europe to the customs of different countries; and they became traders from necessity, because those institutions were supported by the produce which they could collect or raise. If there were any surplus of profit after the charges of the establishment were defrayed, in what manner was it expended? Had it been merely in erecting Churches, and procuring decorations for them from Europe, surely that object would not have been considered as either unworthy or unimportant, by an enlightened and a Christian government. But when it was considered that those profits were also applied to the support of Missions, in the success of which the State was intimately concerned, inasmuch as by the acquisition of every convert the number of its subjects was increased, ..to the erection of Colleges, wherein gratuitous instruction was afforded in a land where there were no other instructors, ..and to the maintenance of Priests who inculcated above all things obedience to the laws, and assisted the established Clergy in the performance of duties, for which even with that assistance, the labourers were still too few; .. when these things were duly perpended, a true statesman would assuredly have thought that the Jesuits in America were worthy of his especial favour, protection, and encouragement,. But Carvalho had formed his plan of reformation, and whoever or whatever impeded it, was to be swept away without hesitation and without compunction.

Upon the arrival of Mendonça Furtado's dispatches, three regiments were immediately ordered out to Maranham and Para, as if a military force were necessary there as well as upon the Uruguay, for effecting the demarcation. Instructions also were sent out to publish a Bull which Benedict XIV had issued in 1741, against enslaving the Indians. This Bull prohibited all persons secular or ecclesiastic, and all Religioners of whatsoever

CHAP.
XL.
1755.

*The Bull
Immensa
Pastorum
published.*

CHAP. Order, specifying those who existed in Brazil, and the Jesuits
 XL. of course among them, from buying, selling, giving, or receiv-
 1756. ing the natives in slavery, separating them from their families,
 depriving them of their goods, or in any way infringing upon
 their freedom. Carvalho pretended that this Bull had been ful-
 minated against the Jesuits in particular, with the approbation
 of Joam V; and that when the Bishop of Para, D. Fr. Miguel
 de Bulhoens, attempted to publish it, an insurrection was excited,
 though the Bishop had not communicated that intelligence to
 the Court, lest it should agitate the late King, who was at that
 time suffering under the malady which afterwards proved mortal.
 But while these false representations were made in Portugal and
 dispersed over Europe, the enemies of the Jesuits in Maranhão
 and Para adapted their version to the circumstances of the
 country, and the better knowledge of the people; and when the
 Bull was now published at Belem, they made it a matter of
 popular reproach against the Jesuits, that through their in-
 fluence this decree was issued, which would so considerably
 injure the inhabitants by depriving them of the service of the
 Indians.

*Collecçam
 dos Breves
 Pontificos,
 &c. No. 1.
 Seabra.
 Deduc.
 Chron.
 § 849.
 Relaçam. Ab.
 p. 15.
 Apologia.
 MS. § 84.*

*Pombal's
 views with
 respect to
 the Indians.*

It was however plain to the people, that with what purport
 soever the Bull had been issued, its publication at this time was
 levelled against the Jesuits; for with the same dispatches there
 came out a law which deprived all the Missionaries of their tem-
 poral authority, and directed the Governor to form the most
 flourishing *Aldeas* into corporate towns, and the smaller ones
 into *lugares*, or townlets. But although the colonial enemies of
 the Jesuits had in this point obtained their heart's desire, they
 were not indulged, according to their wishes, with an unrestrict-
 ed power of enslaving the miserable natives. Carvalho had
 given ear to their petty intrigues, and furthered their desires, as
 far as they coincided with his own designs; but he was not a

man to lend himself to the purposes of others. His general views were enlarged, upright, and humane, forming a singular contrast with the narrowness, the crookedness, and the cruelty of his particular measures, and the means whereby he accomplished them. He meant to emancipate the Indians from servitude, to reclaim them from their brutal manner of life, civilize their habits, cultivate their faculties, and blend them with the Brazilian Portuguese, so that they might become one people, enjoying equal rights. The project was worthy of his ambition, bold statesman as he was; but in destroying the Jesuits he deprived himself of the only agents by whom it could have been effected.

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XL.
1755.

The Law stated, that notwithstanding the benevolent intentions and edicts of his Majesty's predecessors, the *Aldeas* were in a miserable state: the Indians there were so far from multiplying, that they did not keep up their own numbers; and their condition was such, that instead of alluring others from the *Sertam*, it deterred them from listening to those who invited them to receive instruction. This was because the laws for protecting the Indians in the enjoyment of their liberty had not been observed. They were still reduced to slavery, under pretext of those cases which the law allowed, but in truth without any other reason than the avarice and the power of those who enslaved them, and the ignorance and weakness of those who were enslaved. Therefore all edicts whatsoever which permitted Indian slavery in any way, or under any plea, were abrogated now, and all the Indians in Para and Maranham were pronounced to be free, and exempt from any other temporal subjection except that of the laws, to which all subjects of the King of Portugal were amenable. The children of Negresses in slavery were excepted from this emancipation till further instructions, . . . a clause which indicates that Carvalho contemp-

*Law for
the abolish-
ment of In-
dian slavery,*

CHAP. XL.
 1755. lated the gradual abolishment of slavery in Brazil as well as in the mother country. It was also decreed, that for the mutual advantage of the Indians and the people, . . the former that they might acquire habits of industry and enjoy its fruits, the latter that they might find labourers, . . the price of labour should be regulated by the Governor and the judicial authorities of Para and S. Luiz, upon the principle which was established in Lisbon, where, for example, if a labouring man could support himself for one *testam* per day, the wages of a common day-labourer were two, and of an artificer three: upon the same scale wages were to be regulated in these States, and paid every Saturday, either in cloth, or in iron tools, or in money, at the option of the labouring party. The lands adjacent to the towns and hamlets which were now to be chartered, should be divided among the Indian inhabitants, to be possessed by them and their heirs. Other like establishments were to be formed in the interior, as the savages might be induced to settle; and then it was thought that as they became settled, they would cultivate that produce which the inhabitants of the maritime parts could only now obtain by means of long and expensive expeditions: but when that produce in future should become a means of commerce with the newly reduced tribes, the natives who were collected about the coast might be occupied in useful labour upon the spot, instead of being consumed in distant and painful service.

Ley.
 6 June,
 1755.
Collecçam
dos Breves
Pontificios
e Leyes Re-
gias. No. e.

Law for de-
priving the
Missionar-
ies of their
temporal
power.

This law was followed by the edict which deprived the Missionaries of their temporal power, premising that the Indians never could be placed in that compleat liberty which was intended, and from which such great advantages spiritual and political were looked for, unless a determinate and unvarying form of government were established. Moreover, it affirmed, according to the canon law all temporal jurisdiction was plainly incompatible with the office of the priesthood. The Company

of Jesus were especially inhibited from the exercise of any such authority by their vows, and the Capuchines by the indispensable humility which they professed. How then could God be pleased while the sacred Canons and Apostolical Constitutions were disregarded? Or how could the State prosper while there existed an anomalous and impracticable confusion of spiritual and temporal jurisdictions? The Missionaries, therefore, must no longer be suffered to exercise the temporal government, being incapable of it. In the towns which were now to be constituted, the Indians, if any there were competent for such charges, should be preferred as *Juizes Ordinarios*, *Vereadores*, and Officers of Justice; and the *Aldeas* which were independent of the towns were to be governed by their respective Chiefs, having under them their *Sargentos Mores*, Captains, Ensigns, and *Meirinhos* of their own people. But all who considered themselves aggrieved by their decisions might appeal to the Governor, and to the Ministers of Justice at Para or S. Luiz.

When these edicts were passed there were within the State of Maranham and Para threescore Indian *Aldeas*, whereof five were administered by the Mercenarios, twelve by the Carmelites, fifteen by the Capuchines, and ¹ twenty-eight by the Je-

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XL.
1755.

Alvares,
7 June,
1755.
Collecçam.
No. 3.

The Aldeas
converted
into Towns
and Town-
lets.

¹ Casal (*T. 2. p. 295.*) says that the Jesuits possessed nineteen. I follow the statement of the Apologist, because his account is circumstantial, and because between two contradictory witnesses, where both are prejudiced, I would always rather incline to the one who speaks with a favourable disposition, than to him who delivers his testimony in malice. It is observed by Casal, that though all the Religioners stood forward with equal zeal in behalf of the Indians, the Jesuits were the only objects of popular hatred. The observation is malicious, and the assertion upon which it is founded is false: the Jesuits were the only unpopular Order, because they were the only Missionaries who uniformly opposed the tyranny of the Portuguese. In making this remark, Casal

CHAP. XL. suits. Mendonça Furtado converted these last into nine town-
 1755. lets, eighteen towns, and one city, by the simple operation of giving them new names, and ordering that a *pelourinho* should be erected in the Market-place of each. The *pelourinho*, which serves both as a whipping-post and place of execution, from which the criminal is suspended, and against which the sentence either of strangling or decollation is performed, is in the towns of the peninsula always a stone pillar, generally of grotesque, and sometimes of beautiful construction. A thick rough post, with two cross bars at the top, sufficed upon the banks of the Orellana and its tributary streams. Mendonça Furtado being present when one of these was erected, could not refrain from saying, See how easily an *Aldea* is made into a Town! A by-stander, one of the Missionaries perhaps by whose labours the settlement had been erected, or preserved, ventured to reply, that it was easy indeed when the *Aldea* was already formed and peopled. This operation was not so easy. The Governor endeavoured to establish one upon his own system; and after many thousand *cruzados* had been expended to no purpose, he found that the wealth and power of Governments may vainly be employed in attempting to conciliate and reclaim brute man, if religious zeal, and Christian charity, in the true import of the word, be wanting.

Apologia.
MS. § 82.

*Mutiny of
 the troops
 on the Rio
 Negro.*

Mendonça Furtado hated the Jesuits; and in dispossessing them of that authority which they had used only as the means of beneficence, he added insult to injury, and congratulated them upon their deliverance from a charge which, he said, no-

calls the Jesuits "Ignacitas" and "Loyolistas": the appellations are perfectly harmless; but they betray the temper, and invalidate the testimony, of the author by whom they are used.

thing but perfect resignation and purity of intention could have enabled them to support: henceforth they might serve God with less trial of their patience. The views of his brother, as he well understood, extended beyond the deprivation of these Missionaries; and he therefore was eager to furnish accusations against men whose condemnation had been predetermined. The troops whom he had left upon the Rio Negro were without pay, and miserably supplied either with food or raiment. He had taken no measures to provide for them, and the Carmelites did not exert themselves to remedy the evil, as a sense of their own interest should have induced them to do. The men at length mutinied, being in absolute want. They chose for their leader a certain Manoel Correa Cardozo; broke open the military chest, which Mendonça had exhausted before his departure; pillaged the magazines, plundered and burnt the adjacent Missions, and finally deserted, to seek their fortune in the Spanish province of the Omaguas. The Governor imputed this to the Jesuits, and accused them of having dispeopled their *Aldeas*, and destroyed their stores of provisions, for the purpose of distressing the troops on the Rio Negro, and provoking them to this conduct; . . . as if the Carmelites, whose settlements were upon that river, were not the culpable persons, if any persons could be thought culpable except the Governor, whose negligence was so apparent. He denounced them also for having induced the Indians of the armament to desert, . . . forgetting that men needed no instigation to escape from a compulsory and severe service; for removing those Indians who were established near the place appointed for the meeting of the Commissioners, . . . not heeding, or not caring for the fact, that the Jesuits had no settlements within many hundred miles of the place, consequently no influence there, nor means of influence; and for the hostilities which had occurred between them and the Carmelites a few years back, . . . as if

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1755.

Fresh accusations against the Jesuits.

See p. 366.

CHAP. they had been the first, or the only offenders in those transac-
 XL. tions. Moreover here, as in Paraguay, the project of establish-
 1756. ing an independent and exclusive dominion was imputed to
 them: they were accused of making treaties with the Indians in
 their own name, and engaging that they who acknowledged
 them for their rulers should be exempted from the Governor's
 authority. It was added, that they had prepared for resisting
 the King's arms, and that a German in the character of a Mis-
 sionary had actually arrived at Trocano, now the town of Borba
 Nova, bringing with him two pieces of artillery. A German
 Jesuit had indeed been stationed there, and the guns in question
 were two small pieces for the defence of the place. It could
 not be pretended that they were not needed in that situation, for
 the *Aldea*, being situated on the right bank of the Madeira,
 about an hundred miles above its mouth, was exposed to the
 attacks of the fierce Muras, and of the Mundrucus, a not less
 ferocious tribe, who had the art of embalming the heads of their
 enemies, and used to suspend them as trophies in their cabins, ..
 ten such proofs of individual prowess being required as the qua-
 lification for a Chief.

Apologia.
MS. § 126.
 121.

Aneddoti
di Pombal.
l. 1. § 120.
Relaçam.
Abbrev. 15.
 23.

Cazal. 2.
 317.

They send
home a me-
morial a-
gainst the
Governor.

Upon these charges, of which all that are not absolutely false, are merely frivolous, the most able of the Jesuits, being for that reason the most obnoxious, were sent home as state-prisoners. The Jesuits of Maranham had been used to obloquy and persecution; and upon this, as on former occasions, they hoped to obtain justice by appealing to the throne. But there was no Vieyra now to plead for them, neither was there a Joam the Deliverer to hear their complaints. They sent home a memorial against the Governor: it was presented to the King by the hands of his Confessor; but though it thus reached the Sovereign the effect was lost, for he instantly communicated it to ² Carvalho. It contained, among other documents, a repre-

sentation from the Council of Missions in favour of the Missionaries: the Superiors of all the Orders had concurred in this, for thus far they had been common sufferers; but the Minister ascribed it to the Jesuits, as the prime movers. There was no difficulty in inducing the other Ministers, who were in reality

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² There is a notable story upon this subject in an unpublished life of Pombal. There it is said, that the King received from Maranham at the same time a memorial of the Governor against the Jesuits, and a memorial of the Jesuits against the Governor. Not knowing what to think of representations so totally at variance with each other, he gave them both to the *Deszembargador da Meza do Paço*, Dr. Lucas de Seabra de Silva, charging him to institute an inquiry into the facts, and enjoining inviolable secrecy. Seabra looked to Carvalho for the promotion of his sons, and communicated to him the orders which he had received. When the issue of the inquiry arrived, it proved to be decidedly in favour of the Jesuits, condemning the Governor in all things. Seabra carried it to the Minister and was prevailed upon, greatly against his will, to leave it in his hands. Carvalho, it is said, without hesitation fabricated a Report in its stead, to his own purpose, carried it himself to the King, without the slightest compunction at sacrificing Seabra, and said how happy he was that the King should have taken this course, by which the perfidy of the Jesuits, the justice of his brother's measures, and the accuracy of his own representations, had been so incontestably proved. It is added, that the King sent for Seabra, and demanded the Report; that the poor *Dezembargador*, unsuspecting of his patron's treachery, replied, he had not yet had time to open the papers; that the King then produced it, and reproached him as he deserved; and that shame, grief, and indignation, threw the old man into a fit, of which he died in a few hours. (§§ 177—182.) This statement is so grossly improbable that it needs no refutation: if any were required, the notorious fact would be sufficient, that the son of Seabra was for many years afterwards the most active instrument of Carvalho in his schemes against the Jesuits. The story may serve to show in what spirit the history of Pombal has been written by his enemies; and yet the life in which this fable is contained, is composed with far more regard both to truth and probability, than the two Italian publications; because, being the work of a Portuguese, the author knew what kind of slander would suit the taste of his countrymen, and what quantity of falsehood they would be able to swallow.

CAHP. his dependents and creatures, to concur with him in advising
 XL. that men whom he represented as so active in all seditious mea-
 1756. sures, should be deprived of their spiritual as well as temporal
 charge, and deported from Maranham; and, contrary as this
 measure was to the policy and conduct of all his predecessors,
 from the first establishment of the Company, José would have
 consented to it without hesitation, if he had not been dissuaded
 by his mother, the Dowager Queen Maria Anna of Austria.
 But their condition was not bettered by this delay. The edict
 which deprived them of their authority took from them in its
 immediate consequences their means of support: in this respect
 it affected all the Orders alike, and therefore they united in
 petitioning the Governor, through their Superiors, for an allow-
 ance from the Treasury. Mendonça Furtado turned a deaf ear
 to the reasonable supplication. They then entreated, that at
 least they might be permitted to employ four men from every
Aldea, at the proper wages, in hunting and fishing, for their
 maintenance; and it is affirmed that this also was refused. No-
 thing then remained for them but to take up their breviaries and
 depart. This was what the Bishop desired, as well as the Go-
 vernor, because he wished to extend his own authority by sub-
 stituting secular clergy in their stead. Some few,³ not of the
 best description, were found in the country; the deficiency was
 made up by sending out a supply from Lisbon. No choice was
 allowed these persons; they were pressed into the service, .. a
 summary process, which was practised in Portugal whenever it

Vita di
Pombal. t.
 l. 49.
Aneddoti di
Pombal. l. 2.
 § 29—30.

³ The author of the *Aneddoti* (L. 1. § 29.) writes ignorantly, when he says that most of them were unacquainted with the native language; because the Tupi at that time prevailed, almost to the exclusion of the Portuguese.

was thought convenient: if any selection were made, it was likely to be, not of such men as were fittest for the charge, but of those who for their ignorance and their scandalous lives were thought most worthy of transportation.

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1756.

These measures might have troubled the spirit of Vieyra in Heaven, if there had been nothing to mitigate the evil. But it should be remembered, that the great object of Carvalho's policy was the good of his country; and that the destruction of the Jesuits was pursued by him as a means which he believed indispensable to that end. Mistaken as he often was, and too frequently careless of justice and humanity, his mind was capacious, and his general views would have been worthy of a better man. The colonial system of Portugal, as it respected the people of colour, had always been happier than that of any other country; . . . wiser, perhaps, it may not deserve to be called, because it arose from necessity. The mixed breed, in every shade of intermixture, were exempted from the odious disabilities by which they were debased in the Spanish colonies; and Indians and Negroes had been decorated with honours, and admitted to charges of authority and confidence. But the attempt at incorporating the Indians with the Brazilian Portuguese, so as to render them one people, was reserved for Carvalho. The scheme upon which he proceeded was in some points injudicious, and in nothing more so than in removing those persons who were best able and most willing to have laboured in educating and improving this long-injured race. It has not yet produced the effect which he anticipated; but it proves, that in some things Carvalho had advanced not only beyond his country, but beyond his age also; and in whatever light the general tenor of his ministry may be regarded, it must be acknowledged to his honour, that, more than any other person, he vindicated the rights of the Indians, promoted their emancipation, and aimed at their improvement.

See vol. 2.
p. 691.

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 1757.
Regulations concerning the Indians.

The regulations which he enacted for this object were first promulgated at Para. This memorable code began by declaring that the humane intentions of the King in placing the Indians under the government of their respective Chiefs, could not be immediately accomplished, because of the deplorable ignorance in which they had grown up: therefore, till they should be capable of acting for themselves, the Captain General must appoint a Director, to reside in every Indian settlement, taking especial care that he was a man of integrity, zeal, prudence, and virtuous life, and versed in the native tongues. The temporal authority which the Law had now vested in the Magistrates of the newly erected towns, and in the Chiefs of the independent *Aldeas*, might in no wise be exercised by these Directors; they were to possess no coercive jurisdiction, their power being only directive: but if a Director perceived in the Magistrates any remissness in punishing public offences with that severity which the public good required, he was to admonish them to perform their duty; and if they still neglected it, he was then to complain to the Governor and the Ministers of Justice. It was however recommended, that the punishment of offences should always be the lightest which the laws would permit, and moreover be executed in mercy, lest fear might induce the Indians to fly into the woods and relapse into the evils of their heathen state. It could not be denied, that they were still destitute both of the decent comforts of civilization, and of any true knowledge of the adorable mysteries of religion; for they lived as barbarously as if they were in their native woods, and continued to practise the worst abominations of Heathenism. Now the King's chief desire was to christianize and civilize this unhappy people; and to effect this must be the chief object of the Directors. The religious part appertained to the Bishop; and the Directors would only have to set an example of respect and

Directorio.
 May 3,
 1757.
 § 1.

Do. § 2.

Do. § 3—5.

veneration for the Priests, and to see that the example was followed : but the task of civilizing them was their peculiar business.

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 XL.
 1757.

They were charged, as one of their peculiar cares, to establish the Portugueze language, and not by any means to suffer the children to grow up in the use of the Tupi tongue, which hitherto had prevailed in spite of repeated orders from Lisbon, to the total ruin, it was affirmed, spiritual and temporal, of the State. This practice, which had originated with the first conquerors, was declared to be an abominable and diabolical invention for depriving the Indians of all means whereby they might be civilized. Two schools were to be opened in every settlement, for boys and girls, where both were to be instructed in the rudiments of the faith, and in reading and writing ; the boys in arithmetic also, the girls in spinning, sewing, and other employments befitting their sex. The masters and mistresses were to be paid by the parents, or by the persons in whose employ they were engaged, at a fixed rate, in goods or money ; but the payment was to be regulated with regard to the present wretchedness of the Indians. In places where no woman could be found to act as schoolmistress, the girls were to attend the boys' school till they were ten years of age, that they might the more easily acquire the Portugueze tongue.

Directorio.
 May 3,
 1757.
 § 6—8.

The Directors were enjoined to shew due respect to every Indian in office, according to his post, . . the manner, it was said, in which the chief persons among them had been compelled to act as pilots, and to row in canoes, in scandalous violation of the laws, having contributed greatly to the abasement of the race. Nor might the scandalous injustice of calling them Negroes any longer be tolerated ; for that appellation tended to make it be supposed that nature had designed them to be the slaves of the white men, as was believed concerning the African

CHAP. Blacks. Another cause of abasement was, that there was not a
 XL.
 1757. single Indian in the *Aldeas* who had a surname; but for the sake
 of making them understand that they were now considered upon
 an equal footing with the Whites, Portuguese surnames were
 to be given them, . . . it being morally certain, said the Law, that
 when they shall have the same names and surnames as the white
 and other civilized inhabitants, they will be more disposed to
 imitate them, and betake themselves to useful and virtuous
 habits of life. Also, as it could not be doubted but that the
 indecent practice of herding together whole families in one hovel
 contributed to brutalize these people, the Directors were to take
 especial pains for eradicating this most pernicious custom, and
 persuade the Indians to build their habitations after the manner
 of the Portuguese, with different apartments. Drunkenness
 was another cause of their inferiority, . . . a vice so prevalent, that
 scarcely a single Indian was free from it. They were to be ex-
 hortated against it by the Directors, and informed that the persons
 who yielded to it would incapacitate themselves for the hono-
 rary offices which it was the King's desire to confer upon them.
 But in all these measures of reformation, the Directors were ad-
 monished to proceed with gentleness, lest the Indians should for
 disgust or fear turn away from the Church, and relapse into
 heathenism. They were to encourage them to dress conforma-
 bly to their rank, and not suffer any of them to go naked, espe-
 cially ⁴ the women, as was then almost every where the custom,
 to the disgrace of humanity.

Directorio.
 May 3,
 1757.
 § 9—15.

⁴ According to one of the most empty and coxcombical French writers of the age of philosophists, the Portuguese committed a great error in teaching the natives to clothe themselves. He says, '*A des hommes à qui le nécessaire suffit, il ne faut pas donner un superflu, parceque celui-ci fait naître en eux de nou-*

The Directors were to explain to them, that their present wretchedness was the consequence of their want of industry; and that States are populous and respected and opulent, only in proportion as the People are industrious. They who should be most industrious, therefore, were to be preferred in the distribution of honours, privileges, and offices. If lands sufficient for their support and employment had not been assigned them, the Directors were to represent it to the Governor, that a farther allotment might be made: and they were to see that all the Indians, without exception, made plantations of *maniba*, not for their own families alone, but for exportation to the camp on the Rio Negro, for the supply of the city of Belem, and for the use of the garrisons: for it was always to be understood, that as mandioc-meal served in that country for bread, and was

CHAP.
XL.
1757.

veaux desirs, qui sont la source des vices. On habilla ces nations qu'il failloit laisser nues. On ne sauroit croire combien l'habillement influe sur les mœurs d'un peuple qui n'a jamais été vêtu.' L'Administration de Pombal, T. 1. 143.

This passage occurring in a life of Pombal, might be supposed to refer to his measures for civilizing the Indians: but the author, who was employed by the family of Pombal to vindicate the memory of that extraordinary man, has altogether overlooked this part of his history! The impudent ignorance of this writer is almost beyond belief! He says that Mendonça Furtado was Governor of Maranham and Paraguay (T. 2. p. 71.).. for inconceivable as it may appear, he seems to confound Paraguay with Para; and actually says, that the Portuguese went up the river Amazons till they reached the river Plata!.. 'Les Portugais remontent la riviere des Amazones, dont le nom à donné lieu à tant de fables. Pour s'établir, il faut faire la guerre à plusieurs nations, qu'on trouve si foibles qu'on les prend pour des Amazones, race de femmes qui n'a jamais existé que dans l'imagination des hommes, ainsi que tant d'autres choses qui n'ont pas eu une existence plus réelle. Ce fleuve conduit les Portugais à la riviere de la Plata, où ils employèrent des travaux et des peines infinies pour y parvenir.' (T. 1. 144.) Every part of this marvellous passage contains a blunder; and the whole book is written with the same utter ignorance of every subject upon which it either treats or touches.

CHAP. the foundation of commerce, it must be the first and principal
 XL. care of the Directors to provide it in abundance. The Indians
 1757. must also be made to rear kidney-beans, maize, rice, and other
 esculents which that fertile land produced, and thus the high
 price of provisions would be remedied, which of late years had
 nearly ruined the important trade of the *Sertam*. The Direc-
 tors were particularly recommended to introduce the culture of
 cotton, as an article of the first importance: the growth of to-
 bacco also was to be encouraged; but as this required a more
 laborious cultivation, the prospect of honour as well as of profit
 was to be held out to the Indians, and they should be considered
 as having claims to preferment in proportion to the quantity
 which they raised. Peradventure, all the diligence of the Di-
 rectors might not suffice to overcome the inveterate indolence of
 a people who had been so long debased and brutified: each
 therefore was instructed annually to send in a schedule to the
 Governor, containing a list of all the plantations in his jurisdic-
 tion, the names of the labourers, and an account of the crops,
 with a specification of those persons who had neglected their
 agricultural duties, that the Governor might from this document
 know whom to commend and whom to chastise.

Directorio.
May 3,
1757.
 § 16—26.

All human measures, said the Law, being useless, unless they
 are protected by the arm of Divine Omnipotence, in order
 that God may bless the labour of the Indians in the cultivation
 of their lands, it will be necessary in all their settlements to
 put an end to the diabolical abuse of not paying tithes. The
 tenth part of every thing which they raised or acquired, without
 exception, was to be exacted. The Law added, that God had
 reserved to himself and his ministers this portion of the fruits
 of the earth; but it did not say, that the tithes in the Portuguese
 colonies had been granted by the Pope to the Crown, and that
 the Clergy were paid by the Government, .. an arrangement

neither to the advantage of the Priest nor of the People. It was with a view to the revenue, and not to the support or furtherance of religion, as this hypocritical preamble was intended to imply, that regulations were laid down for the rigorous collection of the impost. That it might not be evaded by the Indians, who used, it was said, often to sacrifice their plantations before the proper season, for the impatient desire of indulging in drunkenness, the Directors, with the assistance of persons competent and sworn to the task, were to examine and appraise the standing crops, and enter in their books the quantity due as tithes from every plantation. The tithes in every settlement were to be deposited in a storehouse, and the Director was responsible for them, inevitable accidents of transport excepted, till they were delivered and entered at the general Custom House. As a reward for the Directors, they were to have a sixth part of whatever the Indians raised, except of the produce reared for their own consumption. This was a heavy impost, and liable to the serious objection, that as the Directors had the power of compelling the Indians to work, a motive was thus afforded for rendering them hard task-masters. If however there could have been any reasonable expectation of finding persons who would faithfully discharge the duties of such a situation, they would well have deserved a liberal payment. Part of their office was to see that the Indians should not be defrauded in their dealings; and in framing regulations for this purpose, the law stigmatized the traders of the country in the strongest terms. Pulse, grain, and mandioc-meal, had hitherto been sold in baskets, by the eye; . . . weights and measures were now universally to be used; and the Indians might not make any bargain without the advice of the Directors, till a second order from the King should habilitate them so to do, when they might be thought capable of transacting business for themselves:

CHAP. but the Directors might not trade with them in any manner, nor
 XL. under any covert, however equitable the transaction. Regular
 1757. accounts of the things sold, and the things taken in payment,
 were annually to be transmitted to the Governor, as a security
 for fair dealing. The Indians might chuse whether they would
 receive money or goods in payment; but the Directors might
 not allow them to take things which would be useless to their
 families; still less might they allow them to be paid in ardent
 spirits, which were the seeds of the greatest disorders in that
 State. To prevent the introduction of this moral as well as
 physical poison, they were to search every boat which touched
 at their respective settlements, and if more spirits were found
 than might be thought necessary for the proper consumption of
 the crew, it was to be confiscated; and even the lawful quantity
 was to be deposited under the Director's care, till the boat pro-
 ceeded on its voyage.

Directorio.
May 3,
1757.
 § 27—44.

The Directors were to encourage the Indians to send their
 produce to the capital, as the best market. They were also to
 promote the trade of the *Sertam*, from whence not only the na-
 tural produce might be procured, but salted fish, tortoise butter,
 balsam of copaiba, andiroba oil, and many other valuable com-
 modities. When the agricultural business of the season was
 over, the Directors were to summon the Indians; and if all
 should be desirous of going upon an adventure to the *Sertam*,
 they were, with the advice of the Chiefs, to select the proper
 number, observing always that every man had his turn. The
 Chiefs, if there were not more than two, were entitled to em-
 ploy in these expeditions six men each; but if there were three
 or upwards, only four in that case. The *Capitaens Mores* and
Sargentos Mores might in like manner each employ four, and
 the other officers two: they might go themselves if they pleased;
 but half the officers of a settlement must always remain in it.

The *Camaras* of the towns, and the Chiefs of the townlets, were charged to prepare canoes for these occasions, and see to their outfit. Great frauds had been committed by the Commanders of such parties; great caution therefore was to be used in appointing them, and they were to be responsible both in their persons and their property for their conduct. From the proceeds, the tenths were to be paid first; then the charges of the expedition; thirdly, the portion of the Captain of each canoe; fourthly, the Director's sixth; and the remainder was to be divided among the persons concerned in the adventure. The tenths of cacao, coffee, spice, and sarsaparilha, were to be paid by the purchaser before they were removed from the spot: the impost upon every thing else (except cultivated produce) in the capital. But if any of these latter articles were sold upon the spot, the Director was to collect the impost. Finally, as it would be neither just nor charitable to trust the Indians with their own expenditure while they were in their present state of ignorance and incapacity, the Treasurer General, when they were in the capital, should make all purchases for them, in their presence.

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1757.

Directorio.
May 3,
1757.
§ 45—52.

There remained the difficult point of compulsory service: and here Carvalho understood the character of the colonists enough to feel that, absolute as he was at home, his power in Para was limited by public opinion. After an awkward attempt to show that such service was conformable to the law of nature and the rule of reason, it was appointed, that one half the Indians of every settlement should always remain at home, for the defence of the State, and the King's service, as well as for their own affairs; and the other half be allotted among the inhabitants, to serve in expeditions to the *Sertam*, and to cultivate tobacco, sugar-canes, cotton, and whatever might tend to enrich the State by increasing its commerce. All Indians, from the age of

CHAP. thirteen to that of threescore, were to be enrolled in two books,
 XL.
 1757. one of which was to be in possession of the Governor, the other
 of the *Dezembargador, Juiz de Fora*, as President of the *Camara*,
 and the Directors were annually to send in lists, from which
 these books were to be filled up, and the dead marked off. No
 Indian might be consigned to the service of a person who was
 not an inhabitant of some regular settlement, unless a written
 order from the Governor were produced; nor might the Indians
 be detained in service beyond the term of six months, for which
 they were allotted. Owing to abuses of this kind, the *Aldeas*,
 it was said, were almost deserted; and therefore the Directors
 and Chiefs were required to present to the Governor every year
 a list of all transgressors. The whole wages were to be paid to
 the Director beforehand, and he was to give the Indian one
 third immediately, and reserve the remainder till the service
 should have been performed. If the Indian deserted his work,
 this remainder was to be returned to the employer; but if the
 desertion were occasioned by ill treatment, the remainder was
 then to be forfeited, and the employer fined in a sum equal to
 the whole. If an Indian should be disabled, or die during the
 course of his service, the just wages were to be paid, in the
 first instance, to himself, in the second to his heirs. When an
 Indian chose to receive his wages in goods, the Director was to
 see that the goods should be charged at the price which they
 bore in the capital, with only such an addition as was equiva-
 lent to the cost of transporting them. And as a farther check
 upon fraud, exact lists were to be transmitted by the Directors
 to the Governor every year, containing the names of the Indians
 who had been sent on service, the names of their employers, and
 the articles in which they had been paid. No Indian was sub-
 ject to the requisition till he had resided two compleat years in
 the settlement.

Directorio.
 May 3,
 1757.
 § 59—73.
 94.

As soon as the Directors entered upon their functions, they were to see that a house for the *Camara*, and a prison, were erected, the latter as secure, and the former as handsome, as circumstances would permit. They were also to induce the Indians to improve their own habitations, as one great and indispensable means of civilization. And as the desired improvement would naturally be in proportion to the population of their settlements, no place ought to contain fewer than one hundred and fifty inhabitants: smaller societies should therefore be incorporated, care being taken not to bring together people of different tribes among whom any feeling of old enmity might be harboured. The Directors were also instructed to impress upon the Chiefs and Magistrates, that their first and main duty was to increase their settlements by reclaiming more Indians from the *Sertam*; and this was to be done however great the expence to the Treasury; .. for it was especially enjoined in repeated orders by the inimitable and catholic piety of the Portuguese Kings, as the best means for extending the Faith, and making the adorable name of our Redeemer known and respected in the New World. But as it was the royal intention to improve the Indians by means of commerce and social intercourse, as well as to augment the population and strength of the State, there could be no better means of promoting this virtuous end than by the introduction of White inhabitants into the Indian settlements. Such therefore as chose to settle there should enjoy all the honours and privileges which were accorded to the Indians; and when they presented a licence from the Governor, the Directors were to give them every assistance for erecting suitable habitations for themselves and their families, and allot them lands, .. always however reserving the right of the Indians as the original and natural Lords. But these persons were to be admitted on condition that they should not possess them-

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1757.

CHAP. XL. 1757. selves of any lands which had been assigned to the Indians, under any pretext, nor by any right, however apparently legitimate; that they should live with them upon terms of reciprocal concord and courtesy, conformable to that equality which existed between them in their generic character of vassals to his Majesty; that they were to expect no preference in appointments of office and honour, but contrariwise, that the Indians, when they were capable, should always be preferred in their own settlements; that they were not to think it beneath them to cultivate the earth with their own hands, because they were admitted into these settlements for the purpose of civilizing the Indians and amending their indolent habits by example; and if they failed in any of these conditions they were to be expelled the settlement, and forfeit whatever they possessed there. The Directors were to omit no means for extinguishing the odious and abominable distinction between Whites and Indians, which ignorance and iniquity had introduced: for this end they were to encourage intermarriages, and represent to the White women that the Indians were not inferior to them in quality, and that having now been declared capable of rank and honours, they would communicate their privileges to their wives. Thus they were to combat those most injurious opinions by which such marriages were stigmatized as infamous: and if it were found that any White wife or husband despised an Indian partner, the Governor was to be informed of it, that he might secretly punish the criminal as a fomentor of the old disunion, and a disturber of the public peace. Finally, the Directors were for awhile to consider themselves as Guardians and Tutors of the Indians, and in those characters to act toward them with the zeal and fidelity which the laws civil and natural required, on pain of such punishment as the King might think proper to inflict. They were to bear in mind, that prudence, gentleness, and kind-

ness, were the most efficacious means of reforming and improving this long injured and degraded race; and they were to make the condition of the Indians under their care such that the Savages in the *Sertam* might be induced to join them for the sake of temporal comforts and advantages, and thus be led into the way of eternal life.

These ordinances, which were originally promulgated by Mendonça Furtado for Maranham and Para, were ratified in Lisbon, and extended to the whole of Brazil. The measure excited no attention⁵ at the time, and is scarcely noticed by any of Carvalho's biographers, though it is one of the most remarkable acts of his administration. It is characteristic of him, both in its good and evil parts. The end was worthy of an enlightened statesman; the means were injudicious, inconsistent, and tyrannical. In order to educate men for free agents, they were to be treated as slaves; and throughout the regulations there was the base artifice of vilifying the Indians indiscriminately, for the purpose of calumniating the Jesuits, . . . as if the vices which these

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1757.

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May 3,
1757.
§ 74—95.

Alvara.
Aug. 17,
1758.

⁵ Raynal has remarked this, with an honest feeling, not the less praiseworthy for being expressed in his usual ambitious manner. The passage is of useful application. "*Un evenement si propre à attendre les cœurs sensibles fut à peine remarqué.—Une revolution favorable à l'humanité echappe presque generalement, même au milieu du dix-huitieme siecle, de ce siecle de lumiere, de philosophie. On parle du bonheur des nations. On ne le voit pas, on ne le sent pas. On fronde avec amertume les fausses operations du gouvernement; et lorsqu'il lui arrive, par hasard, d'en faire une bonne, on garde le silence. Peuples, dites-moi, est ce donc la reconnoissance que vous devez à ceux qui s'occupent de votre bonheur? Est-ce ainsi que vous les engagerez à les remplir avec distinction? Si vous voulez qu'ils soient attentifs au murmure de votre mecontentement lorsqu'ils vous vexent, que les cries de votre joie frappent leurs oreilles avec eclat lorsque vous en êtes soulagés.—Peuples, vous êtes également vils, et dans la misere et dans la felicité: vous ne savez ni vous plaindre, ni vous rejouir.*" T. 4, p. 297.

CHAP. unhappy people acquired during their term of servitude were
 XL. permitted and indulged in the *Aldeas* ; and as if the Mission-
 1758. aries, instead of encouraging habits of industry, and labouring
 to improve them in every way, had endeavoured systematically
 to keep them in ignorance and debasement. Let it not be sup-
 posed, that the representation cannot be false because it was
 published at S. Luiz, and Para, where the truth must have been
 known : .. the people of S. Luiz and Para were prejudiced
 against the Jesuits ; and no misrepresentations are too mon-
 strous, no falsehoods too palpable or too absurd, to pass current
 among a people who are possessed by a factious spirit. It happens,
 that upon this subject the proofs are conclusive and incontestable.
 There is the testimony of Condamine to the flourishing state
 of the *Aldeas*, a few years before this change, .. an unexcept-
 ionable witness, who cannot be suspected of any bias in favour
 of the Jesuits ; and there is the evidence of the Bishop of Para,
 D. Fr. Caetano Brandam, who visited the whole of his extensive
 diocese some five and twenty years afterward. He describes the
 towns and townlets as bearing marks, amid their decay and de-
 solation, of the prosperity which had prevailed in the time of
 the Missionaries ; .. houses falling to pieces ; fields overgrown
 with wood ; grass in the market-places ; the limekilns, the pot-
 teries, the manufactories of calico (for the Jesuits had all these)
 in ruins.

*Jornal de
 Coimbra.*
 4. p. 107—
 114.

Carvalho had been blinded by his contempt for superstition, and his hatred of the obnoxious Order. He wished to civilize the Indians, and place them upon an equal footing with the Portuguese ; .. and he removed the only persons who would have cooperated with him for this end, .. the only persons who would have exerted themselves disinterestedly to promote the improvement and the happiness of the Indians, .. the only persons who, for the love of God, would have devoted themselves dutifully,

cheerfully, and zealously, to the service of their fellow-creatures. In their place, such men as would undertake the office for the love of gain, were substituted; and the immediate consequences were injurious in every way. The laws in favour of the Indians were infringed more daringly; the Directors had no means as a body to act in their behalf, and individual exertion was not to be expected from such men; they themselves also had an interest in oppressing them, because their profits were in proportion to the work performed; they had the power of compelling them to work, and they had neither authority, influence, nor inclination, to check those vices which certainly were not practised under the moral discipline of the *Aldeas*. Under such circumstances, it was absurd to think that the population of these settlements would be increased by the accession of more savages from the woods. That process of civilization which had been going on so rapidly, and with such excellent effect, was stopt at once and for ever: and a rapid depopulation began, because free scope was now given to drunkenness and to every other vice, and because many of the Indians fled into the wilderness, when they found that their state of filial subjection was exchanged for a servitude which had nothing either to sanctify or to soften it. But though the immediate evil preponderated heavily in this great change, the important principle of equal rights was acknowledged; and the Government of Portugal had solemnly pledged itself to perform the duty of instructing, emancipating, and elevating its Indian subjects, and incorporating them with the Brazilians as one people. What unutterable evils would have been prevented in Spanish America, if Spain had rendered the same justice to humanity! One part of Carvalho's intentions began immediately to take effect, though the difficulty of accomplishing it might have appeared as great as the importance of the object. He succeeded in changing the

CHAP. language of Maranham and Para, where the Tupi was then so
 XL. completely predominant that it was used exclusively in the pul-
 1758. pit. The Priests who were transported from Portugal, ill as
 they supplied the place of their predecessors in every other
 respect, were in this point good Missionaries. It was easier to
 breed up the children in the Portugueze tongue than to acquire
 a barbarous speech themselves; and therefore they busied them-
 selves to enforce the observance of a law which coincided with
 their own convenience.

*Charges
 against the
 Jesuits pre-
 sented to
 the Pope.*

Carvalho's aim at this time seems not to have been the sup-
 pression of the Jesuit Order, . . . a project which would perhaps
 have appeared impracticable, even to his audacious and deter-
 mined spirit, . . . but rather to take away their authority abroad,
 and their influence at home; to deprive them of their resources,
 and destroy them piecemeal in the Portugueze dominions, by
 bringing them into distress, and odium, and contempt. For this
 purpose, a relation of the resistance which they were said to
 have opposed to the Treaty of Limits, both on the side of Para-
 guay and of Para, was published by the Court of Lisbon, and
 circulated with great diligence through the whole of Catholic
 Europe: it was replete with exaggerations, mistatements which
 had their ground in malice, and sheer falsehoods; nevertheless,
 it did its work. The Portugueze Ambassador at Rome pre-
 sented it to Benedict XIV, accompanied with formal charges
 against the Company, . . . charges, it was said, which the King
 had long abstained from preferring, because of his incompara-
 ble clemency, and his pious devotion to the glorious Saints
 Loyola, Xavier, and Borja. But such, it was averred, was the
 extreme corruption into which the Jesuits in his dominions had
 fallen, that they now seemed to be merchants, or soldiers, or
 Royalets, rather than Religioners. Many were the Governors
 and Ministers, faithful servants of God and of his Crown, whom

they had ruined by their insidious artifices. They had formed establishments from the Orellana to the Uruguay, binding the two Americas, Spanish and Portugueze, with so strong a cord, that in ten years more it would be impossible to untie the knot. And now they had unmasked themselves: they had waged war against the two allied Sovereigns in Paraguay; they had promoted disorders and mutinies in Para; and they had opposed the Royal Laws and the Papal Bulls more openly than even the Knights Templars, who for their offences had been punished with such severity, and extinguished as an Order. Exploded⁶ calumnies, and popular imputations as silly as they were false, were gravely repeated to the Pope in this Memorial; and whether his Holiness accredited them or not, he acceded to the King's wishes, and expedited a commission for the Cardinal Patriarch at Lisbon, D. Francisco de Saldanha, appointing him Visitor, and Apostolical Reformer General of the Company, in Portugal and its dependencies.

CHAP.
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1758.

*A Visitor
and Reform-
er of the
Company
appointed.*

*Instrucçam.
Oct. 8. 1757.
Collecçam.
No. 5.*

*Mandate of
the Visitor,
concerning
the trade of
the Jesuits.*

A visitation instituted under these auspices was not likely to be conducted with much regard to moderation or equity. The Cardinal Patriarch acted in compleat subservience to the Minister, and one of his first acts was to issue a Mandate, inter-

⁶ Even the old case of Cardenas, the half crazy Bishop of Paraguay, was quoted as a proof of their tyranny; and the productions of his lying advocates were reproduced, and printed in various works, forms, and languages, in summaries, or at full length! Thus it is that falsehoods, after the lapse of whole generations, are revived and brought into activity, .. like the plague from an old bale of goods! The charges, true and false, against the Company, have lately been heaped together, with some industry and no discrimination, in two large volumes, entitled, with little propriety, a History of the Jesuits. I agree with the Author, in deprecating what is called Catholic Emancipation, as a most unwise, impolitic, and perilous measure: but I abominate misrepresentation, and unfair arguments, .. and more especially when they are employed in a right cause.

CHAP. dicting the commerce which the Jesuits carried on. This was
 XL. in reality, to take from them the sole means of supporting those
 1758. Missions in which they had so long and so successfully labour-
 ed, producing unequivocal, if not unmingled good. But this
 was a matter in which public opinion was against them, for
 many causes: merchants considered them as their rivals in
 trade, possessing an invidious advantage by means of the ex-
 emptions from certain duties, which had been granted them in
 the days of their favour: the suspicion of wealth excited the
 envy and hatred of less meritorious, and therefore less fortunate
 Orders, and it stimulated the cupidity of those who looked to
 be employed in the hopeful work of an Apostolical Reform.
 Against the combined force of authority and opinion, even the
 strongest shield of law would have proved a weak defence; but
 unhappily the law was against them; and no persons are more
 merciless in enforcing it to the letter when it suits their purpose,
 than they who at the same time the most unscrupulously disre-
 gard its spirit and intention. Forgetful of the perpetual inter-
 ference of the Romish Church in secular affairs, the Cardinal
 began his virulent Mandate by asserting, that our Redeemer him-
 self had forbidden all persons dedicated to the priesthood from
 interfering with any worldly concerns; and in proof of this he
 quoted the text, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon;" .. as
 if it had been intended for the Clergy alone, and as if this were
 its meaning! He proceeded to observe, that Christ had turned
 the buyers and sellers, and the money-changers, out of the
 Temple: that the Canon Laws, from the earliest times, inhibited
 all Ecclesiastics from engaging in trade, and that the inhibition ap-
 plied especially to Missionaries, who ought to look upon apos-
 tolical poverty as their only inheritance. Urban VIII, Clement
 IX, and the then Pope, Benedict XIV, had each, he said,
 endeavoured by the severest censures to enforce the observance

of this injunction ; and the law ⁷ of the land in Portugal had, in aid of the sacred Canons and Apostolical Constitutions, decreed that all merchandize belonging to such persons should be confiscated. But the Jesuits, not having the fear of God or of public scandal before their eyes, were obstinately hardened in habits of disobedience to these laws, particularly in the colonies, where, such was the corruption into which they had sunk, they sent expeditions to collect produce in the *Sertam*, and were in the practice of curing hides, and salting meat and fish, for public sale ; and they even had shops of moist goods and eatables under their own roofs. Thus, while the Jesuits were accused in one state paper of endeavouring to destroy trade, for the purpose of keeping their Indians in a state of savage ignorance, it was made a charge against them, in another, that they carried on these branches of trade, which were in the highest degree

CHAP
XL.
1754.

⁷ A suspicion that the Cardinal might not have been more correct in his knowledge of law than in his application of gospel, induced me to follow him to his reference, . . . and that suspicion was confirmed. “ *Os Clerigos de Ordens Sacras, ou Beneficiados, e os Fidalgos, e os Cavalleiros que stiverem em acto militar, nam compraram cousa alguma para revender, nem usaram publicamente da regatiã, porque nam convem a suas dignidades, e stado militar, entremeterem-se em acto de mercadejar, antes lhes he por direito defeso. E por tanto mandamos ús nossas Justiças, que lhes nam consintam negoçar em semelhantes negocios. E aos ditos Clerigos e Beneficiados soquestraram as mesmas mercadorias, e faram autos que remeteram com as mercadorias aos Juizes Ecclesiasticos seus Ordinarios.*”

Ordenaçõens. 1603. L. 4. Tit. 16.

This law prohibits Priests in Orders, Fidalgos, and Knights who are upon military service, from buying any articles for the purpose of selling them again, and from regrating. And as the Cardinal states, it confiscates the mercantile property of any Clergyman. But it no more forbids the Priest, than the Fidalgo, to sell the produce of his lands ; and most certainly did not render it unlawful for the Lay-Jesuits to carry on trade for the benefit and support of the Society.

CHAP. useful to the inhabitants, and indispensable for the support of
 XL. the Missions! The present edict forbade them to traffic, from
 1758. that time forth, under any pretext, title, colour, understanding,
 cause, occasion, or manner whatsoever; and all persons who
 were engaged in transactions with them were commanded to lay
 their accounts before the Visitor, within three days, that he
 might dispose of the property in such manner as might be most
 consonant to the Reform which he was appointed to effect. The
 Mandate was sent out to Brazil, and the Bishops were instructed
 to see to its execution in their respective dioceses.

*Mandamen-
to. May 15,
1758.*

*Attempt to
assassinate
the King of
Portugal.*

A Reform which was commenced in this temper, would not
 have been long in reaching its intended consummation: but a
 more tragical catastrophe was hastened on by the attempt to
 assassinate the King of Portugal;.. which, in all its conse-
 quences, is the most frightful occurrence in Portugueze his-
 tory. One of the leaders in that conspiracy, when under the
 torture, accused three Jesuits as his accomplices. It is said that
 he retracted the charge, and made it his last entreaty to the Priest
 who attended him upon the scaffold, that this denial might be
 made public. Whatever truth there may be in the assertion,
 (which comes from too suspicious a quarter to be lightly
 admitted, and which is coupled with a far less credible de-
 claration of his own innocence,) it is certain that no weight
 should be allowed to an accusation extorted upon the rack:
 that one of the accused Jesuits was afterwards tried and put to
 death for heresy, or rather for the delirious fancies of an old man
 in his dotage, not for treason: and that the other two were never
 brought to trial, or publicly punished upon the charge. Certain
 it is, too, that if these three persons had been proved guilty,
 their brethren in Portugal could not according to any known
 principle of law or rule of reason, have been justly considered
 as responsible for their crime, or implicated in it, unless a

participation had been proved: still less could all the members of the Company in other kingdoms, and in remote parts of the world. But Carvalho involved the whole Order in one sweeping condemnation. He charged the crime upon them as the result of their maxims and settled policy, and he determined to expel them from the Portuguese dominions. Orders therefore were issued, immediately after the diabolical execution of the principal conspirators, for confiscating the property and securing the persons of all the Jesuits in Portugal and its dependencies, as persons who had planned, advised, and instigated the attempted assassination.

CHAP.
XL.
1758.

*The Jesuits
condemned
as accom-
plices.*

*Carta Re-
gia, Jan.
19, 1759.*

The Bishop of Para, D. Miguel de Bulhoens, had already, in his capacity of Visitor, suspended the Jesuits in his diocese from the exercise of their clerical functions, and examined them upon oath respecting their commercial property, and their receipts of every kind. The Bishop of Maranham, Fr. Antonio de S. Jozé, absented himself from S. Luiz that he might not be made the instrument of measures which he entirely disapproved: Bulhoens⁸ therefore acted in both places. The order for their expulsion followed at no long interval, and was obeyed with great brutality. The Jesuits from Para were stowed as close as

*They are
deported
from Para
and Maranh-
ham.*

⁸ It is said in the *Aneddoti*, (*T. 2. p. 126.*) that a report was spread in Maranham, how the King had come to a tragical death, and the Minister in consequence had been disgraced; and that because of this report, which obtained belief, Bulhoens sought to curry favour with the Jesuits, till the authentic intelligence arrived. The attack upon the King had been kept secret while measures were taken for discovering the conspirators; and such a report during that time (while he was under the surgeons' care) may very likely have arisen, and reached Brazil. But it is remarkable, that its prevalence at Maranham should not have been noticed by Seabra, and other writers of that stamp, and brought forward as a proof that the Jesuits were concerned in the conspiracy, and raised the report because they expected such an event.

Aneddoti.
t. 2. 122.—
134.

*Joze de
Pinto Bor-
ges. MS.*

Aneddoti.
t. 2. 152.—
155.

Negro-slaves, and confined below decks on the voyage to S. Luiz, from which port one hundred and fifteen of these injured men were embarked in one vessel. Bulhoens returned to Portugal in the same ship, to take possession of the See of Leiria; and though four Jesuits died on the passage in consequence of unwholesome food, confinement, and thirst, it is said that he did not show the slightest symptom of compassion, or common humanity, towards men whose innocence and whose virtues he must most certainly have known. The brethren from Seara and Paraiba were carried to Recife, where the Governor, Luiz Diogo Lobo da Silva, and the⁹ Bishop of Olinda, treated them with due respect and kindness. They were embarked with the Pernambucan Jesuits, fifty-three in all, in a ship which had belonged to the Company, being for the use of the Provincial to cross the Atlantic, and go from port to port in the performance of his visitation. It had been seized for the Crown, with the rest of their property; and was now, for the apparent purpose of adding to their humiliation, employed as a transport, in which they were to be conveyed as convicts. They were treated with extreme cruelty upon the voyage: when they were suffering the most painful thirst the Captain would not allow, even to the dying, an addi-

⁹ The Bishop in the discharge of his office, as Visitor and Reformer of the Jesuits, said that he could discover nothing about them which stood in need of reformation, except... their shoes, .. which were so old that he thought it was time they should have new ones. The Author of the *Aneddoti* calls this Bishop, F. Ludovico de S. Teresa, a barefoot Carmelite; but by a manuscript list of the Bishops of Olinda (for which I am beholden to my friend Mr. Koster) this appears to be a mistake. Fr. Luiz de S. Teresa was recalled to Lisbon in 1753, and his Coadjutor, D. Francisco Xavier Aranha, took possession of the See upon his death, in 1759: to Aranha therefore it is, that the merit of having behaved with respect and kindness to men who were in misfortunes, and undeserved disgrace, is due.

tional drop of water to moisten their lips; nor would he permit them the consolation of receiving the last sacrament in death. Five of them died under this inhuman usage.

CHAP.
XL.
1759.

*Conduct of
the Arch-
shop of Ba-
hia.*

There are always wicked instruments enough to carry into full effect the worst intentions of unjust and tyrannical power. Examples in all history are but too common; and in the whole detail of the expulsion of the Jesuits, from first to last, they occur with infamous frequency. It is therefore the bounden duty of an historian not to leave unnoticed the conduct of those who acted generously toward them in their unmerited disgrace, especially because by so doing they exposed themselves to the displeasure of a Minister, who, in his arbitrary temper and absolute authority, regarded neither law, equity, nor decent appearances, when he was offended. The Archbishop of Bahia, D. Jozé Botelho de Mattos, was nominated Visitor and Reformer in his diocese. He received instructions to substitute secular Clergy for the Jesuits in the Indian settlements, which throughout Brazil underwent at this time the same change as in Maranham and Para. There were not many ¹⁰ in the old Captaincies, and none in the newly settled countries; but few as they were, it was difficult to find Priests who would accept the charge. The houses and goods of the Jesuits were given them, and a small fixed salary; besides which, they were to have fees at christenings, marriages, and burials. The Jesuits had taken none; . . . theirs was truly a labour of love: and the Indians, looking upon their successors as mercenary interlopers, were as little pleased with them as the poor Clergy themselves were with

¹⁰ The statement in the *Aneddoti* (2. 137.) is, that the Jesuits had seven Missions in the diocese of Pernambuco, including Paraiba and Seara; nine in that of Bahia, five in Rio de Janeiro, and six in S. Paulo.

CHAP. the society into which they were banished, and the privations
XL. which they had to endure. Some gave up their situations in
1759. despair; others fled to save their lives. Insurrections against
the system took place; some Indians were cast into prison; others took to the woods: and here also the immediate effect of so sudden and violent a change was to thin the *Aldeas*, and corrupt the remaining inhabitants. Thus far the Primate, however unwilling, strictly obeyed his instructions: they were imperative, and it was a case in which, feeling himself a mere agent, he did not hold himself morally responsible in any degree for the action. In like manner he obeyed an order for sending all the foreign Jesuits to Lisbon. But when he came to render an account of his Visitation, instead of reporting the charge of carrying on an extensive commerce contrary to the Canons, as a crime which was fully proved against the members of the Company, he sent home an honest attestation that he had found them blameless in that point, and in all others highly useful and meritorious. Eighty of the most respectable persons in Bahia subscribed this attestation; and among them was a brother of the Cardinal Patriarch. The Archbishop at the same time informed the Court, that he had not obeyed the order to suspend the Jesuits from their functions; because a residence of nineteen years upon his See had enabled him to know their real character, and appreciate the good which they performed, and he could not in conscience be the instrument of silencing men whose services were so beneficial to the community. Five years before this time he had requested permission to resign the Primacy, petitioning that he might remain in Brazil, being too old to undertake the voyage to Portugal, and that half his appointments might be continued to him. That request had not been accorded; but now, the next dispatches informed him that his resignation was accepted, and that the See was to be administered by

the Dean till his successor should arrive. No pension whatever was allowed him; and this venerable man, at the age of fourscore, was left for the remainder of his days dependant upon charity. The office of Reformer devolved upon the Dean; and he was proceeding in it with sufficient severity when the Marquez de Lavradio, who came out as Viceroy, brought with him instructions for the expulsion, and one hundred and sixty-eight of this persecuted Order were deported from Bahia to the Tagus.

CHAP.
XL.
1760.

Aneddoti.
t. 2. 134—
149.
Vita di
Pombal. 2.
215.

The Bishop of the Rio, D. Fr. Antonio de Desterro, acted very differently from the Primate. Being a Friar, he appears on this occasion to have indulged the envy and hatred with which that description of Religioners commonly regarded the Jesuits. When the first instructions arrived, he was disabled by disease; but as soon as he recovered he issued the most virulent Pastoral Epistle that ever was so misnamed, . . . wherein he called the Jesuits, the yet unpunished inventors and instigators of the attempted assassination; suspended them from their ecclesiastical functions; forbade the Clergy to lend them Church, Chapel, Oratory, Pulpit, or Confessional; and enjoined all persons to abstain from any the slightest intercourse or communication with them, lest they should be infected with the deadly contagion of their pestiferous opinions. A second Manifesto repeated this interdict, and published the circular letter from the King, which had reached Brazil since the Pastoral was published, and in which the calumniated Society was charged with the crimes of treason and intended regicide. And this was followed by a third, . . . one of those works of supererogation which malice is always ready to perform: it was a proclamation, accusing the Jesuits of having concealed their relics, church-plate, and ornaments, and calling upon the persons to whose keeping they had been entrusted, to deliver them up on pain of excommunication.

Different
conduct of
the Bishop
of Rio de
Janeiro.

Pastoral.
8 Nov. 1759.

Editul.
17 Nov.
1759.

Editul.
29 Nov.
1759.

CHAP. XL.
 1760. The disappearance of these treasures, real and imaginary, might have been more truly explained. The Colleges, Churches, and habitations of the Jesuits, had been taken possession of for the Crown, and the property therein taken for confiscation; their books and papers had been seized; their very hospitals had not been spared; . . . the patients had been compelled to leave their beds, some of them in such a condition that they died while they were being removed to another place of shelter. At S. Paulo, notwithstanding the old enmity with which they had been regarded, they were treated with humanity and respect in their disgrace; and the Bishop, Fr. Antonio da Madre de Deos, said publicly, that the expulsion of the Jesuits would draw after it the ruin of religion first, and the overthrow of the government afterwards. The Rio was the place of ¹¹ embarkation for all the members from the South. One hundred and forty-five were stowed in one ship, below decks, like Negroes upon the middle passage; till the Surgeon obtained some alleviation of their durance, by assuring the Captain, that if he persisted in confining them so closely not one of them would reach Lisbon alive, and that the disease which would certainly be generated among them, would as certainly be communicated to the ship's company.

Aneddotti.
 t. 2. 155—
 166.

*Fate of the
 Jesuits.*

Those Jesuits who had previously been sent to Lisbon as prisoners were cast into prison, and never heard of more till the King's death, and the disgrace of Pombal; when, after a confinement of eighteen years, they were set at liberty. The others, as they arrived in the Tagus, were transferred to other ships, not being permitted to set foot on shore, nor to communicate with friend

¹¹ The author of the *Aneddotti* carries the Jesuits from S. Paulo to Bahia, and embarks them there for the Rio! This is not the only instance in which he betrays his ignorance of the topography of Brazil.

or kinsman: they were then sent to the Mediterranean, landed upon the Papal States, and there turned ¹² adrift.

CHAP.
XL.
1760.

¹² The enemies of Pombal have asserted, that not the slightest provision was made for these poor Jesuits; but that they were left to depend upon the charity of strangers for the necessaries of life. Perhaps this may be partly true; . . . it is probable that no remittances were made from Portugal to the Papal States, while the Courts of Lisbon and Rome were at variance. But that some provision was made for them afterwards is certain; the facetious complaint of Pombal is remembered by those who knew him, . . . that the Jesuits were the longest lived body of men he ever knew; for according to the certificates which he received, not one of them had died after the time of their expulsion.

Cruelly as the Spanish Government afterwards behaved to this persecuted Order, its conduct was merciful when compared with that of Pombal. So many perished in prison, and so many died of the diseases induced by their usage on shipboard, that in a few years the Missionaries were almost extinguished. Their papers had been seized, and have not yet seen the light. Their broken constitutions rendered them incapable (like their Spanish brethren) of bequeathing their knowledge to posterity: their painful acquirements therefore perished with them; and for this reason Hervas had to regret that his account of the languages of Brazil was more imperfect than any other part of his work.

T. 1. p. 150. 271.

...Kissamin: they were then sent to the Mediterranean, landed on the ...
...the ... and there turned ...
...1760

CHAPTER XLI.

Measures of Pombal. War of 1762. Capitation abolished. Recovery of Rio Grande.

CHAP. XLI.

The establishment of an exclusive Company for the trade of Maranham and Para, and of another for that of Pernambuco and Paraiba, were measures of the Portugueze Minister which attracted much more attention at the time than his plans for the improvement and emancipation of the Indians.

Companies of Maranham and Pernambuco established.

Alvara. 1 Feb. 1721.

The Brazil Company, which originated with Vieyra, and by means of which the trade had been protected in the most perilous times, and the expulsion of the Dutch finally accomplished, had been abolished by Joam V, after having subsisted more than seventy years. The policy of granting monopolies of this kind is one of those statistic questions which have been debated with the most vehemence, because the controversy has generally been inflamed by a warm sense of personal interest on both sides: but if there were not much apparent good as well as evil, the point would never have been disputed. Such arrangements, however, were congenial to Carvalho's disposition, which led him always to aim at

producing rapid effects by great and extraordinary efforts. The first which he established was that of ¹ Maranham and Para, with a capital of 1,200,000 *cruzados*, in twelve hundred shares at 400 *milreis* each. There existed at Lisbon a public body, called the *Mesa do Bem Commum*, .. the Board of Public Good; instituted for the purpose of watching over the commercial interests of the country. This Board presented a memorial against the measure to the King himself, through its Advocate, the *Regidor* Joam Thomaz de Negreiros. Carvalho at that time was not known to have obtained the degree of favour which he actually possessed, neither was his temper then understood. No Visir or Sultan was ever more intolerant of opposition. The Board was immediately abolished; another, called the *Junta do Commercio*, established in its stead, and the members of the former Board were banished for different terms of from two to eight years, some to different parts of Portugal, others to the fortress of Mazagam. They who were under

CHAP.
XLI.

Alvara.
7 June,
1755.

¹ This measure preceded the hostile acts against the Jesuits: and one of the charges against them which Carvalho was not ashamed to lay before the Pope was, that F. Ballester had preached a sermon at Lisbon against it, and affirmed that whosoever entered into that Company would not be admitted into the Company of Christ. (*Instrução*. 10 Feb. 1758.) The Italian compiler of the *Anecdotes* gives what appears to be the faithful fact, which he says Ballester himself attested upon oath. The Jesuit preached upon these words: 'Make to yourselves friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness:' and using that low stile which, being upon a level with the taste of those to whom it is addressed, produces its effect when a better strain might fail, he proposed to his hearers that they should engage in a new Commercial Company, the capital of which was to be invested in Heaven; the poor were to be the agents, and the returns, not one in the hundred, but a hundred for one. This comparison with a mercantile Company, which was probably pursued till it was run down, in the true style of tub oratory, afforded pretext enough for a charge of malicious intention; and the poor preacher was banished to Braganza, upon an hour's warning. *Aneddoti*. T. 1. p. 18.

CHAP. this heavier sentence were in prison, waiting for transportation, when the earthquake happened: Negreiros was buried in the ruins; the others were released by a general act of forgiveness, granted by the King during the agony of that dreadful day.

XLI.
Vida de Pombal.
MS. § 27—33.

Alvara.
30 July, 1759.

The British Factory affected by these monopolies.

Ere long a similar Company was chartered for Pernambuco and Paraiba. These institutions materially affected the merchants of the British Factory at Lisbon. Great Britain had silently abandoned the right to a direct trade with the Portuguese dominions, which she possessed by the letter of old treaties; but Brazil was supplied, almost exclusively, with English manufactures through the Portuguese merchants of the capital to whom the members of the Factory gave two or three years credit. This length of credit had arisen not so much from the competition between our numerous and wealthy houses, as from the necessity of the case: there was no trading by single ships when the system began: the fleet made only one voyage in the year; the Portuguese merchants waited for their returns before they could make payment, and those returns were not always regular or certain. Thus the Brazilian trade was carried on with British capital, as well as British goods; and the establishment of these Companies affected that capital in two ways: the Portuguese merchants who purchased shares, vested in those shares money, the greater part of which was owing to the English: and they who did not subscribe, were excluded from the trade, and consequently rendered incapable of discharging what they owed. The monopoly also placed the British merchants at the mercy of the Companies: their goods were manufactured for the Brazil market; if they were not sent to that country, they must lie in the warehouse; and the Companies, having no competitors, were masters of the price. This, however, was a lighter evil: some reliance might be placed upon the sense of equity; and the Portuguese, like the Spaniards, were eminently an honour-

able people: but the sudden stagnation of so great a capital would be seriously felt. The Factory represented their case to the British Ambassador, and proposed that Great Britain should claim its right of trading directly to Brazil, as by Treaty established, unless these injurious monopolies were annulled. But though the Treaties were clear, and the injury great as well as manifest, the Ambassador was of opinion that England could not interfere with any regulations which the King of Portugal might think proper to make for the trade of his own subjects with his own colonies. He believed that the new system was founded upon erroneous views, and would necessarily be abandoned when its ill effects should have been experienced: but till then, detrimental as it was to the interests of England, her interference would go no farther than faithfully to represent the injury which was ² sustained.

CHAP.
XLI.

*Earl Kin-
noul's dis-
patch.
7 June,
1769.
Walpole
Papers.MS.*

All such considerations were despised by Carvalho, as beneath his notice: a thought of the injustice and injury which might be sustained by any individuals or bodies of men, never interfered with his designs; he acted as regardlessly of the immediate evil which he caused, as if his knowledge had been commensurate

*The Maranh-
ham Com-
pany pro-
duces a good
effect.*

² The French writers represent England as exercising compleat authority over the concerns of Portugal, treating it like a dependant state, and monopolizing its trade by means of an overbearing influence, most injurious to the welfare of the Portugueze dominions. These representations have been echoed by the Spaniards, and even by some of the Portugueze themselves, who, if they knew any thing of the matter, must have known their falsehood. Upon this subject I possess the best and fullest information; and, I assert here, (what, if I live to compleat the History of Portugal will there be proved,) that Great Britain in its intercourse with Portugal has always proceeded upon principles of perfect equity, from which it has never departed in the slightest degree, except when, under feelings of the most honourable kind, it has submitted to unjust and injurious restrictions. The text affords one instance.

CAHP. with his power, and the result of good at which he aimed beyond
 XLI. all possibility of doubt or disappointment. The Maranham and Pernambuco Companies proved to be unlucky speculations for those who engaged in them; but the main object of the Minister was not frustrated: for by the application of so large a capital, which the Administrators employed with more regard to their own profit than to the advantage of the sharers, a great and sudden impulse was given both to agriculture and commerce. This was especially felt at Maranham, where there had been but few Negroes, till this time for want of capital: many were now imported, and one immediate consequence was that the laws in favour of the Indians began to be observed, because the Negroes were not only a hardier race but more willing to labour, more active, and more intelligent. One slavery was thus exchanged for another; the system of kidnapping was transferred from S. America to Africa, and the horrors of the middle passage added to its crimes; nevertheless, there was good, both immediate and prospective, in the change. The principle which had been established in behalf of the Indians could not but be found equally applicable hereafter to the Negroes, . . . a precedent to which good men might confidently appeal in better times. The introduction of so many efficient hands produced a visible improvement; and though the Portugueze of Para and Maranham have been the last to redeem themselves from the detestable imputation of cruelty toward their slaves, the number of free inhabitants received from time to time no inconsiderable addition, because emancipation was encouraged by the religion, and favoured by the laws of the country. The first articles which the Company brought from Maranham were the wild produce which then constituted its staple trade, rice and cotton³, the growth of which they en-

³ " When the first parcel was about to be shipped, a petition was made by

couraged greatly, and lamp-wicks, manufactured by the Indians. The cultivation of the sugar-cane seems to have been entirely abandoned before this time. Carvalho was so desirous of promoting the trade of these countries, at any cost, that he would not permit the Company to proceed against their debtors by way of distress: if the debtor were honest and solvent, it was well; but if he were disposed to cheat the Company who gave him credit, Government afforded him every accommodation, for the good of the colony, . . . as if colonial morals naturally were not lax enough! A favourable change however was observed from this time in the habits and disposition of the people. Hitherto they had been more turbulent, and more difficult to govern, than any of the other Brazilians; now, as they became more industrious, they grew less insubordinate: the spirit of enterprize lost its ferocious character, when they were no longer permitted, under any pretext, to kidnap slaves for themselves; and the general introduction of a civilized in place of a savage language, removed an obstacle which, so long as it continued, must have precluded any intellectual advancement.

CHAP.
XLI.

*Recordaçõ-
ens de Rat-
ton. § 57.
Cazal. 2.
256. 276.*

Carvalho also chartered an exclusive Company for the Whale Fishery; it formed establishments upon the coast of Bahia and

*Whaling
Company*

several of the inhabitants to the *Camara*, or Municipality (of S. Luiz), requesting that the exportation might not be permitted, for otherwise they feared that there would be a want of the article for the consumption of the country.

Koster's Travels. p. 170.

Jacome Ratton says in his *Recordaçõens*, that in 1762 he bought three hundred bags of cotton at the Company's sale, at three hundred *reis* per pound, taking it in set-off of a debt. He sent it to Rouen, which at that time, he says, was the only market for cotton; but he was a loser by the speculation, in consequence of the peace of 1763. At the next sale there were no bidders for a larger quantity: the directors therefore took it among themselves at one hundred and sixty *reis*, and were losers even at that price. (§ 57.)

CHAP. the Rio ; but its head quarters were in the island of S. Catalina.
 XLI. This Company obtained a contract for supplying Brazil with
 Salt con- salt, . . . a most injurious monopoly, which had previously been
 tract. held by an individual, to whom for the yearly sum of sixty *con-*
tos Government had sold the privilege of exacting from the
 Brazilians what price he pleased, for one of the prime necessa-
 ries of life. Pernambuco and Paraiba, Maranham and Para,
 were exempted from the monopoly, because the trade there be-
 longed to their separate Companies, and those countries were
 provided by nature. There were extensive salt-pans near Cabo
 Frio and Cape S. Roque ; and at Alcantara, three leagues from
 S. Luiz, the Jesuits had made salt-works, which, if their suc-
 cessors had managed them with equal care, might have sufficed
 for the supply of many provinces. But by the terms of the
 Charter, the inhabitants, though they could not be debarred
 from using what nature had given them, were prohibited from
 exporting it to any of the other Captaincies. There are parts
 of South America in which the cattle cannot exist without salt :
 in some of those parts there is a certain saline clay, called *bar-*
rero by the Spaniards, which they devour greedily ; it is scarcely
 possible to drive them from it, even by blows ; and they some-
 times eat so much of it, that it produces indigestion and death.
 It is said that they do not require this clay southward of latitude
 27°, because the waters and pasturage contain sufficient salt ; but
 the land north of that latitude will neither support kine, horses,
 asses, sheep, or goats, unless there be some of this *barrero*
 within their reach, or salt be given them. Without this they
 inevitably pine and die ⁴ in four months. The enormous prices

Sim. de
Vasc. Not.
 1. § 42. 57.
RochaPitta.
 2. § 96.
Casal. 2.
 268.

Azaredo
Coutinho.
 p. 1. c. 1.
Ratton.
 § 59.
Azara. 1.
 53.
Do. Qua-
drupedes. 2.
 357.

⁴ In North America also the buffaloes frequent the salt lakes, at regular seasons, making straight paths to them, for some hundred miles. Yet in Eng-

therefore to which salt was raised by this preposterous monopoly, not only prevented the inhabitants from curing fish and meat, but actually operated in many places as a prohibition against keeping cattle.

It was not by such measures as these that Carvalho obtained the reputation of an able statesman; it was by the courage with which he attacked the most dangerous prejudices, made the law respected among a people who had long been lawless, and with enlarged and liberal views of general policy, aimed at the general good. During many generations it had been felt, that the claims of the Donatories in the respective Captaincies were as inconvenient as they were anomalous and indefinite; and as occasion offered from time to time, the Crown had purchased them from those possessors who were willing to accept of European honours and substantial wealth in exchange for a disputed authority in Brazil, and rights, which, when not altogether unproductive, were of precarious value. The inhabitants of the Campos dos Goiatazes had long been at variance with their Donatory, and refused to admit the officers whom he appointed; till after more than thirty years of litigation and broils, Gomes Freyre,

The Donatories extinguished.

land salt is not found necessary for cattle, and is not usually given them except as a condiment for musty hay, which they eat willingly if it be sprinkled with salt, when otherwise they would refuse it.

There are certain salt springs upon the confines of Goyaz, S. Paulo, and Minas Geraes, called *Bebedouros*, or drinking places, because the graziers drive their herds there every month. (*Investigador Portuguez. T. 18, p. 355*).

Ibañez (3. 87—93) recommended the Spaniards to open a contraband trade in this article from Paraguay with Cuyaba and Mato Grosso. They might sell it, he said, for fifty per cent more than it cost, and twenty-five per cent below the contractors' price, and they might take their payment in gold and diamonds.

The quantity which the Company exported, exceeded twenty thousand *moios*.

CHAP. not being able to command obedience to the laws by milder
 XLI. methods, sent troops to controul and punish the refractory peo-
 1754. ple. Some of the leaders were arrested ; others absconded ; and
 the soldiers were quartered in the country at the cost of their
 estates. The *Procurador* of the Donatory took possession of his
 office under this protection ; but Sebastiam da Cunha Coutinho
 Rangel, a man of great influence in that district, went to Lisbon
 and represented to the Minister the general desire of the people
 to be freed from the obnoxious authority of a subject, and
 placed under the immediate and benignant pleasure of the Sove-
 reign. The request obtained a favourable reception : a general
 pardon was granted, and Carvalho, when the evils of the existing
 system were thus brought before him, acted with his characteristic
 decision, extinguished all the remaining Donatories by an act of
 salutary violence, and purchased their rights for the Crown.

Casal. 2.
46.
Azaredo
Coutinho.
p. 47.
Adminis-
tration de
Pombal.
t. 2. p. 33.

The laws en-
forced in
Goyaz.

Goyaz, which had been made a Captaincy before Carvalho began his administration, was at this time in a state of deplorable lawlessness. The first settlers, as usual, had been men of desperate fortunes, or desperate dispositions ; and their early history, like that of S. Paulo, of Minas Geraes, and Cuyaba, would be little more than a register ⁵ of crimes. In some places the inhabitants went to mass armed always with pistols as well as the knife, .. not daring to meet one another unless they were

⁵ The story of a Paulista woman in this country, is too horrible for relation ; but one or two ludicrous instances of the state of manners deserve mention. The *Juizes Ordinarios* were commonly as bad as the Priests and the people ; but though they neglected the duties of their office, they were jealously tenacious of its privileges. The Governor of Goyaz, D. Luiz de Mascaranhas, wanted to confine one of these men for some misdeed, at Arrayas ; there was no prison, and the refractory *Juiz* therefore was tied to a tree ! In that situation he still chose to hear and decide causes, and gave directions that all persons who wanted jus-

thus prepared, even in the spot where, according to their belief, their Redeemer was substantially present! Here also the Priests were remarkable for profligacy, and open contempt of all laws, human and divine. Some of them braved the ministers of justice, at the head of their armed slaves and retainers; and there was a certain P. Joze Caetano Lobo Pereira, who, having established himself near Meia Ponte, acted as Lord of the Land, and banished the neighbours whom he did not like, compelling them to quit the country by threats of death, which they well knew he was capable of performing. When the state of the province was represented to Carvalho, orders were sent out to create a Board of Justice, from whose sentence there should be no appeal; to build a prison; and to erect a gallows. Examples were made by executing criminals every two months. More persons suffered for murder than for robbery, because murder was the more frequent crime: but when it was seen and felt, that Government possessed both the will and the power to enforce the laws, a speedy and visible amendment was produced.

*Patriota. 3.
No. 4. p. 78.
Do. p. 58.*

*War with
France and
Spain.*

But Carvalho had now to think of providing for the safety of Brazil. France had engaged Spain in an alliance against England: the united Courts called upon Portugal to make common cause with them, and renounce its friendship with Great Britain: should this proposition be rejected, they denounced war as the alternative. Portugal chose the just and honourable part, and immediate hostilities ensued. The scheme of partition was renewed, and it was proposed by the French Government,

*Walpole
Papers.
MSS.*

tice should be summoned before him by beat of drum. The discoverer of the mines at Pillar, and the *Juiz Ordinario*, quarrelled while they were both making part of a religious procession; the *Descubridor* took off the Judge's wig and dusted him with it in the face, and the procession ended in a set-to between their respective friends, with swords and knives! *Patriota. 3. No. 4, p. 70.*

CHAP.
 XLI.
 1762.

that Portugal and the Portugueze islands should be annexed to the Spanish dominions, and that France should take Brazil as her portion of the spoil. Carvalho, who had now been made Conde de Oeyras, relied upon the natural strength of his country, and the fidelity of England. Concerning Portugal, therefore, he was not alarmed: and he knew, that although the scheme of such a partition might be proposed, and entertained with seeming sincerity, for purposes of immediate convenience on both sides, France would be as little contented at seeing the whole peninsula united in one monarchy, as Spain would be to let the French obtain possession of Portugueze America. With regard to Brazil, a sudden and tremendous blow, like that which Du Guay-Trouin had struck, might possibly be inflicted, though not at the Rio: permanent conquest, Oeyras well knew, was impossible; .. that question had been indisputably decided, once and for ever, by the Pernambucan war. But on the side of Maranh and Para he was not equally secure. The settlements on the north of the Orellana were open to invasion from Cayenne: there were many Jesuits in French Guiana, and Oeyras apprehended that an attack against this vulnerable part would be undertaken by their advice, and perhaps materially assisted by their means. If any such project was entertained by France, no leisure was allowed for carrying it into effect. The British councils were then directed with a vigour, which Britain had never displayed in the field nor in the cabinet since the days of Marlborough and Godolphin; and the superiority of the British arms was asserted wherever the foe was to be found, from Nova Scotia to Bengal. The blow in Brazil fell upon a different quarter, and it came from an enemy whom the Brazilians had long been accustomed to despise.

*Earl Kin-
 noul's dis-
 patch. 21
 June, 1760.
 Walpole
 Papers.
 MSS.*

*Colonia be-
 sieged and
 taken by
 Zeballos.*

Zeballos, the ablest man that ever commanded at Buenos Ayres, had foreseen the rupture, and made ready for it. He

strengthened the works at Monte Video, raised a militia force, and brought Guaranies from the Reductions: being thus prepared, as soon as he received advice of the commencement of hostilities in Europe, he sent a vessel to proclaim war before the walls of Colonia, and immediately laid siege to that obnoxious settlement. The Governor, Vicente de Fonseca, apprehending such an attack, had repaired the fortifications, which however were in no degree proportionate to the importance attached both by Spain and Portugal to the place: the inhabitants also were well disposed to assist in an obstinate defence. They had been so indignant at the intended transfer, that they are said to have torn down the arms of Spain when they were set up in pursuance of the treaty. Zeballos had a less willing force under his command: the newly raised militia would not have crossed the river upon this expedition, if they had dared refuse obedience to a General of whose stern and decisive temper they stood in fear. They probably disliked a service, which, if it were successful, would put an end to the contraband trade, . . . a trade, as beneficial to the people of La Plata as it was injurious to the Custom House. But the services of any men may be made available by a good Commander: soldiers soon catch the spirit of their profession; and when they can rely upon their leader, they acquire a confidence in themselves. That confidence they speedily obtained under Zeballos. The Guaranies also behaved with great alacrity: the presence of the Spaniards inspired them with courage, and they were fighting against an enemy whom they hated. The siege was pressed with vigour and ability: a breach was made on the second day; the garrison filled it up in the night with fascines which they procured from the ⁶ islands in the river.

⁶ Wood is scarce upon that part of the coast. The wreck of the vessel in

CHAP. Zeballos instructed the Captain of a Spanish frigate, with some
 { XLI.
 } transports under his command, to cut them off from their re-
 1762. sources; but that officer thought it prudent to keep at a dis-
 tance from all danger. Trenches were ere long opened in a
 more favourable situation; fresh breaches were made; an as-
 sault was attempted, and well sustained on both sides, the Gua-
 ranies acting with such⁷ coolness that they smothered the fire-
 pots which were thrown among them, with wet hides. At length,
 after a close siege of four weeks, the garrison capitulated: the
 honours of war were granted them, and they were allowed to
 embark for Brazil with two months' stores. Private property was
 to be respected: the inhabitants either to transfer their allegiance,
 or remove; they who chose to remain were to discharge their
 debts to the Brazilian merchants. Any vessels which might
 arrive within one month from the day of the capitulation should
 not be liable to capture, and might enter the port for refresh-
 ment.

Muriel.
 342—3.
 Funes. 3.
 97—9.
 Casal.
 1. 124.

Defeat of
 an English
 and Portu-
 guese squa-
 dron before
 Colonia.

Meantime Gomes Freyre had dispatched a squadron from
 Rio de Janeiro for the relief of the place. It consisted of the
 Lord Clive, carrying sixty-four guns, and the Ambuscade, of
 forty, both English; the Gloria, of thirty-eight, some small
 armed vessels and transports, eleven sail in all, with about five
 hundred troops on board. The English vessels were privateers:
 they had been fitted out for the purpose of trying their fortune
 at Buenos Ayres; but touching at Lisbon on the way, with a

which Dobrizhoffer sailed from Europe supplied the Guaranies with fuel during
 the siege. It had been lost upon the Isle of S. Gabriel. (1. 212.)

⁷ They kept a Journal of the siege, written upon leather; Muriel had seen
 this curious manuscript: "*Obsidionis ephemerides confecerunt ipsi suas corio in-
 scriptas, quibus inter alia ridicula pueriliaque id referunt, quemdam de suis ibi no-
 minatum, cadens opepon, (i. e. ollam ignariam) extinxisse mingendo.*" P. 342.

recommendation from the Portugueze Ambassador in London to Oeyras, that they might obtain letters to the Viceroy, and not be regarded as pirates when they arrived in the Brazilian seas, an arrangement had been made with the Portugueze Government, in consequence of which the officers received Portugueze commissions, and sailed for the Rio, to receive orders from Gomes Freyre. The whole armament was under the command of Captain Macnamara of the Lord Clive, an Irishman. He learnt upon the way, that Colonia was in possession of the Spaniards; and determined upon attempting to retake it by a prompt attack. The Spanish ships under D. Carlos Sarria, the same officer who had behaved with such suspicious caution during the siege, withdrew before this superior force; and the Portugueze and English entered the harbour, and advanced to the attack with horns sounding and drums beating, in good order, and with full hope and fair likelihood of success. Zeballos, though prostrated by illness at the time, left his bed at the tidings of this unexpected danger, mounted his horse, and rode about the walls to encourage and direct his people. One on board the squadron, who had served with the late garrison and knew his person, pointed him out as he made himself thus conspicuous, to Macnamara; but the Irish Commander ordered his men not to aim at him, but to let him take his chance of being buried under the ruins of the wall. After a fire of four hours, kept up with the greatest courage and at short distances, the batteries were almost silenced, and the assailants were every moment expecting to see the garrison strike their flag, when from negligence or mishap, the Lord Clive took ⁸ fire, and almost as soon

CHAP.
XLI.
1763.

Mr. Lyttleton's dispatch. 29
Oct. 1768.
Walpole's Papers.
MSS.

⁸ It broke out, according to Muriel, in an odd place; "*Ventus a terrâ, classi contrarius, debiliorum fuit salus. In Cliveâ id erat neglectum, ut apponeren-*

CHAP. as the evil was perceived, was enveloped in flames. It was
 XLI. not possible to assist her: the other ships were obliged to get off
 1763. with all haste, lest they should be overtaken by the same de-
 struction; the enemy renewed their fire, though after such a
 deliverance, and under such circumstances, both honour and
 humanity might have taught them to withhold it; and many who
 could otherwise have reached the land, perished by their shot.
 A good swimmer took Macnamara on his back and made for
 the shore: his strength began to fail; and it is said that the Cap-
 tain, when he perceived this, gave him his sword, bade him look
 to his own preservation, then let go his hold, and sunk. Of
 three hundred and forty persons, only seventy-eight were saved.
 They were sent to Cordoba, with some Portugeze prisoners,
 where most or all of them settled; and it is still remembered in
 that city, that these prisoners introduced a degree of skill in

tur qui tormentis explosis ardentia stuparum ejectamenta extinguerent, quæ vento retrudebantur. Horum quodpiam in puppis cloacam recidit, quod sero cognitum navem incendit." P. 343.

Penrose served as Lieutenant in the Ambuscade. Among his poems are two pieces, which are interesting because of the circumstances in which they were composed: the one was addressed to the lady whom he afterwards married, written as he was going into this action; the other is a mournful elegy, written as he sailed out of the Plata after the defeat. In this latter he hints at the hopes with which the adventure had been originally undertaken:

Ah glorious Drake! far other lot was thine;
 Fate gave to thee to quell the hostile pride,
 To seize the treasures of Potosi's mine,
 And sail triumphant o'er La Plata's tide.

But Providence on secret wonders bent,
 Conceals its purposes from mortal view;
 And Heaven, no doubt with some all-wise intent,
 Denied to numbers what it gave to few.

agriculture and in manual arts, which had been unknown there before that time. The Ambuscade, at the close of the action, was little better than a wreck; her rigging had been cut to pieces, there were sixty shot in her hull, and six feet of water in her hold. Sarria, who had a frigate under his command, an armed merchant ship, and an armed packet, might have captured her almost without resistance; but instead of seizing the prey which offered itself to his hands, this pusillanimous officer hastened to secure himself between the isles of S. Gabriel, with such precipitation that he ran the frigate aground, and then set fire to her, from a preposterous fear that the Portugueze might carry her off; . . . so the frigate was in flames while the garrison were giving thanks in the Church for their delivery and triumph. Owing to this scandalous misconduct, the defeated squadron was enabled to refit as well as circumstances would allow, and effect its passage to the Rio.

CHAP.
XLI.
1763.

Muriel.
343.
Life of Penrose, in Anderson's Poets.
Funes. 3.
92—103.

Zeballos advances against Rio Grande.

After the failure of so formidable an attack, Zeballos felt that he was in safe possession of his conquest; he prepared therefore with all alacrity to follow up good fortune, and settle the long disputed question of the boundary, by means more congenial to his temper than the discussions in which he had been engaged with Gomes Freyre since the annulment of the treaty. With something more than a thousand men, he marched against Fort S. Teresa. The Portugueze had recently erected this strong hold upon the Chuy, a small river which rises between Lake Mangueira and the Lagoa Mirim, and enters the Sea nearly on a line with the southern extremity of the latter lake. It was garrisoned with about six hundred men, under Colonel Thomaz Luiz Osorio: half were regular troops; the others were people of the country, mostly herdsmen, who at sight of an enemy ran away from their compulsory service. Their panic infected the rest: and on the second day Osorio capitulated, with a disregard

CHAP. to the strength of his post and the honour of the Portuguese
 XLI. arms, which did not escape deserved censure from the conquer-
 1763. ors, and which undoubtedly had its share in bringing on the
 unhappy fate that soon befell him. Zeballos took possession
 of the place at midnight; and in the course of an hour he sent
 off one detachment to drive away the enemies' horses, and ano-
 ther to seize S. Miguels, a fort seven leagues north of S. Teresa.
 The garrison surrendered it immediately, under the influence of
 their first alarm; and the Spanish General without delay pushed
 forward a body of his victorious troops, under Colonel D. Joseph
 Molina, to the Rio Grande de S. Pedro.

Muriel.
 343.
Casal. 1.
 124.
Funes. 3.
 103.

Rio Grande
de S. Pedro,
and the La-
goa dos
Patos.

The name of Rio Grande, or the Great River, often and inconveniently as the Portuguese and Spaniards have bestowed it, has never been more injudiciously applied than to the channel, a few miles only in length, by which the waters of the Lagoa dos Patos discharge themselves into the Sea. This lake, the largest in Brazil, runs nearly parallel with the coast for one hundred and eighty miles, at a distance varying from eight to twenty-four. In its widest part the breadth is forty miles: there is depth for vessels of the middle size; but there are some dangerous shallows. It communicates by the Rio de S. Gonsalo, a navigable stream between fifty and sixty miles long, with the Lagoa Mirim, or Lake Minor, which, though thus denominated, is above one hundred miles in length, and in breadth about thirty. This again communicates with Lake Mangoeira, which is one hundred miles long and has an average breadth of four, and lies between the Lagoa Mirim and the coast. Rio Grande, which is the only channel for all these waters to the Sea, is about twelve miles long and four wide. The land is low on both sides, and the channel shifts. The long peninsula between the great Lagoa and the Sea contains many smaller lakes, one of which, about six and thirty miles in length, is remarkable, be-

cause its communication with the Sea is said to be annually closed and opened: when at the regular season the waters again force their way, the fish enter from the salt water in such abundance that the lake is called the *Lagoa do Peixe*. The great lake derives its name from the consequence of an accident. Some Spanish vessels bound for the Plata in 1554, were driven into the Rio Grande by stress of weather: they left a few ducks there, and these birds multiplied to such numbers that they covered the waters with their flight, and the *Lagoa dos Patos* thus obtained ⁹ its designation.

Cazal. 1.
134. 138.
Sim. de Vas-
concellos.
Vida de Al-
meida. 4.
1. § 6.

The Carijos.

No part of Brazil is blessed with greater natural advantages. The country to the south consists of hill ¹⁰ and dale, with sufficient diversity of woodland; the pastures are excellent; the water never fails, and the climate is favourable for the growth of corn. At the time of the discovery it was possessed by the Carijos, who are described as a well disposed, docile, and indus-

⁹ Not from the Indians, as Cazal affirms. The Indians took their name from the place.

¹⁰ F. Simam de Vasconcellos describes a phenomenon in the Serras here, which seems to resemble the helm-wind of Crossfell. He says, "A notable thing is frequently experienced, which is, that from the ravines and hollows of these mountains, as from the caverns of another God Eolus, such great and furious winds arise (commonly North-westers) that they carry away every thing before them, and raise storms which terrify those who dwell in the vallies, or are navigating the adjoining seas. But withal their uproar stops in the vallies and on the coast, and it may be seen that no such storm prevails at a little way off, as at a league distance; all being perfectly calm there, or a different wind blowing. So that this tempest appears to rule only in its own immediate district, and to have no license for passing farther. And this is a thing which I myself have oftentimes experienced." *Vida de Almeida. 4. 2. § 6.*

This writer loved the grand and the picturesque in nature as well as he did the miraculous in hagiology. The former taste is very unusual in authors of his age and country.

CHAP. XLII. } trious tribe. Their houses were well roofed, and lined with bark; they raised cotton, from which they manufactured hammocs and mantles, and they trimmed their mantles with fur and adorned them with feathers. The ships which first visited them went from thence to Santos, and reported so well of the people to the Portugueze, that a trade was commenced from that town, slaves being the principal article on the part of the Carijos. This had continued many years, before it was interrupted by an act of abominable villainy in the Portugueze. They fastened down below deck the boxes which contained the goods for barter, and directed their customers to take them out: the savages, suspecting no deceit, thought that the chests were rendered immoveable by their weight; they called therefore for more of their countrymen to help them, and when the hold was full, the slave-dealers fastened down the hatches and made sail. The ship belonged to Jeronimo Leitam, at that time Captain of Santos, . . . a noble man, says Vasconcellos, and one who feared God. His name deserved to be thus honourably recorded; for he set these ill-used men at liberty, and sent them to their country with two Jesuits in their company, who succeeded in restoring the peace which had thus basely been broken.

Jaboatam.
Præamb.
§ 25.
Vasc. Vida
de Almeida.
A. 5. § 2. A.

It is said that the Carijos would easily have been converted, had it not been for their Conjurors. These jugglers were the most famous in Brazil, and so cunning in their craft, that the Jesuits were thoroughly persuaded of their communion with Evil Spirits. The profession was indeed far advanced, inso-much that the different branches of practice were carefully divided. The first and most useful order, though probably it was held in the lowest estimation, consisted of the professors of the healing art: their remedy consisted in sucking the part affected. . . This is the commonest mode of savage quackery, and may perhaps more often produce relief, by the help of faith, than

it can prove injurious. The second were those who pretended to kill by their enchantments, affirmed that they had an Imp at their service, and acted upon a fantastic, but regular theory, of diabolical correspondences. Thus, if they purposed to destroy a victim by producing an inflammatory disease, it was required that they should get possession of something which had undergone the action of fire, and which the intended patient should have touched. If he were to be put to death by inward disorganization and decay, then the *materia magica* consisted of thorns, bones, or any thing sharp or edged, which had in like manner been touched, ..for that circumstance was deemed essential to the success of the enchantment. If he were to be affected with blindness, any thing which resembled the form of an eye was employed. These things the Conjuror buried in holes, which his familiar was believed ¹¹ to excavate, in the hut where the obnoxious person slept, and generally under his hammock. The spell immediately began to work with effect, and the issue was always fatal, unless the cause of the malady were discovered, and the holes opened in time, and their contents cast into a river. Another method was to tie a toad, serpent, or any other crea-

¹¹ The holes were said to be shaped like bottles; so that what they contained could not have been conveyed into them by the art of man. According to Vasconcellos, a train of this kind was discovered in an *Aldea* belonging to the Jesuits of S. Paulo, in 1624. The floors of their hall, their sacristy, and their kitchen, were compleatly undermined, and lined with these imp-bottles; but there were none in the dormitory: and this mystery was explained by the convicted and confessing culprits. Blackey (*o negrinho*) they said, was prevented from getting into that apartment to do his work, because of the prayers which were said there. Vasconcellos is so delighted with this that he makes the whole story appear fabulous. He appears not to have suspected the easy solution of his miracle, ..that the dormitory was a place into which the Conjurors could not enter by night, without being discovered in the fact.

CHAP.

XLI.

ture which is reputed loathsome, to the foot of a tree; and as the poor reptile withered and died, death was to be produced by magical sympathy in the bewitched person. Wherever witchcraft has been attempted, practices resembling these seem to have been in use. If the Carijos, like the Mexicans and Peruvians, had become a great people, the first class of these impostors would have matured into an order of medical men; the second into an order of Magicians; and the third would have been their Priests, . . . a division which appears to have obtained among the ancient Egyptians. The third class laid claim to a celestial parentage: they pretended to be the sons of good Spirits, and not of mortal men, and therefore were called *Caraibebe*s, . . . a word which the Jesuits were content to use for Angels. A *Caraibebe*¹² Guazu dwelt by the Lagoa dos Patos, where first fruits were offered to him as to a Divinity. They who were going to war went to receive from him an assurance of victory, which he conveyed by blowing a blessing upon them: if they were afterwards defeated, some countervailing sin had frustrated the promise; and the breath of the Great Angel was still believed to be infallible.

Vasconcel-
los. *Vida de*
Almeida. 4.
6. § 3—7.
4. 8. § 1. 2.

First occu-
pation of Rio
Grande by
the Portu-
guese.

It was of great importance for Portugal to possess this country,

¹² The person who enjoyed this dignity when Vasconcellos wrote, was a man of "liberal opinions" in his day. He was intimate with the Jesuits, and acknowledged them as *Caraibebe*s. There were three ways to Heaven, he said; one by the Lagoa dos Patos, one by Portugal, and one by Angola. Some runaway Negro seems to have won his respect, like the Jesuits, by proficiency in a kindred art. *Vida de Almeida*. 4. 8. § 2.

In one of the bays upon this part of the coast, there are two huge hills composed of sea shells; from whence Casal (1. 140.) infers how much the natives must have lived upon shell-fish. But the shells would not have been thus collected and heaped unless it had been for some superstitious observance.

because of its port, its capability of growing corn, and its abundant pastures, which were already stocked with horses and kine. The vessel which arrived with tidings of the peace at Colonia, after its brave and successful defence against Salcedo, is believed to have taken out instructions for securing Rio Grande; for the Governor, Vasconcellos, immediately dispatched the *Sargento Mor*, Joze Silva Paez, to take possession of it. That officer accordingly formed a settlement upon the river, and built also the fort of S. Miguel. Salcedo made repeated protestations against what the Spaniards called a new encroachment of their more active neighbours. The Portugueze however continued to keep the territory which they had occupied, and it was assigned to them by the Treaty of Limits. The abrogation of that treaty left the claim again in dispute; .. the law of the strongest was to decide it now; and Zeballos, having won S. Teresa and S. Miguel without resistance, dispatched Molina against S. Pedro.

CHAP
XLI.
1737.

See p. 293.

Funes. 2.
393.

The Spaniards expel them from S. Pedro.

S. Pedro bore the name of a town, and was at that time the capital of the province. Gomes Freyre had removed it, some ten years after its first foundation, to the place which it occupies at present, about a league to the north-east of its original site. It stands upon a sandy tongue of land, between the southern termination of the lake, and one of the bays in the channel; and it seems to have been placed there for the purpose of commanding the country to the south, .. otherwise the site would appear to be ill chosen; for the port is on the opposite shore, and the sand so light and loose that it fills the streets, and in high winds penetrates every where, covers the food, and half buries the houses. No fortifications could be made upon such a soil. The town however was well provided with artillery and ammunition; but the panic had reached it before the enemy: at the first appearance of danger, the troops and the inhabitants fled with such precipitation that many were drowned in crossing the

CHAP.
XLI.
1763.

channel; and Molina secured about an hundred prisoners, and took possession of all the stores¹³, without firing a gun. The Portugueze fled to Viamam on the Jacuy, on the north-west of the lake, the largest of the rivers which flow into it; and Zeballos, crossing the water, established garrisons on both sides of the channel, and prepared to pursue the enemy, meaning to expel them from Viamam, and from their forts on the Rio Pardo. The better to secure the land behind him, he had already founded a settlement about nine miles north of Maldonado, upon an inlet of the Sea. He named it S. Carlos, after the Saint under whose patronage it was placed, in compliment to the reigning Monarch, and he peopled it chiefly with Portugueze from the territory which he had overrun. They might have been found dangerous if they had been suffered to remain dispersed about the country: he secured himself from them by thus collecting them in one settlement; they themselves were efficient colonists, and he trusted that their children would be good Spaniards.

Muriel.
343—4.
Casal. 1.
148.
Funes. 3.
107.

*The Com-
mander of
S. Teresa.*
put to death.

*Mr. Hay's
dispatch,*
3 Nov.
1764.
*Walpole
Papers.*
MSS.

When Oeyras heard of these transactions, he, who looked as far and as hastily forward for evil as for good, was alarmed for Minas Geraes, whither he thought such a commander as Zeballos, advised and aided by the Paraguay Jesuits, might penetrate, with every likelihood of success. A fear of the intrigues of the Jesuits seems to have been the ruling¹⁴ imagination of

¹³ According to the Jesuit Muriel, thirty pieces of cannon were taken, eight mortars, two hundred barrels of powder, two thousand grenades, or shells, one hundred fire-pots, seven thousand shot, and four hundred musquets. But surely this appears to be an exaggerated statement.

¹⁴ Though Pombal had lived ten years in England in a diplomatic character, he actually supposed that the British Merchants and the British Government were acting by the instigation of the Jesuits, when they remonstrated

this extraordinary man: whatever thwarted his intentions or desires, whether in great points or in trifling ones, he imputed to them, . . . as if their influence had been omnipresent and all-powerful. Osorio, the late commander of S. Teresa, was accused of keeping a Jesuit in his household, under a secular disguise. The facility with which he had surrendered a place capable of defence, gave some probability to the suspicion of treasonable practices; and he was sent prisoner to Lisbon, with the depositions against him. Unhappily, the Law proceeded without its usual delay, and he was condemned to be hanged, not for failing in his military duties, but for harbouring a Jesuit. In vain did he protest his innocence, and supplicate for a respite till farther enquiry should be made; and when that hope failed, in vain did he petition, that for the sake of his birth, and rank, and past services, the sentence might be commuted for one less ignominious. The sentence was executed, and in the course of a few weeks there arrived from Brazil compleat proofs that the accusation had been false and malicious. Edicts were then published to make his innocence known, and to proclaim, that as he had suffered wrongfully no infamy attached to his descendants from the manner of his death.

CHAP.
XLI.
1763.

*Vida de
Pombal. §
264. MS.*

*Proceedings
on the Mato
Grosso and
Moxo fron-
tiers.*

There can be little doubt that Zeballos had planned his operations with the Jesuits: they were able statesmen, and he appreciated their ability, and partook that hatred against the Portuguese for which they had but too just a cause. Had there been time for further conquests on that side, a force from the Reductions would certainly have been brought into the field.

against such of his measures as were contrary to the spirit of existing treaties, and injurious to the interests, not of the British factory alone, but of the Portuguese trade. . . Not even a tolerable account of his remarkable administration has yet been published.

CHAP. XLI.
 1763. Their brethren on the Moxo frontier were in arms, and regular hostilities between the Spaniards and Portuguese were now first carried on in the very centre of South America.

D. Antonio Rolim de Moura Governor of Mato Grosso. Villa Bella founded.

Ten years before Spain commenced this wrongful war, D. Antonio Rolim de Moura, then Lord and afterwards Count of Azambuja, being appointed the first Governor and Captain General of Mato Grosso, founded Villa Bella, and made it the capital of the new province. He fixed it upon the spot which till then had been called Pouzo Alegre, on the right bank of the Guapore, twelve miles below the mouth of the Sarare. Much of the surrounding country is annually overflowed, and the town itself has sometimes suffered by inundations; but these inconveniences are compensated by the command of the river, and the excellence of its water. Twelve days' voyage from Villa Bella down the stream, and sixteen leagues below the Ilha Grande, is the Sitio¹⁵ das Pedras, which was regarded as an important position, being the only high ground upon the right bank: the Licentiate Joam Baptista Andrié had established himself there. A day and half below this was the Spanish Reduction of S. Miguel, and half way between that Mission and the point where the Guapore and Mamore unite (about three days from each), was the Reduction of S. Rosa, also upon the right bank. The Treaty of Limits having determined that this river should be the boundary line, the Spanish settlements upon the right bank

Almeida Serra. Patriota. t. 2. n. 6. p. 41. Casal. 1. 292.

See p. 348.

¹⁵ The author of the Description of Mato Grosso in the *Patriota*, (the first which has been published) says that this spot, which he places in latitude $12^{\circ} 52' 35''$. long. $314^{\circ} 37' 30''$, seems to be the southern boundary of the Paiz das Amazonas, by which appellation he designates the immense track of low country in the centre of this huge peninsula. Certain trees and fruits, which flourish throughout that region, are not found, he says, south of the Sitio das Pedras.

were, in pursuance of that treaty, to be delivered up as they stood, and the inhabitants to remove and lose their property, or continue upon it, at their own option, and transfer their allegiance to the Crown of Portugal. In this stipulation there was neither hardship nor injustice. The settlements were so recent that the inhabitants would lose little by removing; and the Indians had not, like the Guaranies, an hereditary enmity toward the Portugueze, .. it mattered not to them whether they were tamed and instructed by the one people, or the other. But the Jesuits had not thought proper to give their disciples a choice: in culpable disregard of the treaty, the Rector of S. Miguel, F. Francisco Traiva, removed his flock into the Spanish territory, and burnt the place which he abandoned; and F. Nicolas de Medinilla did the same at S. Rosa. Thus the treaty tended rather to increase than to allay the unfriendly disposition of the two nations toward each other upon this frontier. The Portugueze had reason to complain of the destruction of these settlements; and moreover they regarded all the Indians whom the Jesuits had withdrawn from the right bank as natural subjects of Portugal: but the Jesuits looked upon them as their spiritual children, and continued to make expeditions across the Guapore in quest of recruits for the Baures Reductions.

CHAP.
XLI.

Relaçam da Guerra de Mato Grosso. MS. Almeida Serra. Patriota. 2. 6. p. 56.

Disputes with the Jesuits of the Baures Missions.

1759.

The Portugueze occupy the Sitio das Pedras.

Sincerely as both Governments desired to promote the conversion of the Indians, .. the work of charity wherewith they hoped to cover the multifold sins committed in the conquest, .. that consideration was always cast aside when it interfered with their territorial claims. The Lord of Azambuja sent to the Rector of S. Simam, F. Raimundo Laines, forbidding him thus to trespass upon the Portugueze border; and for the purpose of giving weight to the prohibition, he posted a small detachment at the Sitio, or as it was thenceforth called, the Destacamento das Pedras, that place being about six hours' voyage above the

CHAP. mouth of the river on which S. Simam stood. The Jesuits felt
 XLI. this as a fresh encroachment, and sent letters to the Governor
 1759. requiring him to withdraw his men from what they affirmed to
 be the Spanish territory. D. Antonio was not without apprehension, that they would seek to obtain by force what he was resolved not to grant to their representations; he therefore embarked at Villa Bella with about forty men, to reconnoitre the land in person, and take such measures upon the spot as he might deem necessary for securing the rights of Portugal. Remaining a night only at the Pedras, he took from thence part of its little garrison, and proceeded to the ruins of S. Rosa. Ground was discovered in the adjoining woods which had recently been cleared and planted; and there were other indications, that though the Jesuits had withdrawn from the spot, they were actually preparing to reoccupy it. The Governor therefore determined to prevent them: he took possession of the land with the usual forms, and began to repair and enlarge the ruined dwelling of the Missionaries, as quarters for the men. The Jesuits were soon informed of his proceedings: the Superior of the Missions wrote, and some of the Fathers came in person, to assert the claim of the Crown of Spain to those lands, and to protest against his conduct as an intrusion and an usurpation. D. Antonio appealed to the Treaty in reply; . . . they themselves, he said, had withdrawn from the right bank in conformity with its stipulations, and moreover they never had been justified in establishing themselves there; for the Portugueze had traversed that country before the Missions were founded, and to Portugal therefore, by right of discovery, it belonged. But because of the disposition which the Jesuits had manifested, first to frustrate the intention, and now to dispute the plain and explicit meaning of a solemn Treaty, he thought it prudent to repair an estacade, which had perhaps originally been erected as much for a defence

Feb. 6, 1760.

They take possession of the site of S. Rosa.

against the Portugueze, as the Savages. He changed also the invocation and name of the place, from S. Rosa to N. Senhora da Conceiçam. It was no disparagement for a simple Saint to be superseded by the Queen of Angels: the soldiers were delighted by the change, inasmuch as this was the favourite appellation of Our Lady, in ¹⁶ Brazil, and D. Antonio most probably had faith in it himself. He remained two months, directing and expediting the works, during which time he slept in his boat; and then he returned to Villa Bella, leaving a petty officer in command of the post, with twenty dragoons, ten foot soldiers, a person designated as an Adventurer, a Chaplain, and a sufficient number of Negroes for the works and the service of the garrison. On his way back he ordered all the men from the Pedras to reinforce Conceiçam, and sent an armed canoe down the river to wait below the mouth of the Mamore for a boat from Para, which was expected with public stores, and which, under the present appearances, he did not chuse to trust without an escort.

CHAP.
XLI.

1760.

*They give it
the name of
Conceiçam.**Relaçam.
MS.*

About five months after his return, he was advised that the Governor of S. Cruz de la Sierra, D. Alonso de Verdugo, with some officers and soldiers in his company, had arrived at Conceiçam to confer with him; and not finding him there, had sent the Camp-Master, D. Joseph Nunes Cornejo, to Villa Bella.

*The Govern-
nor of S.
Cruz remon-
strates.*

¹⁶ There is a marvellous book, in ten volumes, called the *Santuário Mari-ano*, by Fr. Agostinho de Santa Maria. It contains the history of all the images of Our Lady, in Portugal and the Portugueze conquests; and it enumerates in the year 1723, twenty-eight N. Senhoras da Conceiçam in Brazil, when N. S. do Desterro was the only other image which had half that number. Prodigious as the subject of this voluminous work must appear, the work itself is far from being worthless. Many historical facts are mingled with its fables; and Romish miracles not unfrequently convey truths, of which the fabling narrators had no perception.

CHAP. This officer was received with the ceremonious courtesies of
 XLI. European diplomacy: the Lord of Azambuja waited upon him
 1760. in his apartments, accompanied him to the Church, to hear
 high mass, gave him a public dinner in the Palace, and enter-
 tained him in the evening with a masked ball and supper. But
 when the Spaniard presented a protest against the occupance of
 the site and territory of S. Rosa, upon the ground that it ap-
 pertained to Spain till the Commissioners for the demarcation
 should have arrived, D. Antonio delivered a counter memorial
 in reply, insisting that the right of the Spaniards ceased as soon
 as the treaty was signed; that they had themselves acknowledged
 this by retiring from the right bank; and moreover, that by
 the prime and legitimate claim of discovery, the ground be-
 1761. longed to the Portugueze. Twelve months elapsed, and then a
 second protest from the Governor of S. Cruz arrived, and was
 answered to the same purport. D. Antonio had no expectation
 that the treaty would be annulled, still less could he apprehend
 a rupture between the two Courts; but the Jesuits talked of
 vindicating the rights of Spain, if remonstrances were still dis-
 regarded; it was reported that they were casting cannon in the
 Reductions; and though the Portugueze stood in little fear of
 these guns, saying that the Indians would be but clumsy artil-
 lerymen, and the men of S. Cruz little better if they should
 come to their aid, the Governor deemed it his duty to provide
 for danger. He therefore sent to Conceiçam as many soldiers
 as could be spared from the scanty means of Mato Grosso, and
 applied to the Governor of Para for thirty infantry, with a
 supply of ammunition, matches, and other military stores. It
 was not without cause that the Jesuits were thus eager to dis-
 lodge the Portugueze from their neighbourhood. Easy as the
 life was which the Indians led in the Reductions, where all their
 wants were abundantly supplied, and they were never called

upon to take thought for themselves or for the morrow, the love of change, the desire of novelty, and perhaps a weariness of the moral discipline under which they lived and the perpetual inspection to which they were subject, made them desert in great numbers to the garrison, where the Chaplain took them under his spiritual care, and the Government into its service. Such open encouragement to desertion would not have been held out, if the Portugueze had not thought themselves fully justified in retaliating upon the Jesuits for withdrawing the natives from the right bank.

CHAP.
XLI.
1761.

*Relaçam.
MS.*

In the August of the ensuing year the Lord of Azambuja went to visit the garrison. It consisted, after all his efforts, of seven officers, thirty-four dragoons, twenty-one *pedestres*, six adventurers, and sixty-five Negroes. D. Antonio employed himself diligently in disciplining these men. A pentagonal fort was traced, but could not be erected till the quarters for the men were compleated. To prevent all danger of surprize, a regular guard was mounted at the estacade, as if in time of war; and watch-boats plied upon the river below the fort, as far as the junction with the Mamore, and above it to the mouth of the Baures. In February a reinforcement arrived from Para, consisting of six and twenty men, scantily provided with stores: the whole however composed no despicable force, considering the place in which they were collected, and the kind of hostilities that were apprehended. About three weeks after the arrival from Para, the guard-boat brought intelligence that the marks of a large and recent encampment had been seen near the mouth of the Mamore: no farther discovery was made, though the place was visited from time to time, till the beginning of April, when it was overflowed; but it was plain that some considerable movement had taken place, and that it behoved them to continue watchful. The garrison had at this time no better

1762.

*D. Antonio
goes to Con-
ceiçam.*

CHAP. rations than pulse and bacon: the land on their own side afforded
 XLI. nothing on which they could rely, whereas the country of the
 1763. Missions abounded with cattle. To purchase beef was impos-
 sible, considering the present temper of the Jesuits: and to make
 a foray into their lands for the purpose of driving away the
 beasts, would have been a direct act of war: but there were wild
 cattle in their territory, and they might supply themselves from
 these without committing any greater offence than a trespass on
 their neighbours' ground, if by ill hap they should be disco-
 vered. A Corporal and twenty-two men, of whom half were
 Indians, were sent upon this border-service. They went up the
 Itonamas, pursued their object with great success, and sent
 home three supplies. Orders had been expedited to recall them,
 because of the alarm which the watch-boat had excited, when a
 large body of Spaniards and Indians, crossing the *pantanal* in
 their canoes, on their way from S. Pedro to the Itonamas, saw
 an encampment on the shore, and made toward it with such
 secrecy that they surprized the Corporal and nine of his party.
 Their comrades were hunting in the woods, and did not return
 till the prisoners had been carried off: their boat also was gone,
 and every thing belonging to them. They had now to cross the
 woods and waters as they could, . . . swimming the rivers, and
 directing their course by guess; till, after a week's severe exer-
 tion, they reached the garrison almost exhausted with fatigue and
 hunger.

Relaçam.
MS.

Appearance
of a Spanish
force; and
notice of the
war in Eu-
rope.

A little before their arrival, as the Chaplain was out with his
 gun, he perceived a number of canoes at the mouth of the Ito-
 namas, and a great many people on the shore. When D. An-
 tonio was apprized of this he sent a boat to reconnoitre: the
 Spaniards ordered it to retire immediately, saying they would
 suffer no person to go up the river; . . . the boat however had been
 near enough to see that they had artillery with them. Upon

this D. Antonio went himself, with two armed boats, and approached them with drums beating. When he drew near a ball was fired, and fell near the prow of his boat: . . . so rude a salutation made him put to shore. It was then evening: he passed the night there, and in the morning sent an officer to speak with the Spanish Commandant, and enquire the cause of these proceedings. The Spaniard informed him that war had been declared between Spain and Portugal sixteen months ago; and he expressed his surprize that the Governor of Mato Grosso should be ignorant of so important an event: . . . indeed this can only be accounted for by supposing that the bearer of the intelligence had been cut off by the savages on the way. The Spaniard added, that these troops were under the orders of the Governor of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, who was himself with a larger force at the mouth of the Mamore; that their purpose was to expel the Portugueze from S. Rosa, while the Governor of Charcas was marching with five thousand men against Mato Grosso; that the strongest places in Portugal had been captured by the Spaniards, and half the kingdom overrun.

*Relaçam.
MS.*

These were uncomfortable tidings for the Lord of Azambuja: however exaggerated they might be in some things, and false in others, there could be no doubt but that a great and extraordinary effort had been made on this side. The force before him, exclusive of Indians, was estimated at not less than seven hundred men, armed with swords and musquets, and eight pieces of artillery were counted. The encampment on the Mamore also was now explained; and if, as the officer affirmed, a simultaneous attack were made upon Mato Grosso, it was as impossible for the Governor to take any measures for the protection of Villa Bella and Cuyaba, as to obtain succour from thence in his own perilous situation. But D. Antonio understood how difficult it was to bring an army from Charcas; and how unlikely

*D. Antonio
surrenders
the command
to N. Sen-
hora da Con-
ceiçam.*

CHAP. that the Spaniards should act with an energy so little according
 XLI. with the habits in which they had been sunk for many gene-
 1763. rations. Be that as it might prove, there was no alternative for
 him but to remain and defend the new establishment, .. where
 indeed his presence was the best defence. He stationed an
 armed boat and two light canoes to observe the enemy ; and
 returning to the settlement, he delivered his Commander's staff
 with great solemnity into the hands of N. Senhora da Conceiçam,
 and intreated her to take upon herself the keeping of that place,
 which the faithful Portugueze had dedicated to her name and
 placed under her especial patronage. The soldiers probably
 derived more confidence from this act of idolatrous devotion,
 than they would have felt if their numbers had been doubled ;
 and it may be believed that D. Antonio was influenced as much
 by his own faith, as by policy, when he thus appealed to their
 superstition. But he did not neglect to apply for human assist-
 ance. Six chosen Indians were dispatched to Para ; and though
 they found a Spanish encampment at the junction of the rivers,
 they watched their opportunity so well that they passed it with-
 out being perceived.

Relaçam.
MS.

The Spaniards had planned their measures wisely ; they de-
 signed by the one armament to intercept the communication
 with Para, and by the other to cut off the Portugueze from Villa
 Bella. This blockade might be easily maintained, because they
 drew their supplies from the Reductions ; whereas the garrison,
 being confined to their own shore, would be distressed for food,
 as well as military stores, and might thus be reduced without a
 blow. Ere long D. Antonio was apprized that the upper arma-
 ment had received a reinforcement of forty canoes, most of
 which were of great size, and that it appeared as if they were
 about to make a demonstration against the place. Inferior as
 his force was, he knew that even the Negroes might be relied

upon for firmness, but that the Indian boatmen of the enemy were not likely to stand fire: in that confidence he manned his flotilla, consisting of three boats and four canoes, embarked himself, took the Chaplain on board, and fairly offered battle to the Spaniards. They were playing a safer game, and therefore declined the brave offer. While he was absent, a cowardly trader from Para, named Joaquim de Matos, stole away by night in a canoe with two Indians, leaving behind his goods. It was certain, that if he should effect his escape down the river he would represent the condition of the establishment as desperate, for the sake of excusing himself to his creditors, whose property he had thus abandoned. D. Antonio dispatched a canoe after him, lest his falsehoods should prevent the Governor of Para from attempting to reinforce him. He sent advices also to Villa Bella, that his danger might be known in Mato Grosso and Goyaz, and that the settlers on the upper part of the Guapore might not expose themselves to capture, by venturing without protection as they had been wont. The bearer of these dispatches made his way in a little canoe over the flooded country, till on the ninth day he came upon the river above the Spanish station, and so accomplished his voyage.

The whole force at Conceiçam amounted now to two hundred and forty-four men, of whom twenty-four were Indians from Para, and one hundred and fourteen were Negroes. In the latter neither courage, nor activity, nor intelligence were wanting; but most of them were recently brought from Africa, and therefore scarcely as yet sufficiently trained to be serviceable as soldiers; and of the whole number nearly a sixth part were invalided at this time. Yet D. Antonio, however he might feel under these discouraging circumstances, appeared confident, and communicated confidence to his people. Perceiving that it required more time and labour to repair and strengthen the estacade than

CHAP.
XLI.
1763.

*Relaçam.
MS.*

*Activity and
confidence of
the Portu-
guezes.*

CHAP. could be afforded, he told his men they might leave it as it was,
 XLI. for while the Portugueze had weapons in their hands they needed
 1763. no fortifications to protect them. The waters were now at their
 greatest height; the heat was oppressive, and the plague of insects almost intolerable. Here and there only, on either shore, a little eminence appeared like an island above the inundation. There was one of these on the Portugueze side, opposite the bar of the Itonamas and the Spanish station, and the port where their flotilla lay; it was partly covered with trees, and D. Antonio thought it possible to throw up trenches there, and bring some artillery to bear upon the enemy. They reached the spot with considerable difficulty, and some danger, having to wade through the flooded woodland; but upon beginning to dig the water soon followed the spade, and the design was therefore necessarily abandoned. In this attempt they must have been discovered, and might have been seriously molested, had there been only common vigilance on the part of the Spaniards; the Portugueze therefore acquired a reasonable confidence when they observed the negligence of their foes, and the inactivity wherewith they proceeded, after the great effort which had been made for bringing together such a force. They were farther encouraged by the appearance of nine of their comrades, who had been made prisoners: some were of the hunting party, and others had been intercepted coming down the river and ignorant of the war. They had been treated more like malefactors than prisoners; and having been kept with ropes round their necks as well as their feet and hands, had been sent in two canoes, under a guard of two Spaniards and thirty Indians, to S. Maria Magdalena: upon the way they had contrived to loosen the ropes during the night, and then seizing the arms of their escort, put them to flight and effected their escape.

Relaçom.
MS.

*They attack
 and plunder
 S. Afiguels.*

The Lord of Azambuja seems by his example to have infused

CHAP.

XLI.

1763.

into all the branches of his government a vigour, which had rarely been manifested in Brazil. The *Capitam Mor* of Villa Bella, Joam da Cruz, no sooner received advice of his danger than he exerted himself to the utmost in providing reinforcements. A post was established above the Itonamas, where these supplies were received, and from whence the Portuguese were enabled to act offensively against their supine opponents. They made an expedition against the Reduction of S. Miguel, which had been removed from the right bank, and contained eight hundred inhabitants. The place was taken, plundered, and burnt. The flames reached the Church, which the conquerors had intended to spare: for motives of religion therefore they removed the sacred things, and the image of the Archangel, to their advanced post, which from that circumstance obtained the name of *Pouso de S. Miguel*, .. St. Michael's Resting Place. They got possession of supplies which were intended for the army at Itonamas, and made also a good booty in sugar, and such articles as were manufactured by the neophytes. The Jesuits were taken and carried to Conceiçam, in hope of exchanging them for those prisoners who were still in the enemy's hands; but as these persons had been marched off to Chuquisaca, the ¹⁷ Fathers were sent by way of Villa Bella and Cuyaba to the Rio.

*Relaçam.
MS.*

The Portuguese kept possession of the territory of S. Miguel, which abounded with kine, horses, and pigs; so they were now plentifully supplied: and the alarm occasioned by the incursion

*Retreat of
the Spaniards.*

¹⁷ About this time, it is said that two Jesuits were arrested in Goyaz, coming from Para, and on their way, as was supposed, to the Spanish Missions. They are called Manoel da Silva, and Pedro *Fulano*. Why they should have secreted themselves when their brethren were deported, or what became of them, does not appear. *Patriota. T. 3. No. 4. p. 59.*

CHAP.
 XLI.
 1763.

was so great, that the Reduction of S. Martin voluntarily offered submission. Toward the end of June, being about three months after the first appearance of the enemy, a large reinforcement of twenty-eight canoes arrived from Villa Bella, and some *Sertanistas* in company, who knew the country of the Missions, and were good marksmen as well as guides. Thus strengthened, D. Antonio ventured to attack the Spaniards in their camp: he made his way through a thick wood, and round a lake, to fall upon their rear, while his flotilla endeavoured to call off their attention on the other side. The estacade was found too strong; but the boldness of this measure, though unsuccessful, discouraged the Spaniards: their scheme of operations had been entirely frustrated by the activity of the Portugueze in establishing themselves at the Pouso de S. Miguel, and they soon removed from their station to the new Reduction of S. Rosa. The encampment on the Mamore was abandoned also: shortly afterwards they fell back to S. Pedro: the Spaniards then returned to S. Cruz, and the expedition was broken up. The Portugueze then withdrew from the left shore. Meantime the peace of Paris had been concluded, wherein it was stipulated that if any change should have occurred in these colonies, things should be replaced upon the same footing as before the war, and made conformable to the treaties which had then existed, and were now renewed. This stipulation was ratified by the Courts of Madrid and Lisbon.

*Relaçam.
 MS.*

*Peace of
 Paris.
 10 Feb.
 1763.
 Article 22.*

*Rio Grande
 forcibly re-
 tained by the
 Spaniards.*

Thus, as in so many previous treaties, the Spanish and Portugueze cabinets once more, as if by mutual consent, shuffled off the question of the demarcation, and left the points in dispute as unsettled as before. There was a sort of obstinate policy in this, characteristic of both nations; . . . all sacrifices of pride were spared, and both were left in hope, each feeling itself at liberty to get whatever it could take, and keep whatever it

could get, upon the debatable ground. The Portuguese remained with their acquisitions on the Mato Grosso frontier: the Guapore indeed forms so convenient and natural a boundary, that from that time there appears to have been no desire in the Spaniards to contest the possession of the right bank, nor in the Portuguese to encroach upon the opposite shore. But the point was not so amicably adjusted in the South. The Court of Madrid sent out orders for Zeballos to restore Colonia, but to retain all the other places, and the whole territory which he had conquered, upon the plea that Colonia was the only part of his conquests which had rightfully appertained to Portugal before the war.

The seat of government in Brazil was at this time removed to Rio de Janeiro. That city, being nearer both to the Mines and to the Plata, was become of greater importance than Bahia, and had moreover the advantage of greater security; for its port was strongly fortified, whereas that of Bahia was incapable of such means of defence. This change had been going on during the last fifteen years, under the successive viceroalties of D. Luiz Peregrino de Attayde, Conde de Attouguaia, of D. Marcos de Noronha, Conde dos Arcos, and of the Marquez de Lavradio, D. Antonio de Almeida Soares. The Conde da Cunha, D. Antonio Alvares da Cunha, was now appointed to that high office, and instructed to fix his residence at the Rio. Gomes Freyre was just deceased: he had been created Conde de Bobadilla, and would never have been superseded in a government which he had so long administered, with ability and good fortune equal to his reputation. When the new Viceroy perceived that the Spaniards chose to abide by their own interpretation of the treaty, and retain possessions which it certainly had not been the intention of the contracting powers to concede, he thought it necessary to strengthen himself on that side, and assume a

CHAP.
XLI.
1763.

Funes. 3.
104—6.

Seat of government removed to the Rio.

1748.

1754.

1759.

27 June,
1763.
Conde da
Cunha
Viceroy.

CHAP.
XLI.

Funes. 3.
111.

Walpole's
Papers.
MSS.

The Brazilians forbidden to send their daughters to the nunneries in Portugal.

position which might add weight to the remonstrances of the Court of Lisbon. He therefore collected forces, and secured certain points in the Serra dos Tapes, as vantage posts, whenever an appeal should again be made to the sword. Zeballos protested against these proceedings in so acrimonious a style, that the Count chose rather to let his letters remain unanswered than reply to them in the only manner which would have been consonant to his feelings as a Portugueze and as an individual. The Spanish Governor meantime, after he had restored Colonia, blockaded it with such rigour that its illicit trade was effectually stopt. To such extent had this discreditable commerce been carried on, that the stoppage materially affected the remittances from the Rio to Lisbon, and from Lisbon to England.

Yet though the capital of Brazil suffered thus greatly in one of its most important branches of trade, and though the pending discussions with Spain rendered the recommencement of hostilities probable at any hour, the country was in a state of general improvement. The vigour which Oeyras had infused into the administration at home, extended to the Colonies; and if Brazil felt the tyranny of his absolute power, it felt also the effects of that enlarged and tolerant spirit, which would have weeded out the superstitions of the Portugueze had that been possible. The establishment of nunneries in Brazil had been opposed by the wisest statesmen, and yet it had been permitted and encouraged by the Court. But as the wealth of the country increased, it became a point of pride for parents to send over their daughters to the Lisbon ¹⁸ Convents. D. Luiz da Cunha had pointed out

¹⁸ D. Luiz da Cunha mentions a rich Bahian who sent over six daughters, with a portion of six thousand *cruzados* each, to the Convento da Esperanza, because he had heard that none but persons of the first condition were admitted

the palpable impolicy of permitting such drawbacks to be made upon the capital and population of a land, the prosperity of which depended upon the increase of both. What he had rather desired than advised, was enacted under the ministry of Oeyras: the Brazilians were prohibited from sending their children to Portugal for this blind purpose, without a special permission from the King: and this prohibition was of such undeniable utility, that even the enemies of the Minister could not but commend it.

CHAP.
XLI.

*Adminis-
tration de
Pombal.
t. 2. p. 27.
Vita di
Pombal. 1.
45.*

An evil of far greater magnitude was effectually removed by a law, which, though chiefly designed for the benefit of the mother country, was not less beneficial to the colonies. The Inquisition had never been established in Brazil; but it had sent its Commissioners there, and by their means had begun the same system which had proved so ruinous and so inexpiable disgraceful to Portugal. On one occasion these agents of that infernal tribunal arrested and sent to Lisbon a great number of New Christians, . . . industrious, wealthy, and respectable persons, who all confessing themselves to be Jews, because they would have been burnt alive if they had persisted in protesting, however truly, that they were Roman Catholic Christians, escaped the stake as reconciled and repentant convicts, but suffered the loss of all their property. That property went to the hell-hounds by whom the game was started and run down: but so wide a ruin was produced that many *Engenhos* at the Rio stopt in consequence, and the great diminution of produce occasioned a diminution of shipping from that port. The Minister, powerful

*Laws res-
pecting the
New Chris-
tians.*

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

there. With those portions, he observes, each of these poor girls might have been well married, and six families founded in Brazil.

Carta ao Marco Antonio. MS.

CHAP.
XLI.

as he was, did not venture to proclaim a toleration for the Jews, which Vieyra a century before his time had strenuously contended for, regardless of the danger that he brought upon himself; but he delivered the New Christians from the horrible state of perpetual insecurity in which they had hitherto existed, by making it penal for any person to reproach another for his Jewish origin, and by removing all disabilities of Jewish blood, even from the descendants of those who had suffered under the Inquisition, and from those who themselves had been brought under its cognizance. In furtherance of this good purpose, he prohibited the public *Autos-da-fe*, those solemn triumphs of the Holy Office and the Romish Church, and suffered no lists to be printed of those who received judgement in private. Before the fiery age of persecution began, a tax had been laid upon all who were of Jewish extraction; and rolls of the families liable to this assessment were at this time carefully preserved, as guides for the familiars, and text-books for obloquy and malice. Oeyras obtained an edict, requiring that all such lists should be delivered in, on pain of severe chastisement for any person in whose possession so mischievous a document should afterwards be found. These were the redeeming acts of Pombal's administration, for which Brazil and Portugal have still reason to bless his name; and none of his acts drew upon him more outrageous calumny and ¹⁹ abuse.

Ley. 25
Mar. 1773.
Carta de
Ley. 15
Dec. 1774.

Alvara.
2 March,
1768.
Vida de
Pombal.
MS. § 419.
422. 417.

1765. A certain degree of freedom in trade also was permitted, upon

¹⁹ He was accused of being bribed by the Jews, for half a million of *crúzados*, to effect these measures in their favour, which were so injurious to the interests of religion! . . . of having Jewish blood in his own veins; and moreover, of having been circumcised himself in Holland. . . Such were the stupid calumnies which were propagated against Pombal, for the best action of his life!

Vida MS. § 417.

occasion of one of those losses which are beneficial to the loser. The Moors of Morocco at this time took from the Portuguese the last of their possessions in that part of Africa. In the noon day of Portugal, her best historians found it necessary to distribute her history into four distinct portions, . . . so extensive was the empire which she had established in Africa, Asia, and America. The history of Portuguese Africa, (or that part of it which had been of most importance,) was now closed by the fall of Mazagam; and it ended in a happier hour than it began. The immediate consequence was a most advantageous change in the commercial system of Brazil. Hitherto Portugal had been in a state of permanent war with the Moors, and for that reason the Brazilian trade was carried on by annual fleets, . . . the prohibition of single ships, which had commenced during the Dutch war, having been continued in force, first because of the Buccaneers, and their successors the Pirates, and when those common enemies of all mankind had been exterminated, then on account of the Barbary cruizers. Peace was now made with Morocco, when there was no longer an old point of honour to impede it, and Oeyras immediately declared, that as soon as the fleets from Bahia and the Rio should have returned, the trade with those ports might be carried on by single ships.

CHAP.
XLI.
1765.

*The trade
opened for
single ships.*

*RochaPitta.
6. § 53.
Mr. Hay's
dispatch.
21 Sept.
1765. MS.
Ratton.
p. 96.*

*Inhabitants
of Mazagam
removed to
Para.*

The inhabitants of Mazagam were provided for by transporting them to Para. They had defended their native city in a manner not unworthy of the old Portuguese character; and when it was no longer tenable, and they had no relief to expect, the whole population embarked and sailed for Portugal, leaving a heap of ruins for the Misbelievers. In honourable testimony therefore of their good conduct, the name of Mazagam was given to the place where they were settled, which had previously been called the Povoação de S. Anna. It is on the western bank of the Mutuaca, some five miles above the bar of that river, which falls

CHAP. into the Orellana from the North. There were about eighteen hun-
 XLI. dred of these colonists: they brought with them polished manners
 1766. and military habits; but having been bred up to use the sword and
 musquet, they were altogether unfit for the state of life in which
 they were now placed. The situation too was unfavourable; for fevers prevail dreadfully upon that coast, where the atmosphere is tainted by the great quantity of wreck which the river throws up, and by the ooze, which is alternately exposed to the action of salt and of fresh water. In the course of twenty years half the population had disappeared; some had removed to Para, others to Europe, and probably the larger part had fallen victims to the endemic disease. Oeyras believed this to be the most vulnerable part of Portuguese America, and therefore gave orders for erecting a strong fort at Macapa, some leagues below Mazagam, near the first open country upon that shore. The work was superintended by Fernando da Costa Atayde Teive, who held the Government of Piauhy with that of Maranham, Para, and the Rio Negro. He has left an honourable name, for having expended in the service of the State his whole private income as well as his salary: but carrying a generous principle to excess, he contracted debts in the prodigality of his public spirit, from which he was unable to extricate himself during the course of a ²⁰ long life.

Casal. 2.
239.
Brandam.
Jornal de
Coimbra.
t. 4. p. 40.

Jornal de
Coimbra.
t. 4. p. 23.

Oeyras
sends colon-
ists to Bra-
zil.

Oeyras was very desirous to strengthen Brazil, by increasing the number of its inhabitants; and he removed many families from the Western Islands, and settled them at Macapa and Mazagam. These islanders are among the most industrious of

²⁰ The debts, which amounted to about 14,000*l.* were not completely liquidated till after his death, in 1807. His eulogy was pronounced in these words, by Antonio Jozé Lande: . . . *Sibi malus; alienis bonus; gloria temporibus.*

the Portugueze people; and they afforded, women as well as men, a good example to the Brazilians. Gladly would the Minister have had more colonists of this description at his command; but as Portugal was not capable of supplying from its scanty population such as he would have chosen, he took those whom he could get, cleared the prisons of their inmates, paired these criminals and vagabonds with the harlots of Lisbon, and shipt ²¹ them off for the Rio, thence to be forwarded to Mato Grosso, where hands were most wanted. If his prime object were not to rid the metropolis of so many bad subjects, he must have had great faith in the goodness of human nature, the beneficial effect of easy circumstances upon the heart of man, and the conservative principles of society, or he would have thought that such persons were more likely to become enemies than supporters of government and social order, in a country where religion had little influence, and the laws less. At this very time, complaints were frequently made from Minas Geraes of the cruel and atrocious actions committed in the *Sertoens* of that province, by ruffians and vagabonds who passed their lives after a savage, or rather bestial manner, of their own. In consequence of these representations orders were sent out, that all persons who were without any settled place of abode, should be compelled to chuse places where they might be established in civilized communities, and divide among themselves the surrounding lands. Every such settlement was to consist of fifty hearths at least, and to have its *Juiz Ordinario*, *Vereador*, and *Procura-*

*Vita di
Pombal.
t. 4. p. 94.
Adminis-
tration de
Pombal.
3. 138.*

*Laws a-
gainst va-
gabonds.*

²¹ This summary mode of promoting the population of a colony has frequently been practised by the French. In one of these forced levies, George Edwards the naturalist, then on his travels (1720), had nearly been sent off to the Mississippi, as a vagrant. *Nichols's Anecdotes, Vol. 5. p. 318.*

CHAP. *dor do Conselho*;
XLI.

and all persons who should not have thus domiciliated themselves within a time appointed, were to be pursued like robbers and public enemies, and punished according to the rigour of the law. Three classes of men were specified whom this edict was not intended to affect: the *Rosseiros*, or agriculturists, who with their slaves and servants were living upon their lonely farms, exposed to the depredations of the infamous and pernicious vagabonds whom it was now intended to suppress; the *Rancheros*, or persons who had established themselves upon the public roads, to facilitate the communication between one place and another, and entertain travellers, for the good of commerce; and the *Bandeiras*, men who in useful and meritorious fellowship employed themselves in making discoveries: all persons of these classes were authorized to apprehend and send to prison such persons as they might find roaming about in the woods, or upon the public ways, or in what were called *sitios volantes*, flying quarters, and having no permanent establishment.

Carta Regia. June 23, 1766. MS.

The capitulation abolished, and the fifths resumed.

March 24, 1734.

Alvara. Dec. 3, 1750.

The Capitulation was persevered in till the death of Joam V, with whom it appears to have been a favourite measure; it was however always unpopular in the country, and it is said that the fair experience of fifteen years fully proved it to be injurious. Before it was adopted, the people of Minas Geraes had offered to make up the annual quantity of one hundred *arrobas*, by an assessment among themselves, if the fifths should fall short of that amount. Their proposal was accepted when Joze came to the throne, and the fifths were once more collected, with this understanding. This was the golden age of the Portuguese Government. The fleet from the Rio in 1753, the richest which till that time had ever arrived from Brazil, was believed on a moderate computation to bring home to the amount of three millions sterling in goods, gold, and silver: the latter must have

been the produce of the contraband trade at Colonia, by which the specie of Peru found its way to Portugal and to England. The fifths from Minas Geraes amounted²² that year to nearly 400,000*l.* The bullion and jewels alone which were sent to Lisbon in the following year, were estimated at a million *moidores*. For about sixteen years the average of the fifths considerably exceeded the hundred *arrobas*; but when the trade was thrown open for single ships, they began immediately to decline, and the average upon eleven years fell from one hundred and nine *arrobas* to eighty-six. If this great and rapid diminution were occasioned by the change in the system of trade, as may be suspected from its coincidence in time, it may have been produced in two ways. As at the first discovery of the Mines, men had turned away from commercial pursuits for the sake of gathering gold; so now, when a new impulse had been given to trade, and the first fruits of the Mines had been collected, a wiser revolution was produced, and it began to be perceived that the regular profits of merchandize were preferable to the far more uncertain advantages of mining, .. and that the trader obtained gold more surely, as well as more easily, than the miner. It is probable that this consideration was now beginning to operate; and it is certain that the immediate increase of trade was very great, and that the facilities for extracting gold without paying the duties increased in the same proportion. The temptation to evade the impost was so strong, that severe laws and strict inspection were not suffi-

*Walpole Pa-
pers. MSS.*

*Commence-
ment of the
decay of the
Mines.*

*Memorias.
MSS.*

*Gold frau-
dulently de-
based.*

²² In the outward bound fleet of the same year, there were thirty large ships for the Rio, and ten for Maranham. Of the numbers for Bahia and Pernambuco I have no account; for the former port they would be nearly, or quite as numerous, as for the Rio; for the latter, more numerous than for Maranham.

CHAP.
XLI.

cient for counteracting it. Gold was allowed to circulate within the Captaincy before it was sifted and stamped, but might not lawfully be carried beyond the border till it had paid the duty and received the King's mark. Registers, as they are called, were established upon the frontiers, where travellers upon entering the province exchanged their coin for gold dust, and upon leaving it were to exchange their gold dust for coin. Gold dust was the only circulating medium in Minas Geraes. Whatever the miners purchased they paid for in pure ore. It is affirmed upon competent authority, that these people, speaking of them collectively, were no ways concerned with the clandestine extraction, nor in the scandalous practice of alloying the gold. But the traders into whose hands it passed debased it so greatly, that if it found its way to the Mint, there was usually a loss of ten or twelve per cent upon the assay, in addition to the twenty per cent deducted for duty. More than common honesty would be required for ordinary men to subject themselves to so heavy an amercement, if they could evade it. Among those persons who are trained up to consider the acquisition of riches as the great object of their lives (and this is always the scope of vulgar education) there will be a large proportion in every country who care little concerning the manner by which that object may be attained. Fraudulent practices in the common course of trade, are but too frequent in countries where the standard of morality is higher than in Minas Geraes: but no practice could be so gainful as that of clandestinely exporting gold; and less scruple is always felt in defrauding governments and corporate bodies, than in cheating individuals, . . . a notorious fact, which in the imposition of duties ought never to be forgotten, and yet seldom appears to have been borne in mind.

Luiz Beltram. Melhoramento da Arrecadação do quinto. MS.

In vain had laws against making new and bye roads been enacted, and the penalties from time to time enforced. It was im-

possible to guard so wide a country; and when once the gold had reached one of the great cities, goldsmiths were ready either to cast it into ingots and set upon it the false stamp, or work it up into trinkets²³. These practices were well understood, and at length a law was promulgated, whereby the prohibition of these suspicious craftsmen which had long existed in Minas Geraes, was extended to the great sea ports. The edict affirmed, that upon strict investigation, the chief agents in defrauding the Government of its fifths were found to be goldsmiths established at the Rio, Bahia, Olinda, and other places in those Captaincies. Many of these offenders had been detected; but the King, wishing, said the law, to cut up this evil by the roots, and at the same time to display his royal benignity, was pleased to release all persons who had been imprisoned in consequence of the late enquiry, and to suspend all further proceedings. But the Governors of the Rio, Bahia, and Pernambuco were enjoined forthwith to apprehend all journeymen and apprentices in the goldsmiths' trade, to shut up all the shops, demolish the forges, and send the tools to the Mints and Smelting-houses, paying their just value. The master goldsmiths were to give bond that they would not exercise their craft without a special licence from the Governor, in certain specified cases, on pain of the punishment denounced against coiners. The apprentices and workmen, if they were single men, or free Negroes, were to be enlisted in the regiments of their respective towns; if slaves, they were to be sent back to their owners, who were to give surety that they

CHAP.
XLI.

Ordens. 26
Oct. 1733.
9 April,
1745.
22 Jan.
1756. *MSS.*

*Law a-
gainst the
Goldsmiths.*

²³ By an Ordem of May 17, 1734. (MS.) rude works of gold carried to the mint at Bahia, the Rio, or Minas Geraes, if there were a presumption that they had been wrought for the purpose of exporting them without paying the duty, were to be fifthed. This law was more likely to prove vexatious to the innocent, than effectual against the fraudulent.

CHAP. would put them to other trades, and not preserve any of their
 XLI. tools. Persons infringing this law were to be degraded for life
 to Angola. As some mitigation of the hardship of this enactment,
 the masters whose characters were unimpeached should be preferred
 in the Mints and Smelting-houses of Minas Geraes, Goyaz, Mato Grosso,
 and S. Paulo, and no artificers from Portugal might be employed in
 those establishments, while any such masters were to be found.

Carta Regia. 30
 July, 1766.
MS.

Affairs of Goyaz.

The Capitation, while it lasted in Goyaz²⁴, produced in some years more than forty *arrobas*; and this is supposed to be less than the fifths would have amounted to. The discoverer of this rich Captaincy had been rewarded with the rank and title of *Capitam Mor Regente*, and had enjoyed the first fruits of the most productive mines: but Bueno had the prodigality as well as the hardihood of an adventurer, and his liberality was so profuse that he became needy in his old age. The Governor, D. Luiz Mascarenhas, ventured to give him an *arroba* from the public treasury, in consideration of his past services: the home government disapproved this act; . . it might be expedient and necessary so to do, but it was neither gracious nor grateful in the Court to call upon the old man to refund the grant; nor was he able to repay it till he had sold his slaves, his houses, and even the trinkets of his wife. The Court however, though it acted thus rigorously upon a general principle, conferred upon

²⁴ At the Arrayal of *Agua quente* in this province, a piece of native gold (*folheta*, it is called, with singular incongruity) was found, which weighed forty-three pounds. (*Patriota*: 3. 6. 10.) It seems to have been an insulated mass, for it occasioned a great lawsuit between the finder and the owner of the land, whereas there could have been no dispute had it been discovered in the ordinary course of mining. It was sent to Lisbon, . . where, if my memory does not deceive me, I saw it in the year 1796.

him the *passagens*, or ferry-rights, of the Rio Grande, the Rio das Velhas, the Corumba, the Jaguara-mirim, and the Atibaya. He solicited permission to transfer the grant to his son. The son went to Lisbon upon this suit, and sped so well that he obtained it for three lives, had the rank of Colonel conferred upon him, and received a donation of 20,000 *cruzados* from Queen Marianna. The younger Bueno inherited the adventurous temper, the public spirit, and the thoughtless profusion of his father. He involved himself on the way in a debt of 60,000 *cruzados* at S. Paulo, for sixty slaves and their equipments; and he returned to Goyaz with these slaves, a train of artificers, and eight pieces of artillery, to be employed against the Cayapos.

CHAP. XLI.

Memoria de Goyaz. Patriota. 3. 4. p. 47.

The Cayapos were a brave and numerous people. Their largest settlement was near the Camapuam, and their hunting or predatory parties made excursions to the distance of more than a thousand miles, as far as the *Sertoens* of Suritiba, in the Captaincy of S. Paulo. They were archers, and they used also the short *macana*, . . . a formidable weapon in the hands of a strong man. Their favourite sport was a trial of strength in running with a heavy log on the shoulder: as this practice prevailed among the Tapuyas of the Serra de Ipiapaba, some presumption is afforded that the Cayapos belonged to that race, once the most numerous and widely extended in Brazil. The Cuyaban convoys were frequently harrassed, and had sometimes been cut off by these savages; but the people of Goyaz were continually exposed to their attacks: at length, the Chamber of Villa Boa applied to Cuyaba in their distress, and engaged with Colonel Antonio Pires de Campos to bring five hundred Bororos to their assistance, for which he was to receive an *arroba* of gold. To raise this subsidy, a voluntary assessment was made of half a *pataca* for every slave; and the surplus was given toward building the

War with the Cayapos.

Patriota. 3. 6. p. 18. Casal. 1. 330.

CHAP.
XLI.

Church. These allies made great havoc among the Cayapos, and are said to have committed shocking barbarities, . . . which in the war of savages against savages may always be expected. They penetrated to the great settlement near the Camapuam; but they were deterred from attacking it by the numbers of the enemy. On the whole, however, the expedition was ably conducted, and signally useful to the province, and it freed the way between S. Paulo and Cuyaba from danger on that side. A gratuity of eight hundred *oitavas* was advanced from the Treasury to the Commander, and the Crown approved the grant. The Bororos were settled in the *Aldeas* of S. Anna, Rio das Pedras, and Lanhoso. Of all the native tribes they seem to have been most fortunate in their dealings with the conquerors: in Mato Grosso and Cuyaba they were so intermingled with them as to have formed a considerable part of the Brazilian population; and even such of their hordes as remained distinct, and persevered in their wild way of life, were in peace and friendship with the Portugueze. Antonio Pires found it necessary, because of his misdeeds, to take refuge with one of these hordes: his morals were worse than those of the savages, his manners perhaps little better; but he was a young man of singular activity, boldness, and ability, and he became their Cacique. In that character he led his people against the Cayapos, who, no doubt, regarded him as their mortal enemy, and he received in battle an arrow in one of his arms. The Bororos applied hot bacon to the wound, which must have been his own prescription, and continued to give it this dressing every day, while they were carrying him to the nearest Portugueze settlement in Minas Geraes, in the hope that his life might be saved by the assistance of abler surgeons. But the wound was mortal, and they mourned for him during a whole month. Two *Aldeas* also were formed in Goyaz, of the Acroas and Cacriabas, upon the system of the new

1750.
Patriota.
3. 4. 53.

Cuzãl. 1.
351.

regulations, and at no little expence to the Government ; for its agents had now to produce that effect upon the natives by large promises and gifts, which the Jesuits obtained by unremitting zeal and constant kindness. But it appears, that the savages expected to live under the same paternal discipline which had formerly been observed in the *Aldeas* ; and when they found how different a course was pursued by the Directors, they revolted, seized their fire-arms, took to the *Sertam*, and infested the road to Bahia. And this occurrence, natural as it was, was imputed to the machinations of the Jesuits !

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The Captaincy of Minas Geraes was still from time to time infested on its eastern frontier by the unsubdued tribes, who on that side kept possession of the *Sertam*. The Goaitacazes, who had long disappeared after the massacre which in mistaken vengeance was made among them, had recovered numbers, strength, and audacity, when, in the early part of the eighteenth century, the Governor of that district, Domingos Alvares Pesanha, succeeded in conciliating them by friendly treatment and scrupulous good faith, and gave them an establishment upon his own estate on the river Paraiba do Sul. There he built for them a large house after their own fashion, a sort of inn, or hospital, (in the original and proper acceptation of the word,) wherein they were lodged and entertained when they came down from the *Sertam* to supply themselves with tools and finery. They gave in exchange for these things, wax and honey, birds, game, and pottery remarkable for resisting fire. If what they had to offer were not equivalent, they worked out the balance as wood-cutters, . . . for in that occupation they were singularly expert. Towards the middle of the century they subdued the Coropos, and incorporated the conquered people among themselves : the united tribes acquired the name of Coroados, from the fashion in which they cropt their hair. They were masters of the wilderness which

Patriota.
3. 4. 56.

*Peace with
the Goaita-
cazes.*

Vol. 2. p.
666.

CHAP. extends more than four hundred miles from the Campos dos
 XLI. Goaitacazes along the Paraiba do Sul, from its northern bank to
 the river Xipota, in the *Comarca* of Villa Rica. As often as the
 people of Minas Geraes attempted to fix themselves, either as
 miners or farmers, within this territory, they were assaulted and
 dispossessed by the lords of the land; . . till the Portugueze
 thought it better to obtain by means of peace, what it would
 have been difficult to win by force of arms. The Coroados
 declared their willingness to enter into a treaty, provided P.
 Angelo Pesanha, the son of their former friend, would guarantee
 it: and upon this that Priest, in company with some of his Indian
 friends, crossed the *Sertam* to Minas Geraes, (a tract, it is said,
 which no Portugueze had ever trod before him) and negociated a
 peace, which from that day has been faithfully observed on both
 sides. Two years afterward, the people once so formidable by
 the name of Aymores, now called Botocudos, and not less ferocious,
 though less powerful than their ancestors, appeared in this part
 of the country, and made a cruel havoc among the Portugueze
 settlers. The Coroados came to the assistance of their Portugueze
 allies, attacked these Botocudos with the most determined animosity,
 and persecuted them with such inveterate ardour, that the routed
 horde forsook the country, and did not consider themselves safe
 till they reached the Meary, and settled there upon the frontiers
 of Maranham.

1753.
Reappearance of the Aymores.
Cazal. 2. 71.

Azaredo Coutinho. p. 61. 67.

Great-Britain appealed to concerning Rio Grande.

But while the internal affairs of Brazil were every where improving, the Portugueze Government was disquieted by the designs of the French and Spanish Cabinet. The temper of Spain was manifested by the retention of Rio Grande: and Oeyras, learning that troops from Gallicia were continually embarking for the Spanish Indies, and that the French had a considerable force at Cayenne, for which there appeared no ostensible reason, believed that there was a scheme for attacking Brazil on both its

frontiers. The trade of Colonia was wholly destroyed in consequence of the strict blockade. The Spaniards were justified in this; but by retaining Rio Grande they cut off its land communication also, and Portugal required Great Britain to interfere, and procure the execution of the Treaty of Paris, according to the just intentions of the contracting Powers, . . . that being a point upon which Great Britain could entertain no doubt. For Great Britain had been the one contracting party, and certainly it had not been her intention that the Spaniards should retain any of their conquests in Brazil. The King of Portugal, when the negotiations were about to be opened, had offered to be a principal in the Treaty; he acquiesced in the wish of England to take the whole upon herself, and he acceded to what England stipulated in his behalf. Therefore, and upon good grounds, he called upon England to interfere.

CHAP. XLI.

*Mr. Hay's
dispatches,
3 Nov. 1764.
21 Feb.
1765.
Earl Bristol's
dispatch, 17
Dec. 1764.
MSS.*

The apprehensions with regard to Spain were not unfounded. There was a disposition in that government to wrest from Portugal whatever it could; but Zeballos, whose temper was entirely in unison with that of his Court, and whose ability rendered him so fit a person for carrying its ambitious purposes into effect, was at this time superseded by D. Francisco de Paula Bucarelli y Ursua. Zeballos had raised soldiers in order to enforce his angry remonstrances against the measures which the Portuguese were taking in the Serra dos Tapes. Bucarelli renewed the remonstrances, but in a less haughty tone. D. Joseph Molina, who commanded at S. Pedro, protested also against the occupation of a position in the Serra. But the Portuguese knew that the Spanish Viceroy had other pressing affairs to engage him at that time; they took advantage of the favourable occasion for recovering an important place, which though won fairly by the Spaniards in war, was wrongfully retained by them in peace; and therefore, having secretly collected a force of eight hundred

*Bucarelli
Governor of
Buenos
Ayres.*

*Funes. 3.
111.*

1767.

*The Portu-
guese repos-
sess them-
selves of Rio
Grande by
force.*

CHAP.

XLI.

men, they fell upon the Spanish posts at Rio Grande suddenly, at day-break. Molina was taken by surprize, and compelled to withdraw. Indignant complaints of this aggression were made by the Spanish Government, and the Court of Lisbon disavowed the act of its subjects, . . . as in the Pernambucan war. But it was suspected that secret orders had been given them to seize what the interference of Great Britain might not have succeeded in obtaining by more regular means: and, as the occupation was maintained in spite of the repeated demands of Spain, and the uniform professions of the Portugueze Ministry, it appears, that whether the enterprize had been ordered, or not, it certainly was approved at Lisbon.

*Funes. 3.
116.*

*Mr. Lyttle-
ton's dis-
patch, 7 Oct.
1767. MS.*

CHAPTER XLII.

Expulsion of the Spanish Jesuits. Ruin of the Guarani Reductions. The Payaguas settled at Asumpcion. Foundation of Nova Coimbra. Regulations for the Forbidden District of Diamonds. War of 1777. Treaty of Limits.

Zeballos had been recalled from the Plata because of his known regard for the Jesuits. The long continued warfare against that calumniated Society was now hastening toward its desired triumph. A general clamour against them had been raised throughout Catholic Europe: they had been expelled from France as well as Portugal, and Oeyras had now the satisfaction of seeing them banished from Spain and from the Spanish Indies. This was an act of worse impolicy than the expulsion of the Moriscos. That strong measure was cruelly and wickedly performed; but it cannot be denied that the reasons for it were cogent in themselves, and, upon Spanish and Roman Catholic principles, unanswerable. But every motive which was pretended for the expulsion of the Jesuits, was founded upon malicious misrepresentation, or gross calumny. By listening to such falsehoods, the Court of Madrid deprived itself of its most faithful and meritorious subjects in America, . . . a body of men who

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Zeballos recalled from
the Plata.

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were ready to live or die in its service, and whose interests were inseparably united with the preservation of the established government. They had extended the Spanish territories in the interior, and thereby prevented the Portugueze from securing to themselves, as otherwise they would have done, a still larger portion of the central country. They had raised native troops for Spain, who served gratuitously whenever they were called upon; by whose aid rebellions had been more than once suppressed in Paraguay, and war against the Portugueze carried on upon the Guapore and at Colonia. And they had delivered the Spaniards of La Plata, Paraguay, and Tucuman, from the most formidable of their enemies, when those enemies were masters of the open country, had destroyed many of their towns, and kept the cities in perpetual alarm and trepidation: those enemies the Jesuits had conciliated, when the Spaniards were calling upon their Saints for protection.

*State of the
Reductions.*

The Guarani Reductions were now beginning to recover from the evils which had been brought upon them by the Treaty of Limits. But by the consequences of that blind measure, by the losses sustained in service with the Spaniards, and by two severe visitations of small pox, their numbers had been diminished, since the year 1732, from one hundred and forty-four thousand to one hundred thousand. The treatment of the Seven Reductions produced its natural effect upon the other Indians. The Abipones, Mocabios, and other half-reclaimed tribes, who were yet hesitating whether the security of a settled life were preferable to the continual excitement of a predatory and wandering one, saw this iniquity in its true light; and there were many who concluded that it was better to have the Spaniards for enemies than friends, and so took to the woods again. The Jesuits exerted themselves to the utmost to counteract this feeling, and the efforts of such men were not unsuccessful; for the Company had never at any

*Peramas de
Administ.
§ 18.
Dobrizhof-
fer. 1. 14.*

Do. 3. 197.

time possessed more able or more zealous subjects in Paraguay. Indeed, a great but silent reformation seems to have been accomplished in the Order. Imposture and falsehood had been its characteristic vices, and it had systematically palmed upon the world its impudent miracles and lying legends. But, wise as serpents in their generation, the Jesuits were now conforming to the altered spirit of the age, and they addressed themselves to the reason, as they had formerly done to the credulity of mankind. Individuals were still permitted, and perhaps encouraged, to indulge in practices of¹ self-annoyance, for the purpose of swelling the amount of their own good works. The Order had always some such members, and knew how to make

¹ Peramas relates some anecdotes of this kind to enhance the character of men whose real virtues entitled them to respect. Ignatius Morro, he says, (§ 15—16) when at his prayers, would bear the stings of insects, as though he had been made of marble: he wore such prickly cilices, that he could not walk without involuntarily betraying by his motions how grievously they annoyed him; and at his meals he used to mix bitter herbs with all his food. Clemente Baigorri, (a noble-minded youth,) during his last illness sipt all the nauseous medicines which were administered to him, that he might taste them as fully and as long as possible, for a mortification, . . . *ita ille in omnes partes sese cruciandi intentus erat.* (§ 84.) The instance which he relates of Stefano Pallozzi's virtue is ludicrous. This good, but simple missionary, was so cautious of affording any opportunity for scandal, that he would never speak to a woman except in public, and never then unless it were necessary. One day when he was shaving himself, some one sporting with his simplicity, said to him, Stefano, take care how you show that smooth face to the Indian women! It is enough to tempt them. Terrified at the suggestion, Stefano did not shave for twelve months; and would never have shaved again, if his brethren had not seriously laboured to persuade him that no such consequences were to be apprehended. However, he could only be induced to shave once a fortnight, and then with a razor which he never sharpened, so that it made the operation almost as meritorious as one of the flagellations whereby he fancied himself laying up treasure in Heaven. (§ 49.)

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Improvements introduced by the Jesuits.

Peramas. Vita Castilli. § 23—25.

Do. Vita Escandoni. § 15.

Do. Vita Schmidi. § 32—45.

use of them in their proper sphere; but its own character had undergone an important change.

The Jesuits had large estates, and possessed a great number of Negro slaves. Their lands were of course inalienable; and they had a humane law, befitting a religious corporation, which forbade them ever to sell a slave, unless he were so incorrigible under their benevolent treatment, that it was deemed necessary to transfer him into severer hands. Their Negroes lived in a state of easy servitude, and increased in numbers. The women earned little more than was expended on them, and the men were such unproductive labourers, that free Mulattoes were usually hired as herdsmen. Every married slave received a stated allowance for his family, according to their number, and had a portion of land assigned him for his own use; upon this he raised grain, melons, and other fruits; and if he carried any to market, the produce was his own. These men were almost the only blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, shoe-makers, taylors, barbers, and bakers, in all the towns of the interior. They were the only musicians, and they performed gratuitously at the churches and on all great public occasions. Wherever the Jesuits had an estate they had a priest stationed there, as well as a lay-coadjutor; and this was of great use to the surrounding country, where by these means the forms of religion were kept up, and some appearances of civilized life. In fact, whatever civilization found its way into the interior, was by means of the Jesuits. F. Martin Schmid, a native of Baar, in the Canton of Zug, instructed the Chiquitos not only in the common arts of daily use, but in working metals, casting bells, and making clocks and musical instruments. More comforts were found in the Missions of the Moxos and Baures than in the Spanish capital of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Cordoba owed its press to the Jesuits; . . the last benefit which they conferred upon that city. But the Guarani Jesuits printed books

in the Reduction of S. Maria Mayor long before there was any printing press² in Cordoba or in Buenos Ayres, or in the whole of Brazil. What little learning existed in these provinces was kept alive by the Jesuits: under their superintendence the University of Cordoba became famous in South America; and although in the prescribed course of studies much time was unprofitably consumed in dry and jejune formalities, the elements of sound knowledge also were imparted, and writers were produced who have proved, that under the tuition of the Jesuits in America, as in Europe, the classics were felt as well as studied.

But the fables and monstrosities of the Romish Church had at this time provoked a spirit of contemptuous and intolerant irreligion, which existed in every Catholic country, and prevailed more or less, according to the degree of intellectual freedom which was permitted. In France and Italy it was all but universal among the educated classes: short-sighted Sovereigns, who flattered themselves with the title of philosophers, fostered it in Germany; and even in the Peninsula, the most bigotted Courts in Europe were influenced through their Ministers by opinions, which no individual could have avowed without exposing himself to certain ruin. The expulsion of the Jesuits was resolved on in Spain, as it had been in Portugal, as the first step toward the removal of those superstitions and abominations by which the kingdom was so pitiably disgraced; and the Ministers were enabled to

*Outcry
against the
Company.*

² It is remarkable that Peramas should not have noticed this fact, and appears even not to have known it; for he says, that for want of a press the Jesuits were obliged every year to write out the ecclesiastical Kalendar for their own use, as well as to compute it. (*Mesnerii Vita*, § 21.) Perhaps the Guarani grammar, and the Spanish and Guarani vocabulary, may be the only productions of the Guarani press. Both these are in the possession of Mr. Greenough. From the extreme rudeness of the types I think they were made upon the spot.

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execute this iniquitous measure by the help of the press. Innumerable libels had now during many years been circulated with all the activity of malignant zeal; and calumny was repeated so often, and in so many forms, that it was believed at last. Men of the most heterogeneous characters and discordant views united for the overthrow of this odious Order. Philosophists and Friars, Atheists and Jansenists, Kings and Levellers, joined in the work; and Protestant Europe, mistaking the signs of the times, believed that a reformation in the Romish Church was about to be effected.

*Orders for
their expul-
sion. 27
March,
1767.*

*Walpole pa-
pers. MSS.*

The Court of Madrid feared, or pretended to fear, that the Jesuits of La Plata and Tucuman would resist its authority. Therefore, before the edict which banished them from all the Spanish dominions was published in Spain, orders had thrice been dispatched to Bucarelli within the course of three weeks. He had before been secretly instructed to prepare for the expulsion, as a measure which was in contemplation. The Governor affected to enter into the apprehensions of the home government, and concerted his plans for taking a few defenceless old men in their Colleges, as if he were intending to surprize so many fortified places. The Jesuits at Corrientes, Santa Fe, Cordoba, and Montevideo, were to be seized on the same day, . . . an exploit which would sound well in Europe, and accredit his vigilance at the Court. But about three weeks before the day appointed for these simultaneous operations, a ship arrived which had left Spain after the publication of the edict, and consequently the news became public. Bucarelli immediately sent dispatches into the provinces, doubled the detachments which he had stationed to watch the communication between one town and another, and surrounded the Colleges at Buenos Ayres in the dead of the night. The inmates were roused from their sleep. Suddenly as the evil hour had come upon them,

they must have had reason to look for such an event, and men so admirably disciplined for whatever might befall them, were never to be found unprepared. They listened calmly to their sentence of deportation, for causes which were reserved in the royal mind; and, submitting with perfect composure to their fate, were conducted as prisoners to a house in the suburbs, wherein they had been used to receive persons who retired to go through the spiritual exercises of Loyola.

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*Funes. 3. p.
118—120.*

*They are
seized in the
College at
Cordoba.*

Fernando Fabro, with eighty soldiers, was charged with the secret expedition against the College at Cordoba. He entered the city by night, surrounded the building with his men when all its inhabitants were asleep, rang loudly and repeatedly at the gate, pretended that a confessor was wanting for a dying man, and when the wicket was opened upon that false pretence, rushed in with his followers. Immediately he went into the chamber of the Rector, F. Pedro Juan Andreu, and commanded him to rise and³ name a place in which all the members of the College might instantly convene to hear the King's orders. The Refectory was appointed. The brethren were roused from their pallets by the soldiers; they assembled hastily, and stood in respectful silence, while a Notary, who accompanied the Captain, read to them their sentence of exile into Italy. F. Pedro replied for himself and all who were under his direction, that they

³ Peramas describes these transactions with great feeling; he was at that time an inhabitant of the College himself, and what he says of the Rector's behaviour upon this rude summons, should be laid before the reader in his own words. "*Ubi ille raptim vestitus stetit, designa, ait Tribunus, locum amplum quo omnes conveniant. Ad hæc tranquillè Petrus Joannes, sine me, amabo, paulisper, dum de more hujus diei quem inimus, futura opera Deo offero. Obtulit breviter, et quidem multo erant plura quæ offerret quam alius consueverat, . . . summa ignominia, mala innumera, et arumnæ, et labores seni intolerabiles. Andr. Vita. § 82.*"

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were ready to obey the King's pleasure. The keys were then taken from them, and their names were entered in a roll. When the Notary came to the novices, who stood in their place, apart from the other brethren, he congratulated them upon the liberty which the King allowed them of retiring each to his family. But they made answer, without one dissenting voice, that they would partake the lot of banishment. They were then locked into the Refectory, and a guard set at the door. The Viceroy had received instructions to omit no care for separating the novices from the Order; and as a farther security that no undue influence might be exercised over them, he was not to permit one of these aspirants to accompany the exiles, unless he attested in his own hand-writing, that it was by his own free and deliberate choice. But they had already imbibed lessons which made the heart invincible. It is recorded of one of them, Clemente Baigorri, a Cordoban by birth, that when his father would fain have persuaded him not to leave his native country and his parents, the youth overcame him by the eloquence with which he represented the devout sense of heroic duty: and he fell upon his neck, and said, Go on in thy own way, Clemente: thy arguments are better than mine! Go whither God calls thee!

Funes. 3.
153—6.
Peramas
Baigorrii
Vita. § 20
—30.
Andreu Vi-
ta. § 82—
85.

Destruction
of their pa-
pers.

Fabro expected to meet with great riches at Cordoba; and finding in the Rector's escritoire a key which was labelled *Clavis Secreti*, he thought the hidden treasure was surely within his reach; and was not a little disappointed by discovering that it belonged to the place where the succession-papers of the province were deposited. The tangible wealth of the College fell short of nine thousand dollars; and great part of the convertible property was peculated by the sequestrators, as usual in such commissions. The library, which was famous, and in that part of the world, where books were necessarily so scarce, must have been inestimable, was dispersed. The manuscripts were sent to

Andreu Vi-
ta. § 85.
Funes. 3.
156.

Buenos Ayres: there, owing to scandalous negligence, the greater part has perished, . . . and thus a great collection of historical documents was irrecoverably lost.

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The Jesuits were hurried into exile with circumstances of great barbarity, contrary to the intentions of the Spanish Court. There had been orders given, that sufficient money for the expences of their land journey should be allowed to every Rector, for himself and his companions; but this was not obeyed. They were searched by the ruffians to whose guard they were committed, and robbed of every *real* with which their kinsmen and friends had supplied them. F. Ignace Chomé, a native of Douay, one of the most laborious and able⁴ of the Missionaries, was confined to his bed by illness at the age of seventy-one, when the order for the expulsion reached the Chiquito Missions. The officer, unwilling to remove a man in that condition, and yet not daring to disobey his orders, sent to Chuquisaca for instructions. But instead of permitting the good old man, whose life had so often been exposed for the service of the Spanish Government, to die in peace, the answer was that F. Chomé must be expelled as well as the rest. It was necessary to carry him

Cruel treatment of the Missionaries.

Peramas.
Villeg. Vi-
ta. § 39.

Do.
Chomé Vi-
ta. 79—87.

⁴ Chomé had composed grammars and dictionaries of the Zamuco and Chiquito tongues; and into the latter he translated the famous treatise ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, and the *Discrimen inter temporaria et aterna* of Nieremberg. He had written also in the same language a summary of the Christian doctrine, and some sermons useful for Missionaries while they were acquiring the tongue. But his greatest work was a copious history of the Chiquitos, . . . *eaque*, says Peramas, *ut pote scripta a viro rerum illius gentis scientissimo, fuisset lectoribus solidæ delectationi. Hæc omnia dies unus sepeliit jussu exilio, severissime enim cavebatur ne quis quid scriptum manu efferet secum. Quod si libros istos aliquis abjecit, corruptive, male ille de Chiquitorum linguâ et republicâ literariâ meritis est, cum multarum vîgilium summaque utilitatis commentarios pessunderit.*

CHAP. in a hammoc, for he was incapable of being removed in any
 XLII. other manner: in that manner he reached Oruro, and there died,
 1767. having endured worse than death upon the way. F. Hans
 Mesner, a Bohemian by birth, though an old man and miser-
 ably infirm, could not obtain permission to die in the Chiquito
 Reductions, where he had laboured one and thirty years. He
 had in the first place to perform a journey of four hundred and
 fifty miles to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in the rainy season, and
 through a country that scarcely afforded any human accommo-
 dation. In that city he remained five months confined to his
 bed; and when the season for crossing the Andes was come, he
 was taken from his bed and placed upon a mule, that he might
 pass the mountains to be embarked from Peru. Between Oruro
 and Tacna, on the summit of the pass, the escort halted to take
 their food; when they were about to resume their march, Mesner
 intreated the commander of the party, in the name of God, not
 to compel him to go farther, for he was at the point of death;
 but this man gave orders that he should be lifted on his mule,
 and that one of the soldiers should walk beside and support him
 on the saddle: they had not proceeded far before the soldier
 felt he was supporting a lifeless weight, for Mesner in that situ-
 ation had expired. The Conde de Aranda, then Minister in
 Spain, severely reprov'd the inhumanity of the American Go-
 vernors, and indignantly asked them, if there was not earth
 enough in that wide country to afford the old men graves.

*Peramas.
 Mesneri Vi-
 ta. § 48—
 55.*

*The Reduc-
 tions are
 delivered up
 to the Vice-
 roy.*

Bucarelli shipt off the Jesuits of La Plata, Tucuman, and Pa-
 raguay, one hundred and fifty-five in number, before he attacked
 the Reductions. This part of the business he chose to perform
 in person; and the precautions which he took for arresting
 seventy-eight defenceless Missionaries will be regarded with
 contempt, or with indignation, as they may be supposed to have
 proceeded from real ignorance of the state of things, or from a

fear basely affected for the purpose of courting favour by countenancing successful calumnies. He had previously sent for all the Caciques and Corregidores to Buenos Ayres, and persuaded them that the King was about to make a great change for their advantage. Two hundred soldiers from Paraguay were ordered to guard the pass of the Tebiquary; two hundred Corrientines to take post in the vicinity of S Miguel; and he ascended the Uruguay with three score dragoons and three companies of grenadiers. They landed at the Falls: one detachment proceeded to join the Paraguay party, and seize the Parana Jesuits; another incorporated itself with the Corrientines, and marched against those on the eastern side of the Uruguay; and the Viceroy himself advanced upon Yapeyu, and those which lay between the two rivers. The Reductions were peaceably delivered up: the Jesuits without a murmur followed their brethren into banishment: and Bucarelli was vile enough to take credit in his dispatches for the address with which he had so happily performed a dangerous service; . . . to represent it as a merit which entitled him to the favourable consideration of the Court, . . . and to seek that favour by loading the persecuted Company with charges of the grossest and foulest falsehood.

The American⁵ Jesuits were sent from Cadiz to Italy, where Faenza and Ravenna were assigned for their places of abode. Most of the Paraguay brethren settled at Faenza. There they

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Funes. 3.
128—131.

The American Jesuits
banished
into Italy.

⁵ The strangeness and suddenness of the expulsion produced an extraordinary effect upon Sebastian Biader, a lay brother, who had been insane for twenty years. It restored him for a time to his senses. *Quo autem sit factum modo, ut tantâ repente conversione læsi cerebri massa corrigeretur, explicanto physici: ego id unum dico, legem exilii, quæ multis amittendæ mentis occasio fuit, Biaderi fuisse causam ejus recuperandæ, saltem ad tempus, nam aliquando vacillavit postea, sed nunquam ita graviter ut prius.* (Peramas de Tredecim. p. 299.)

CHAP. employed the melancholy hours of age and exile in preserving,
 XLII. as far as they could from memory alone (for they had been de-
 1768. prived of all their papers), the knowledge which they had so pain-
 fully acquired of strange countries, strange manners, savage
 languages, and savage man. The Company originated in extra-
 vagance and madness: in its progress it was supported and ag-
 grandized by fraud and falsehood; and its history is stained
 by actions of the darkest die. But it fell with honour. No men
 ever behaved with greater equanimity, under undeserved dis-
 grace, than the last of the Jesuits; and the extinction of the
 Order was a heavy loss to literature, a great evil to the Catholic
 world, and an irreparable injury to the tribes of South⁶
 America.

*New system
 of Govern-
 ment in the
 Reductions.*

Bucarelli replaced the exiled Missionaries by Priests from the
 different Mendicant Orders; but the temporal authority was not
 vested in their hands. He formed the Missions provisionally
 into two governments, placing the twenty Parana Reductions
 under D. Juan Francisco de la Riva Herrera, and the ten upon
 the Uruguay under D. Francisco Bruno de Zavala; and he
 appointed an Administrator in every Reduction to superintend
 the labours of the people, and provide for their concerns. Here

⁶ Peramas (*de Tredecim. p. 409.*) says, that the number of Jesuits expelled from all the Spanish Indies, amounted to five thousand six hundred and seventy-seven, of whom five thousand four hundred were Spaniards. The law permitted a fourth part to be foreigners; but the foreigners were few in proportion at that time. Peramas sailed from Spain with about one thousand companions in banishment; Hervas, with about four thousand. The greater number established themselves in Italy, where they lost the use of their own language, and confusing the two together, could not at last distinguish whether a word were Spanish or Italian. But Hervas (2, p. 385,) says, they who went among the Germans, Turks, or other Nations, where the language was radically different, lost nothing more than that readiness of speech, which disuse takes away.

ended the prosperity of those celebrated communities ; .. here ended the tranquillity and welfare of the Guaranies. The Administrators, hungry ruffians from the Plata, or fresh from Spain, neither knew the native language, nor had patience to acquire it: it sufficed for them that they could make their commands intelligible by the whip. The Priests had no authority to check the enormities of these wretches ; nor were they always irreproachable themselves. A year had scarcely elapsed before the Viceroy discovered that the Guaranies, for the sake of escaping from this intolerable state of oppression, were beginning to emigrate into the Portugueze territories, and actually soliciting protection from their old enemies. Upon the first alarm of so unexpected an occurrence, Bucarelli displaced all the Administrators, and appointed others in their stead, and united both governments under Zavala. But the new Administrators were as rapacious and as brutal as their predecessors : the Governor was presently involved in a violent struggle with the Priests, touching their respective powers, and the confusion which ensued evinced how wisely the Jesuits had acted in combining the spiritual and temporal authorities. Old habits would have drawn the Guaranies to take part with the Priests, who, bad as they were, were less inhuman than the Lay-tyrants. Zavala had the military on his side. Some of the Clergy fled, and others earnestly entreated their Superiors to recall them from a situation in which they could do no good, and were themselves exposed to outrages and indignities. The Viceroy then instituted a new form of administration. The Governor was to reside at S. Maria Mayor, otherwise called *Candelaria*, which had been the residence of the Superior ; and under him were to be three Lieutenants, four Adjutants, and the respective Administrators, in whom the civil and criminal jurisdiction was vested. The Indians were declared exempt from all personal service, not sub-

CHAP. XLII. 1769. ject to the *encomienda* system, and entitled to possess property, . . . a right of which, Bucarelli said, they had been deprived by the Jesuits; for this Governor affected to emancipate the Guaranies, and talked of placing them under the safeguard of the law, and purifying the Reductions from tyranny! They were to labour for the community, under the direction of the Administrators; and, as an encouragement to industry, the Reductions were opened to traders during the months of February, March, and April. The end of all this was, that compulsory and cruel labour left the Indians neither time nor inclination, neither heart nor strength, to labour for themselves. The arts which the Jesuits had introduced, were neglected and forgotten; their gardens lay waste; their looms fell to pieces; and in these communities, where the inhabitants for many generations had enjoyed a greater exemption from physical and moral evil than any other inhabitants of the globe, the people were now made vicious and miserable. Their only alternative was to remain, and be treated like slaves, or fly to the woods, and take their chance as savages.

Funes. 3.
130—142.

Some of the
Guaranies
fly into
Brazil.

The Court of Portugal seemed to agree with the Spanish Cabinet, in apprehending that the Missionaries would not quietly submit to their expulsion. Dispatches were forwarded to the Governor of Minas Geraes, apprizing him that Jesuits in various disguises, some as laymen, others as secular priests, and some in the habits of other religioners, had been provided with instructions from their General in the Pope's name, and were endeavouring to make their way into the Portugueze dominions. There was reason to believe, the dispatches added, that this infamous and abominable race, having been banished from all the kingdoms and dominions of Spain, and from Parma and Placencia, would seek to get into America; and therefore the Governor was charged to examine with great strictness all persons

Aviso.
29 April,
1767. MS.

who entered his Captaincy. But instead of bringing enemies into Brazil, the effect of the expulsion was to break up entirely the Guarani force, which had so often been employed against it; and even to bring many of those very Guaranies into the Portuguese territory as supplicants. The Governor of Rio Grande, Joze Marcellino de Figueyredo, founded an *Aldea* for these poor refugees: a large estate was assigned them, and they were exempted from taxes. The Government meant well towards them, and acted kindly; but the paternal regimen under which they had grown up was wanting. The foresight which relieved them from all care for themselves, . . the salutary and gentle restraint which preserved them from all boisterous vices and dangerous indulgences, . . the love which attended them in sickness, . . the zeal which comforted them in death, . . these could not be supplied, and most of the settlers gradually disappeared.

Cazal. 1.
150.

1768.
Rupture between the Guaycurus and Payaguas.

The alliance between the Guaycurus and Payaguas was at this time dissolved; and these tribes, who had inflicted so many calamities upon the Spaniards of Paraguay, and the Portuguese of Cuyaba and Mato Grosso, turned their animosity against each other. The Payaguas discovered, to their cost, with what ill policy they had acted, when they suffered the Guaycurus to become as powerful upon the water as themselves; and being compelled to fly before them, they took shelter in an alliance with the Spaniards of Asumpcion. They were induced to this by the example of certain hordes, who, having been severely defeated by Rafael de la Moneda, one of the most active and able Governors of Paraguay, had submitted, some thirty years before, to terms of peace of an extraordinary nature. They entered into a league, offensive and defensive, reserving as a privilege the right of making war upon any wild Indians, who were not allies of the Spaniards, nor in the habit of trading with them. They agreed to settle at Asumpcion, not under the direction of

Dobrizhoffer. 1. 133.
Cazal. 1. 253.
Patriota. 3. 5—30.
Funes. 3. 15.
The Payaguas settle at Asumpcion.

CHAP. any Religioners, nor in subjection of any kind, but in perfect
XLII. freedom, and in the full unrestricted use of their own customs.

1768. Moneda only insisted that they should cover their nakedness : his successors were neither so regardful of decency, nor so desirous of gradually leading them into civilized habits ; and at the end of the eighteenth century, the Payagua men used to appear naked in the capital of Paraguay, and in all likelihood continue to do so to this day. Some of them paint the body to represent jacket, waistcoat, and breeches ; and when thus bedaubed, they think themselves full dressed. In cold weather, or when they go into the houses of the Spaniards, they throw a sort of cloak over the shoulders, or put on a sleeveless shirt, so short that it scarcely suffices for even the pretence of decency.

Azara. ?.
12.

*Their arts
and customs.*

The example of this part of the nation was followed by their countrymen, who were now driven from Cuyaba and the Upper Paraguay ; an event not more beneficial to the Brazilians, who were delivered from a formidable enemy, than to the Spaniards, who found them some of the most useful inhabitants of Asumpcion. They supply the city with fish, osiers, reeds, forage, canoes, oars, and coverlets, of their own manufacture, which is of the rudest kind, both in spinning and weaving. The spinner lays the cotton on her arm, and, sitting at her work, trundles the spindle on the naked thigh ; a very little twisting is thought sufficient ; and when the whole wool has been spun, the thread is turned a second time in the same manner. The weaving is equally slight : they cross the threads with their fingers, and make use of no instrument except a flat stick, wherewith they draw the work tight. They are said to be the most active and most muscular of all the Indians ; but their appearance is truly savage. Their lip-jewel is a piece of wood, or a bright brass tube of the same form, long enough to touch the breast ; and at one

Azara. ?.
124.

Dobrizhofer.
1. 122.*Jaboatam*.
Praem.
§ 24.

ear they wear the wing of a large bird, . . . a fashion which has been found in North America also. Their bodies are painted, and they clot their hair with a purple juice, or with the blood of animals. The women consider pendant breasts as a beauty, and elongate them by art. Their manners are not less barbarous than their costume. It was the custom in some of their hordes that men offered themselves to be buried alive when they were weary of life, either because of age, decrepitude, illness, or the mere tedium of existence, . . . a disease of mind, which sometimes prevailed among them as well as among the pampered members of corrupted society. A feast was made on such occasions. Amid their revelry and dancing, the suicide was gummed and feathered with great care. One of their huge jars had previously been fixed in the ground to be ready for him; in this he was placed: the mouth was covered with a heavy lid, and the earth was then closed over it. The custom of depositing the dead in such urns prevailed among many tribes in the interior. The Payaguas used to leave the head of the corpse above ground, and cover it with a large inverted vessel; but they who settled at Asumpcion adopted the Spanish mode of interment, as being more secure than their own from wild boars and armadillos, . . . creatures which make great efforts to get at a dead body. This is almost the only instance in which they have departed from their own usages, to conform to those of their allies. They keep the graves clean, weed them, erect huts over them like their own habitations, and place many painted earthen vessels over those whom they love. The men never mourn, thinking perhaps that any manifestation of grief would imply a want of fortitude, which, with them, is the highest virtue. The women bewail their husbands and fathers for two or three days; they lament longer for one who has fallen in war, or for a famous man; and on those occasions they cry night and day about their

CHAP.
XLII.

Azara. 2.
144.
Do.
2—137.

Dobrizhof-
fer. 2. 274.

Ceremony
which they
practise at
Asumpcion.

Azara. 2.
123.

habitations. The belief of retribution after death, which is no always found among savage or barbarous nations, exists among them ; and they think that cauldrons of fire are prepared for wicked Payaguas. The medical part of their jugglers' profession is attended with more danger to the practitioner than the patient ; for if the patient dies, the whole horde fall upon the unfortunate Payé who had undertaken his case, and beat him to death.

A third division of this remarkable people made the same terms with the Spaniards in 1790, and joined their countrymen at Asumpcion ; where their collective number, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was estimated at about one thousand. A Governor, who thought to obtain credit at Court by exhibiting proofs of his Catholic zeal, baptized some hundred and fifty of their children. But though the parents, by obvious and easy means, were persuaded to let them undergo a ceremony of which they no longer entertained any superstitious fear, the work of conversion proceeded no farther ; and the most savage of all their customs is still publicly performed every year in the city of Asumpcion. The month of June is the time for this frightful ceremony, which is common to the Guaycurus, Guanas, and some other tribes. On the eve of the appointed day, the chiefs of every family paint their bodies, and dress their heads with feathers, in a fashion so fantastic that, Azara says, it is not possible to behold it without astonishment, or to describe it. They cover some earthen vessels with skins, and drum upon them with sticks smaller than a common quill : the low murmur-like sound is scarcely perceptible a few steps off. In the morning they drink all the spirits in their possession ; and in that state of ferocious drunkenness which drams produce, one operates upon another, by pinching up the flesh of his arms, legs, and thighs, as largely as his fingers can command,

and running skewers through at inch distances, from the ankle to the fork, and from the wrist to the shoulder. This is a public spectacle; and thus far the Spanish women can bear to look on: but a mingled feeling of decency and horror makes them retire when the savages in like manner pierce their tongues and genitals. The Indian women behold it with composure; and the men who endure these torments, betray not the slightest emotion, either by look or gesture. The blood from the tongue is received in the hand, and they rub their bodies with it; but that from the genitals they let fall into a hole in the ground, dug with their fingers. The wounds are left to heal without any application: they are long in healing, and leave scars for life; and sometimes the men are disabled for so long a time, that their families suffer much for want of provisions. The only reason which they assign for this tremendous custom is, that they may show themselves to be brave men.

CHAP.
XLII.

Azara. 2.
134—7.

Sugar, sweetmeats, and drams, are among the articles which they receive from the Spaniards, in payment or exchange. They have the merit of having imposed upon themselves some little restriction in the use of spirits. Women are not suffered to taste this pernicious liquor, unless they have procured it by their own labour; and youths are prohibited from it, so long as they are supported by their fathers. But their drinking bouts are of the most determined kind: they eat nothing during the whole day, and laugh at the Spanish drunkards for taking food between their cups; because, they say, it leaves no room for the drink. On the whole, however, their condition seems bettered by their strange association with the Spaniards: their ferocity is abated by mere disuse of war; their new wants afford a continual and ever-present motive for industry; and if their improvement proceeds slowly, it is for want of worthier examples. On their part there is no lack either of will or of capacity.

CHAP.
XLII.*Azara. 2.**Foundation
of Praça dos
Prazeres.*

1774.

*Ravages of
the Guaycu-
rus.*

Their own language being so difficult that no man has ever acquired it unless from motives of religious zeal, many of them have learnt Guarani for the purpose of communicating with the Spaniards. It is the fault of the Spaniards that they are thus passing from one savage tongue to another, instead of acquiring an European language, which would put the means of religious and intellectual instruction within their ⁷ reach.

The Guaycurus were not disheartened by the defection of their Payagua allies. The Portugueze of Cuyaba had recently founded a settlement, with a small fort, which they called Praça dos ⁸ Prazeres, upon the northern bank of the Igatimi, a river which enters the Parana not far above the Falls. There was a ford upon this river, called the Guaycurus' pass: . . . that circumstance alone might have taught the colonists to be always upon their guard; but twice in one year the fierce horsemen came upon the unwary settlers, burnt the houses which were not within the protection of the fort, and massacred the inhabitants. The next year twenty of their canoes ascended the Paraguay to a distance of four hundred miles from what is considered as their country, fell upon a *fazenda*, killed the owner, his son, and sixteen persons, and carried away some prisoners. The losses which this nation has inflicted upon the Portugueze are computed at more than four thousand lives, and three millions of *cruzados*. The Governor of Mato Grosso

⁷ Azara knew the Cacique of one of the hordes at Asumpcion who was at least one hundred and twenty years old, for he was a married man and a Chief when the Cathedral of that city was built. His sight was a little decayed, but only about a third of his hair was grey, and he was still a hale man. (2. 131.)

⁸ This is one of Our Lady's numerous invocations, taken from the Seven Good Joys, which are the subject of one of our own Christmas carols. The appellation from the Seven Sorrows is much more in vogue.

CHAP.

XLII.

1776.

Nova Coim-
bra founded.

and Cuyaba, Luiz de Albuquerque de Mello Pereira e Caceres, thought the best means for repressing so terrible an enemy would be, to erect a fort that should command the navigation of the Upper Paraguay. He appointed Captain Mathias Ribeiro da Costa to this service, and sent him from Villa Bella to Cuyaba, whence with a sufficient force he was to descend the river of that name, and having crossed the shifting mouths which the Tacoary and the Embotateu form in that low alluvial country, fortify himself in a position which the old Sertanistas used to call the *Fecho dos Morros*. At this point, which is the southern boundary of the great annual inundation, the river passes through a range of mountains of considerable height, that meets it at right angles, and the stream is divided by an islet, or lofty rock, into two narrow channels. Here, on the eastern bank, the fortress ought to have been placed. But Ribeiro da Costa, unwisely listening to the advice of some of his people, who seem to have been casting wistful eyes toward Cuyaba, either as a place of succour or of refuge, was persuaded to stop forty leagues above this well selected spot: and he committed the farther error of establishing himself on the right bank, which the Spaniards claimed as being within their demarcation. The place thus chosen, in disobedience of orders, and named Nova Coimbra, is now the most southern possession of the Portugueze upon the Paraguay. There also the river is contracted between two ⁹ hills, as at the *Fecho*;

⁹ There is a remarkable and extensive cavern in these hills, containing many chambers, and a subterraneous waterfall. A description of it by Dr. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, is inserted in Almeida Serra's account of Mato Grosso. One of the chambers, it is said, is large enough to contain a thousand men; and the whole extent has not yet been explored. It is supposed that its waters communicate with the Paraguay by secret channels, because a live crocodile was found in them. *Patriota*. 2. 2. p. 59—62.

CHAP. and in the dry season those hills command the passage. But
 XLII. they are not parts of a Cordillera, like the former, and during
 1776. the greater part of the year canoes find free passage over the
pantanaes on either side, without coming in sight of the fort.

Almeida
Serra.Patri-
ota. 2. 5. 33.
 2. 2. 59.
Hist. dos
Indios Ca-
valleiros.
Do. 3. 5. 31.
Cazal. 1.
 263. 296.

Forte do
Principe de
Beira found-
ed.

Cazal. 1.
 307.
Almeida
Serra.Patri-
ota. 2. 5. 56.

The Dia-
mond Con-
tract.

From the same cause, the surrounding country is neither fit for cultivation nor for pasture; in ordinary seasons it is flooded about seven months out of the twelve, and in the years 1791 and 1792, the waters never retired. Luiz de Albuquerque's orders were better observed in founding the Forte do Principe de Beira, upon the Guapore, about the same time. This new establishment was made about a mile above the site of Conceiçam, the former S. Rosa, where the hasty and ill-finished works were already falling to decay. In that part of the country the river annually rises to the prodigious height of thirty feet; and this is the only spot of ground between the Destacamento das Pedras and the mouth of the Mamore, which is perfectly secure from the inundation. But though in this respect the place is well chosen, the exhalations from the surrounding country after the waters have fallen produce their usual effect, and the garrison suffer from disease in consequence.

While the Brazilians were thus strengthening their borders, both against the Spaniards and the Savages, the means of making the diamonds more productive to the Treasury came again under the consideration of the Government. A person, apparently of northern extraction, by name Felisberto Caldeira Brant, had taken the third contract for these precious stones, under Gomes Freyre's administration. He was a great miner at Paracutu; and thinking to acquire wealth more rapidly by collecting diamonds than gold, he offered a capitation of two hundred and twenty *milreis* upon six hundred slaves, at a time when, according to his own statement, it was not expected that any person would have bidden more than one hundred and fifty, and when,

in reality, he had no competitor : in addition to this he paid ten *milreis* per head, as a donative for the contract. An article in the bond stipulated that a third part of the slaves should be employed in the province of Goyaz, where diamonds had recently been discovered in the Rio Claro, and the Rio dos Piloens; and the surrounding country had therefore been reserved for the use of the Crown, under the same laws as the Forbidden District in the Serro Frio. The ground, however, was not found so productive as it had been estimated; and, after three years, the Contractor was permitted to withdraw his men, and employ them within the old limits. A suspicion prevails, that though the search for diamonds was not successful, a rich harvest of gold was collected during those years; for when, in 1801, the Goyaz demarcation was thrown open, it was found that the richest mines had been exhausted, either by Brant (who had possessed the likeliest opportunity) or by some other persons who had clandestinely wrought them. However that may have been, he represented in a petition to the Court, that he had been a great loser, owing to this clause in the covenant; and moreover, that in the last year of his contract, the coffer in which the diamonds were deposited had been broken open, stones to the weight of more than twenty-two *oitavas* stolen, and small ones put in the place of larger, so that the amount of the loss sustained could not be precisely ascertained, but it certainly exceeded two hundred thousand *cruzados*. The coffer was secured by six locks; two of the keys were in possession of the Intendant of the Forbidden District, in whose house it was kept; the Contractor himself had one; and three of the Intendant's officers had the others in their charge. In consequence of this alleged loss, Brant petitioned the Government to interfere that the bills which he drew upon Lisbon by that fleet might not be dishonoured, though the remittance of diamonds would not cover them; and that some indul-

CHAP.
XLII.Diamond
Demarca-
tion in
Goyaz.Patriota. 3.
6. 4Ruin of the
Contractor.

CHAP.
XLII.

gence might be allowed him in paying his arrears to the Crown. Before the petition could reach Portugal an order was on the way to arrest him and seize all his effects. If the stones in his possession, and the rest of his property, should be sufficient to cover bills for nine hundred thousand *cruzados*, which he had already drawn upon the diamond account, and to pay his arrears to the Crown, then he was to be released; otherwise he was to be placed in close custody at the Rio, and not allowed to communicate with any person. The result was that Felisberto, and Joaquim Caldeira Brant, were sent prisoners to Lisbon, and died there in the common jail. They were suspected, perhaps, of having committed the robbery themselves; but there was no trial: the proceedings against them were not published, and nothing more is known in Brazil, than that these men came to their lamentable end for certain offences which their great power and wealth had emboldened them to commit.

Peticam.
MS.
Pinheiro.
Collection.
T. 6. No. 4.
Aviso. 20
Feb. 1753.
MS.
Patriota. 3.
4. 55.
Cazal. 1.
399.

Pombal's
Regulations
for the For-
bidden Dis-
trict.

Cazal. 1.
399.

Regimento.
2 Aug.
1771. MS.

After the ruin of these *Poderosos*, the contract was taken by Joam Fernandes de Oliveira, who had shared with Francisco Ferreira da Sylva in the first contract, when that system was introduced, and continued to hold it after this resumption till the end of the year 1771, when a new system was substituted, and new laws for the Forbidden District promulgated by Pombal. The causes for this change were stated in the preamble to be, the certain knowledge of the intolerable abuses which were practised, the disorderly manner in which the ground was worked and the streams choaked, and the number of slaves who were introduced under fraudulent pretences, for the purpose of extracting diamonds. For the prevention of such abuses it was determined that the diamonds should thenceforward be worked upon account of the Crown, under the superintendance of Pombal, as head of the Treasury, of three Directors in Lisbon, and three Administrators in the *Comarca* of Serro Frio: these latter to be nominated by

the Directors at Lisbon, to hold their office as long as they demeaned themselves well, and to be graduated in rank and appointments, . . . the second and third succeeding by seniority to the first. They were to reside in the *Arrayal* of Tejuco, or in any other part of the Forbidden District which might be more convenient, and to regulate the whole of this important service. Every year they were, with the advice and approbation of the Intendant General of the Demarcation, (who was a *Dezembargador*) to determine what places should be wrought that year, what in the dry season, and what in the time of the waters, reserving the two Rios Pardos, and the streams which fell into them, which had always been reserved from the Contractors, as ground that might be resorted to when the mines now in use should no longer defray the expence of working them. Their choice was to be regulated by the quantity of stones which would be required for Lisbon in that year, with relation also to the expences of the extraction, and to the sum of three hundred and sixty thousand *cruzados*, which the Government expected to be paid into the Treasury regularly, as in the time of the Contractors. Positive instructions were given that every stream should be worked upwards, as far as those instructions could be observed; and if the Administrators failed to conform to the law in this point, the Intendant was charged to report their transgressions, that the King might give orders for punishing them as they deserved.

The Intendant should immediately see that all the slaves in the Forbidden District were matriculated, and their names, ages, and descriptions entered, under the names of the respective owners: and when a slave was transferred from one person to another, the new owner was to make the transfer known to the Intendant, and have it registered, on pain of the same punishment as if he had introduced a slave clandestinely. No new slave might be admitted into the district without a written license

CHAP. from the Intendant, nor might such licenses be granted unless
 XLII. the cause was strictly just and necessary ; and every new entry
 1771. must immediately be registered. If any unmatriculated slave

§ 6.

were discovered, the owner should not only pay the appointed
 mulct to the informer, but, for the first offence, be condemned
 to the galleys irremissibly for three years, and for the second,
 for ten ; and for ten in the first instance if the slave had been
 detected with diamonds upon him, or in the act of working for

§ 8-9.

them, or even with the tools in his possession. All persons in
 the *Comarca* of Serro Frio and the Forbidden District, who
 possessed houses and plantations, held offices, or carried on
 business of any kind, were required to present themselves before
 the Intendant within fifteen days after the promulgation of these
 regulations ; and after a rigorous examination they were to
 receive billets of license, signed by the Intendant, and their
 names and respective employments to be registered. Those
 who failed in giving a satisfactory account of themselves were,
 in fifteen days after notice had been given them, to leave the
 district, on pain of imprisonment at Rio for six months ; and if
 they returned privately, they should be degraded to Angola for
 as many years. Persons who desired to settle at Tejuco, or any
 other *Arrayal* near the workings, were to be examined touching
 their motives, their means of living, and the business which they
 designed to carry on : and if they failed in showing a just cause
 why they should be admitted, they were forthwith to be sent
 out of the district as suspicious persons, if they were not found
 § 10. deserving of severer punishment.

It was known that traders and contrabandists introduced
 themselves into the *Arrayaes* ; sometimes with the pretext of
 passing through ; sometimes under pretence of collecting debts,
 either for themselves or others ; sometimes as travelling slave-
 dealers, like those who frequented Bahia and the Rio once or

twice a year. With regard to persons of the first description, if they tarried more than twenty-four hours in any place, they were to be apprehended by the local Magistrates, carried before the Intendant, and, at their own expense, sent to the Rio, there to be imprisoned six months. They who came to receive payment, were to present themselves before the Intendant, Administrator, and Fiscal, and produce their documents, state the amount of the debts, explain for what those debts were due, and show what means the debtors had, or had not, for discharging them. If all were satisfactory, licenses should be granted them to pursue their business ; otherwise they must depart within three days. The travelling slave-dealers were not to be admitted ; such as were in the district should immediately be expelled, together with their slaves ; and proclamation made by public edicts, that if they returned, their slaves and property should be confiscated, and they themselves degraded for ten years to Angola. And, as experience had shown that persons, when expelled from the Forbidden District, often evaded the laws, by fixing themselves so near their former place of abode that they were as mischievous as before ; for the future, all such persons were to be banished from the whole *Comarca* of Serro Frio, in cases where it might not be thought necessary to send them to a greater distance. It had happened, that some who were arrested and sentenced to expulsion, had chosen to remain in prison rather than sign the proceedings against themselves ; and in the prison itself, had carried on their contraband practices upon a greater scale than when they were at large. Henceforth, if they did not sign the proceedings at once, they should be sent instantly to the Rio, and embarked for Angola, to serve there for ten years. The Intendant and the Administrators must be the most competent judges in all such cases, because they were on the spot, and possessed the best means of information ; their decisions there-

CHAP.
XLII.
1771.

§ 11.

§ 13.

§ 14.

§ 15.

CHAP. fore were to be final, and without any appeal whatever, except
 XLII. to the Sovereign himself.

1771.

§ 16.

Of the slaves who were to be purchased from the Contractors on the Treasury's account, those alone who lay under no suspicion of having engaged in the clandestine extraction of diamonds, might be employed; the others must be sold out of the district. No others were to be bought; but such as might be necessary now or in future were to be hired for those months in which their services were wanted, and dismissed as soon as they were no longer needed. The Administrators were to determine the number that would be required in the dry season, and in the time of waters, as might be most suitable to the interests of the Treasury, and not according to the interests of individuals, who had hitherto hired out their Negroes to the Contractors, without regulation or limit.

§ 17.

The Negroes thus hired were all to be able-bodied; the most vigilant watch must be kept over them, the utmost precaution observed, and the strictest search repeatedly made. If weights were found in their possession, or any other indications of traffic, they were to be condemned to the galleys, for a term proportioned to the suspicion against them. The commonest agents in smuggling diamonds were Negresses, under the character of runaways. All such as were found in company with the slaves should be remitted to their owners, who were to pay the fine for taking them; and, within a given time, sell them out of the district. Free Negresses were also to be expelled; but if the women proved to be slaves, whom their owners let out to this way of life, the owners then were to be banished. The Intendant and Administrators, in hiring slaves, were first to prefer those of the most experience and ability, and of the best repute for integrity; secondly, those belonging to persons in the service of the Administration, more or fewer, according to the zeal and desert of the owners; thirdly, those

§ 18.

who belonged to the other inhabitants of the Forbidden District, according to the number employed by them in their respective occupations. But if persons had acquired a large stock of slaves, merely with a view of hiring them out for the extraction, then no reference was to be had to their numbers, . . . this practice being an abuse which must be entirely abolished. Owners might not be suffered to raise disputes, by pretending that their slaves ought to have been preferred; they might transmit such complaints to the Board at Lisbon, if they thought good: the King would then institute an inquiry, and give orders either for redressing the injustice, or punishing the complainant if it should be found that he had acted from overweening covetousness, or from a seditious temper. No persons, not resident within the Forbidden District themselves, might keep slaves there under the name of others, to be let out to the Administration. If this practice were detected, the owner should pay the fine for every Negro that was discovered, and be sent to the galleys for three years; for six, upon a second offence; ten, upon the third.

CHAP.
XLII.
1771.

§ 19.

All the subaltern appointments of the Administration were to be made at Lisbon; and persons quitting their employment, or dismissed from it, were immediately to remove, not from the Forbidden District alone, but from the whole *Comarca*. The Administrators were forbidden to purchase diamonds which had been clandestinely extracted, though the Contractors had done so, in order that the sale of these stones might not interfere with theirs; and all persons detected in buying or selling diamonds, or anyways assisting in the contraband extraction, were to be irremissibly punished according to the law¹⁰, and the diamonds

§ 20.

§ 21.

The *Regimento* refers here to an Alvara of Aug. 11, 1755. I have not met with this Alvara, nor with any account of it; but in an official summary of the Laws

§ 22—23.

§ 24.

¹⁰ The *Regimento* refers here to an Alvara of Aug. 11, 1755. I have not met with this Alvara, nor with any account of it; but in an official summary of the Laws

CHAP. XLII.
 1771. confiscated. Under the former system, licenses had been granted for gold workings within the diamond district, and this had opened a way for great abuses; strangers obtained ingress upon this pretext; slaves were introduced; provisions had been raised to an exorbitant price; streams were choaked, and opportunities afforded for the illicit trade in stones, which had been carried on to a great extent. A stop must be put to these abuses. The grants which the late Governor, Gomes Freyre, had made in the Morro de Tejuco, the Rio S. Francisco, and the Bicas, were confirmed, but all others were revoked; nor might any new license be granted, without the King's special permission.

§ 25.

The detachment of dragoons in the *Comarca* of Serro Frio were to be exclusively employed in preventing the smuggling of diamonds. The forty wood-soldiers (*soldados do mato*), called *pedestres*, who had been in the service of the Contractors, were to be kept up under the new system; and the Administrators might enlist men in this corps, or discharge them, without reference to any military superiors. If the Administrators were informed that any private person had diamonds in his possession, they were to call upon the Intendant to give orders for the arrest and seizure, either by the soldiers of the *Capitam Mor* and the *pedestres*, or in any way which he might deem best: and all the civil and military authorities were required to lend their assistance, on pain of suspension from their posts. Should the dragoons, or the *pedestres*, think it necessary to seize a suspected person, or search a house, without waiting to obtain an order,

§ 28.

§ 29.

of the Mines, in my possession, an Alvara of Aug. 30, 1752, is noticed, as wanting in the collection; and from the manner in which it is noticed, it appears to relate to this subject. Numerals are so liable to be mistaken in transcription, that I have very little doubt the same law is meant.

lest the object of their search should be frustrated, they were authorized so to do; and were immediately to carry the seizure and the culprit before the Intendant: and if they failed in their search, they were to explain the grounds of suspicion upon which they had proceeded, that they might be dismissed the service, and chastised according to the degree of their criminality, should it prove that they had acted from personal resentment, or any other bad motive. Hitherto it had been the practice to draw up a process of every secret information; it was now directed that the informer should write down the information which he laid, but without the insertion of his own name; that he should personally present this written denunciation to the Intendant, or to one of the Administrators; and that the person to whom it was presented should sign the paper, and date the day of its presentation. The informer, either himself or by his agent, might appeal to this paper, and by virtue thereof obtain his share of the seizure. The reward¹¹ was to be paid without delay to the informer, and to the other persons concerned, according to their respective shares.

Shops, store-houses, *vendas*, and *tabernas*, had been multiplied at Tejuco, Villa do Principe, and other places within the Forbidden District, to an excessive number, serving in many cases as a cover for the persons concerned in them, to carry on the contraband trade in diamonds: therefore such places were to be reduced to the smallest number which could be deemed suffi-

¹¹ The *Regimento* determines the scale of value by which the diamonds were to be rated on such occasions. Stones, not exceeding eighteen grains in weight (that is, four and a half *carats*), were estimated at four *milreis* each. From that size to an *oitava* (seventeen and a half *carats*), eight *milreis*; and all stones above an *oitava*, at six *milreis* per *carat*. In case of any considerable flaw, the Administrators were to determine the abatement of value.

CHAP. XLII. 1771. § 33. cient for the use of the country, and none of the owners, of whom there was any suspicion, suffered to remain. In future, no new establishments of this kind might be opened within the district, or a circuit of six leagues round it, on pain of the penalties denounced against contrabandists. Cultivators and breeders might sell their produce in their own houses, with a license from the Intendant; but they might not purchase such produce for the purpose of selling it again. Nor might the Administrators, and other persons in office, nor the Clergy, engage in shops or houses of trade, on pain of banishment. To diminish the injury which the owners of the shops thus to be shut up must unavoidably sustain, their stock was to be taken at a fair appraisement by those who were allowed still to carry on their business. If they were not satisfied with the price fixed, they might remove their property. The remaining traders were thenceforward to receive assortments of goods from merchants settled at the Rio, Bahia, or any other of the sea ports; and private individuals, if they pleased, might do the same. This would put a stop to the trading Commissaries and Pedlars, who now wandered over the district, but who were from this time forward to be arrested, and their goods confiscated, a third part being given as a reward to the informer.

§ 34. § 35. § 36. § 37. § 38. No person of any state, quality, or condition, might enter the Forbidden District, without previously transmitting a petition to the Intendant, accompanied with a certificate from the local authorities of the place which he was about to leave, and stating the business upon which he was going, and the place to which he was bound. The Intendant and the Administrators should then give or withhold permission, as might to them seem best; fix the term of his stay; and, upon just cause, grant a prolongation of that term, but for once only. All persons, whether Whites, Mulattos, or free Negroes, who had no lawful calling,

known establishment, or ostensible means of life, were consequently to be suspected of living by some secret practices, and therefore to be expelled. Should they return, they were to be imprisoned for six months at the Rio or Bahia, at their own cost, and pay a reward of fifty *oitavas* to the persons who informed against them. For the second offence, the fine was to be doubled, and the offender transported to Angola for ten years.

CHAP.
XLII.
1771.

§ 40.

If the Administrators had well-grounded indications that any person, of any state, calling, or condition whatsoever, was concerned, directly or indirectly, in smuggling diamonds, they were to communicate their suspicion to the Intendant, and point out the individuals through whom a knowledge of the fact might be obtained. A secret inquiry was then to be instituted; and if two witnesses gave concurrent evidence of the presumption of the crime, (such is the language of this law!) the suspected person was immediately to be expelled from the *Comarca*, without any power of appealing from the sentence. The proceedings upon an inquiry of this kind, were to be preserved by the Notary with the most inviolable secrecy, on pain of deprivation of his office, and the punishment due to those who prevaricate in situations of public trust. The King had been informed, to his displeasure, that there were, within the Forbidden District, men audacious enough, both publicly and privately, to menace with death and other outrages, those who impeded their illicit interests, either by not hiring from them slaves whose services were not needed, or not so many as they wished to let out; or for aiding in the discovery of the clandestine extraction, and the expulsion of traders and vagabonds. Such men, being unworthy to stile themselves the King's vassals, ought, as common enemies of the good of their country and of the public tranquillity, which are both dependant upon the exact observance of the laws, to be entirely removed from the King's dominions, and punished with

§ 41.

CHAP.
XLII.
1771.

the severity which was necessary for putting an end to the scandal resulting from this unheard-of insolence. The Intendant was directed to institute an inquiry against those, who, after the promulgation of these laws, should render themselves guilty of this crime. The inquiry was to be always open, without limitation of time; neither was any determinate number of witnesses to be required. And when by these, or any other legitimate means, it should appear by proof of natural law, that there were persons guilty of this enormous crime, they were to be arrested, cast into prison, and summarily sentenced by the Board of Justice, the Governor presiding thereat. These Regulations for the Forbidden District were thenceforth to be observed, notwithstanding any existing laws which they might contravene; the King, of his own proper motion, certain knowledge, royal, plenary and supreme power, abrogating all such laws, so far as they might be contrary to what was now determined.

Shortly afterwards, a Fiscal was appointed to assist the Intendant. It was required that he should be a jurist; his salary was fixed at two *contos*, without any other emoluments either from the Treasury or from individuals; he was to perform the same duties as a *Procurador* of the Treasury; to be present at all the resolutions of the Intendant and Administrators: and he was charged, in deciding causes, to avoid, as much as possible, all technical formalities and long legal processes, which served rather to intimidate the innocent, and introduce intrigues, disorders, and disquietude, than to any good end. He and the Intendant and Administrators were admonished not to disagree. If upon any unexpected case it should happen that they differed in judgement, they who were in the minority might deliver their opinion, in writing, freely, but with moderation; but they might not renew the old abuses of protests and counter-protests, which never answered any other purpose than to disturb the public tranquil-

*Regimento
do Fiscal
dos Dia-
mantes,
23 May,
1772. MS.
§ 1.*

§ 42.

§ 54.

§ 2.

§ 6.

lity, and that good faith and concord which it was so desirable to preserve. For the same reason that such things were forbidden, it was now ordered, that no person, who had taken a Bachelor's degree in law, should reside within the Forbidden District, on pain of six months close imprisonment at the Rio, if he were discovered. Natives of the district, who had graduated in the profession, were exempt from the law of exclusion; but only on condition, that they did not practise their calling; for in that case, they made themselves liable to it.

CHAP.
XLII.
1772.

§ 10.

These regulations for the Forbidden District of the Diamonds bear the stamp of Pombal's peculiar character: they are in the spirit of Oriental, rather than of European legislation. The Minister had one single object in view; and to that object every thing was sacrificed without scruple, without demur, and perhaps without consideration. Established laws were set aside; the rights of individuals were violated; inevitable ruin was brought upon many of the inhabitants, great inconvenience upon the whole population; and all were deprived of all security, either for their property or their persons. And with a curious inconsistency, which always is found in tyrannical legislation, while the offence was presumed to be so general, and the temptation to it so strong, as to render necessary these violent measures, such powers were vested in the members of the Administration, and those in their employ, as if the mere possession of office implied in the holder consummate wisdom and integrity, . . . nothing short of which could prevent them from abusing powers so unlimited, and instructions so dangerous.

Although the appointments were made at Lisbon, yet as local knowledge and experience were indispensable in the three Administrators, these persons were necessarily chosen from the inhabitants of the district, and from the class of miners. But the Fiscal and the Intendant being of a very different breeding and

*Effect of
these Laws.*

CHAP. rank in life, despised such colleagues, for their comparative ig-
 XLII. norance and the coarseness of their manners, and took upon
 1772. themselves the whole management of affairs, regarding the Ad-
 ministrators as mere overseers and agents in their employ. This
 however was no evil, . . the evil lay in the extent and nature of the
 power which had been delegated ; and it made little difference
 whether that tremendous authority were exercised by five persons,
 or by two. Were such power, says Joze Vieira Couto, confided
 to a Tribunal in Lisbon, close beside the King's Palace, even
 there there would be danger of its abuse : what then is to be
 looked for when such wide tracts of sea and land intervene
 between the subject and the Sovereign ! Accordingly he tells
 us, that stagnation of trade, and depopulation, have been the
 consequences of such a system : that the merchants of the
 Rio, who are liberal in their dealings with other *Comarcas*, will
 not hear the very name of the Serro Frio, because they know
 that any person whom they might trust is liable, however inno-
 cent, to be seized and ruined at any hour : that no inhabitant
 of this unhappy district commences any undertaking without
 providing in his own mind how to dispose of it, and how to
 render his property moveable, and whither to betake himself, if
 his turn should come : and that Tejuco, which was once the
 most flourishing town in Minas Geraes, resembles under this ar-
 bitrary jurisdiction one of the wretched wards of Constantinople.
 There is probably no other place in Brazil where so large a pro-
 portion of the people are dependant upon charity. Enormous
 frauds had certainly been practised under the contract : the
 same writer who has thus forcibly described the ruinous effects
 of the existing system, affirms, that when the Contractors paid the
 capitation for six hundred slaves they employed more than ten
 times that number. But the change of system has not pre-
 vented the illicit extraction : it has only transferred the trade,

*Joze Viei-
 ra Couto.
 MS.*

and thrown that large share which was formerly possessed by the Contractors, into the hands of private contrabandists. The Forbidden District of the Diamonds, which carries a sort of romantic interest in its name, is indeed a remarkable spot upon the globe, and for the statesman as well as the mineralogist: in no other place has it ever been the main object of the Government to enforce an arbitrary law, unconnected with any moral sanction; and no where has the law ever been counteracted by such great temptations for evading it.

CHAP.
XLII.

The strictest precautions are employed to prevent stones from being stolen in the regular workings. The course of one of the diamond streams having been in part diverted from its bed, the *cascalho* is dug out, and carried to a convenient place for washing. The Negroes used to bear it in troughs upon their heads: it is now removed in some places by means of inclined planes, rail ways, and water-wheels; but large timber must be brought from the distance of an hundred miles. Workmen for constructing such machines are more difficultly to be procured than the materials; and in the Serro Frio, as in more advanced and more enlightened countries, a feeling prevails among the common people, that any invention which lessens the demand for manual labour, is injurious to their interests. A shed is erected from twenty to thirty yards long, and about half as wide; along the middle of the area, a current of water is conveyed through a canal covered with strong planks; on these planks the *cascalho* is laid, two or three feet thick, and over the *cascalho* three overseers are seated at equal distances, whip in hand, upon high stools, with a resting place for the feet; but neither arms nor backs to the seat are permitted, lest an easier posture might induce drowsiness, and thus their vigilance might be relaxed. The other part of the area is floored with planks with a slight declination from the canal, extending the whole length of the shed, and partitioned

Manner of
working the
Diamond
mines.

CHAP. XLII. by cross planks into some twenty compartments or troughs, which are called canoes, . . . an old term adopted from the first gold washings. Each of these troughs communicates at the upper end with the covered canal, by an opening about an inch in width; and from that opening, by means of a small piece of tenacious clay, the water is admitted, directed, or stopt at will. At the other end the water is carried off by a channel. A Negro works in every trough: they are not naked, nor is there any regulation concerning their dress, which generally consists of a waistcoat and drawers. He begins by raking into his trough about half a hundred weight of the *cascalho* with a short handled crooked kind of rake, made for the purpose; then lets the water in, and rakes the mass backward and forward till the earthy parts are washed away. The gravel is then raked up to the end of the trough, and when the water flows from it quite clear, the business of separation begins; the larger pebbles are thrown away first, then the smaller, and the remaining rubbish is carefully examined for diamonds. The man who finds one falls back, stands upright, claps his hands, then extends them, and holds out the diamond between his finger and thumb: an overseer takes it and puts it in a bowl suspended from the middle of the shed, and half full of water; and at the end of the day's work all the diamonds which have been found in the day are weighed and registered. The men work from sunrise till sunset, with intervals of half an hour for breakfast, and two hours at noon; and they rest four or five times during the day, and are refreshed, . . . not with fermented or spirituous liquors, but with snuff. While they wash the *cascalho* they are obliged to place their feet on the sides of the trough, and to stoop even more than when they are examining the rubbish. The work is very hard; the slaves, as may be supposed, are not under the mildest treatment, and their allowance is less liberal than it ought, and might be

expected to be in a Government establishment. They are formed into gangs of two hundred, with a Priest and a Surgeon to each, an Administrator, and other inferior officers.

Hard however as this labour is, it has attractions both for the slaves themselves and the persons by whom they are let out, which can be found in no other employment. The slave who finds a stone weighing an *oitava* (seventeen carats and a half) obtains his liberty. He is immediately crowned with flowers, and carried in procession to the Administrator, who redeems him from his owner, clothes him anew, and admits him to work on his own account. Two or three such prizes in the lottery generally turn up in the year, and thus some little compensation is made to humanity for the complicated evils with which this district is afflicted. Proportionate rewards are given for valuable stones below this standard: it is always therefore a hopeful, and for that reason, a willing work. The motives which make the slave owners solicitous to have their Negroes engaged in the service of the Administration are not equally legitimate. The daily wages which they receive for them are three *vinteins* of gold; but this cannot be the sole object, considering the little value of money in that country, the great value of slaves, and the wear and tear which they undergo in such severe labour. To prevent the Negroes from putting stones aside in their troughs for the purpose of secreting them, the overseers many times in the day make them change from one trough to another, not in any regular rotation, but as they direct, so that there is little possibility of collusion: and if one of them be suspected of swallowing a stone, he is placed in close confinement till the fact can be ascertained. Nevertheless, these precautions cannot always be effectual; and it is affirmed, upon the most probable ground of calculation, that diamonds from this district to the value of two millions sterling, have found their way to Europe through secret

Mave. 257.

CHAP. channels. There seems however reason to suppose, that a con-
 XLII. siderable part, perhaps the greater, of these smuggled stones,
 has been discovered by prowling adventurers in places which
 are not known to the Administrators as diamond ground, or
 which they have not begun to work, or in the wild parts of the
 adjoining country. But it is certain, that the inhabitants are not
 deterred from dealing clandestinely in these fatal jewels, by the
 severity of the laws, the perpetual danger of detection, and the
 certain ruin which follows it. Laws will be always inefficient if
 they have no foundation in natural justice; but when they appear
 to violate it, they then provoke disobedience. When an adven-
 turer exploring a savage tract of country picks up a jewel which
 might otherwise have lain there unnoticed to the end of the world,
 as it had done from the beginning, and which is of such value
 as to secure to him, if he can dispose of it, an ample provision
 for the rest of his life, and a fair establishment for his children,
 no possible enactment can make that man feel conscious of com-
 mitting a crime in appropriating to himself the treasure which
 fortune has bestowed upon him. But even in those cases where
 the laws have the moral sanction to aid them, their united in-
 fluence has not been powerful enough to countervail the strong
 temptation which the riches of the Forbidden District offer.
 The value of the diamonds remitted to the Court in the most pro-
 ductive ¹² year, amounted to about one hundred and thirty thou-
 sand pounds sterling: the net average produce certainly falls short
 of half that sum. But better had these diamonds have lain in the
 beds of the mountain streams, or still been trodden under foot
 by the savages; and better had the Portuguese Government have

Noticias.
MS.

¹² That of 1778, which produced 65,753 carats, almost double the average amount upon a term of nineteen years, beginning with 1772.

raised that portion of revenue by any other means, or have gone without it; than that a system should have been established which begins and ends in evil, . . . which has produced cruelty and injustice in the Government, fraud, falsehood, and prevarication in the people, treachery and suspicion, guilt, misery, and ruin. More wealth has been drawn from the bed of the Gectinhonha, than from any other river in the world, . . . but how much more real good has been derived from the smallest rill which the Savoyard or the Piemontese directs to irrigate his fields!

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XLII.

The Conde da Cunha was succeeded as Viceroy by D. Antonio Rolim de Moura, formerly Lord and now Count of Azambuja, the same person who had lately been Governor of Mato Grosso, and defended Fort Conceiçam against the Spaniards. The Marquez de Lavradio, D. Luiz de Almeida, succeeded him. This Viceroy was the first who enforced an inhospitable law against the ships of allied powers in distress, by which, instead of being allowed to obtain money for their repairs and necessary expences by bills of exchange, they were compelled to deposit a part of their cargo adequate to the demands upon them and the incident expences, that it might be sent to Lisbon, there to be sold, paying duty and charges, and the net produce remitted to Brazil to liquidate the debt; after which the surplus, if there was any, was to be reserved till the owner should reclaim it. The Marquez enforced this obsolete and barbarous law in its full rigour. Under his viceroyalty and patronage an Academy of Sciences and Natural History was instituted at the Rio, by the suggestion of his physician, Dr. Jozé Henriquez Ferreira. At one of their first meetings, an army-surgeon, by name Mauricio da Costa, related, that when he was in the expedition against the Seven Reductions, a Spaniard who had been in Mexico pointed out to him the cochineal in the province of Rio Grande, upon several varieties of the *cactus*. In consequence of this commu-

Conde de
Azambuja
Viceroy.
1767.

Marquez de
Lavradio
Viceroy.
1770.
Inhospitable
treatment of
ships in dis-
tress.

Walpole Pa-
pers. MSS.

Academy of
Natural
History in-
stituted.

CHAP.

XLII.

1770.See vol. 2.
p. 649.Patriota. 3.
1. p. 3—13.The Spaniards send
an Armament
against
Brazil.

nication, a specimen of the true cochineal from Rio Grande was shortly afterwards transmitted by the Viceroy to Lisbon. It appeared that the boys in that province had discovered the property of the insect, and extracted from it a dye, which they used as paint. Soon afterwards, it was found in the island of S. Catharina; and plants, with the insects, were brought from thence to the Botanic Garden of the Academy. Search also being made, it was found in the vicinity of Bahia; and it had previously been known that it existed in Para. The Governor of S. Catharina was instructed to encourage the cultivation of this valuable article. The Marquez likewise sent specimens to the Court of a good silk, produced by a native caterpillar, which fed upon the leaves of the *tataiba*. His views appear to have been scientific and liberal: but even if they had been more steadily encouraged by the Government, the Brazilians were not ripe for them; and his attention was distracted ere long by cares of a very different kind.

D. Joseph Moniño, better known by his subsequent title, as Count Florida Blanca, had recently been made Minister in Spain. His elevation was great and sudden, and in opposition to a powerful party: but the young Minister was a man of ability and enterprising spirit; and the pending disputes with Portugal, concerning the limits of Brazil, afforded him the opportunity which he desired, of distinguishing his administration by some sounding exploit. The time was favourable: for Great Britain, engaged in an unhappy contest with her own colonies, was not able to interfere for the protection of her ally, as otherwise she would have done. Zaballos, whose animosity against the Portuguese had been recently exasperated by their recovery of Rio Grande, was at Court to instigate and advise him. A force of nine thousand men was prepared, with twelve ships of war, and a large fleet of transports, more than one hundred sail.

The Marques de Casa-Tilly had the maritime command of the expedition. Zeballos went out with superior powers, being appointed Viceroy of La Plata; for, in order to exempt him from that dependence upon the Government at Lima, which had produced such intolerable delay and inconvenience both to public and private affairs at Buenos Ayres, that province was now made a Viceroyalty, and its authority extended over all the country which was within the jurisdiction of the Audience of Charcas. Zeballos and Casa-Tilly differed concerning the direction of this formidable force: they disputed upon it when they began their voyage in November; and in February, when they were off the coast of Brazil, the dispute was renewed at the moment when it was necessary that a final resolution should be taken. Casa-Tilly was for attacking Colonia; the Viceroy proposed to begin with the island of S. Catharina. The Admiral insisted upon the difficulties of such an attempt; and the Council of War inclining to that opinion which seemed to hazard least (the error to which such Councils naturally incline), supported his opinion. A man less firm in his purposes than Zeballos, would have yielded to such opposition, which threw upon him the whole responsibility in case of failure. He replied, that the difficulties of his intended plan, in truth, were very great: but it was because great difficulties were apprehended that the King had sent troops; and because they were *so* great, that such troops, and so numerous, had been selected for the service. Could Colonia be regarded as an adequate object for such an armament, . . . the largest that Spain had ever sent¹³ to America? He had taken

1777.

¹³ Larger armaments had been sent for the recovery of Bahia from the Dutch, and during the Dutch war. But those armaments might be considered as belonging rather to Portugal than Spain; or Zeballos might not have recollected them.

CHAP. Colonia once with a handful of men, and would, by God's blessing, take it once more as easily. His mind was resolved, and upon the best grounds. There was no port in the Plata capable of sheltering so large a fleet; what then was to be done, but to seek for one elsewhere which could, and to win it by force of arms? This he would attempt, and this he expected to do: then he would immediately discharge the greater part of the transports; and thus evince that the promptest and most vigorous measures are the most economical. For these reasons, he would begin with S. Catharina. It was now the middle of February: by the beginning of March he would be in possession of the whole island; in the course of April he would do his utmost to settle the business of Rio Grande; and by the beginning of May, he thought, with God's favour, to present himself before Colonia; and thus complete in one campaign, what would not be accomplished in four, nor perhaps ever, if the opposite opinion were followed, and they were to begin at the wrong end. Zeballos did not rely upon the force of his reasonings alone;.. he asserted his authority, and ordered the Admiral to make sail for S. Catharina.

*Funes. 3.
199. 204.*

*Island of
S. Catharina.*

*See vol. 1.
177.*

The island of S. Catharina is about thirty-six miles long; and in breadth from four to ten. The channel, which separates it from the main land, is divided by a strait into two ports, which are nearly of equal length. The strait is not more than two hundred fathoms across: the northern port is three leagues wide, with depth for the largest ships, and is one of the best harbours in South America. Yrala had perceived the importance of this position, and sent a Spaniard to dwell there with the Carijos, and persuade them to raise provisions for the supply of Spanish ships. He did not possess the means of colonizing it; and from his time to that of Zeballos, no man of equal enterprize, or equal foresight, had been at the head of affairs in Paraguay or La

Plata. But in his days, so little were his countrymen aware of the value of this island, that D. Hernando de Trijo began a settlement in port S. Francisco, between Cananea and S. Catharina, instead of choosing a spot so infinitely more desirable in every way. Charles V. approved of this establishment, as being very advantageous for the communication with Peru: but in the course of two years, the settlers, after suffering greatly for want, forsook the place, and made their way by land to Asumpcion. The Carijos, or Carios, as they are sometimes called, continued therefore to possess it¹⁴ for a century longer; and its exceeding fertility was regarded as one of the causes which prevented them from putting themselves under the care of the Jesuits: their wants were abundantly supplied; and the bait, which allured less industrious tribes, who roamed over a hungry country, had no attractions for them. In the course of that century, the Portugueze discovered the advantages of the spot, and made several attempts to establish themselves there; but all without success. They however considered the whole coast to the Plata, as belonging to their half of the New World; and Joam IV. made a grant of this island to Francisco Dias Velho. The Donatory began to colonize it; but at the very commencement of his undertaking, he was attacked and killed by an English pirate; and this put an end to the attempt. At length the Government transported families from the Azores, from whence Brazil has derived so many of its best colonists. This was probably in consequence of their apprehension, during the negotiations at Utrecht, that the English were designing to form a settlement upon some part of this unappropriated country; . . . either here, it

CHAP
XLII.
1777.

1654.

p. 131.

¹⁴ They called the island *Juru-mirim*, which Vasconcellos interprets, the *Little Mouth*, I know not from what fancied similitude; but this is plainly the word, which Hans Stade writes, *Schirmirein*. (vol. 1. 176.)

CHAP. XLII. was conjectured, or at Rio Grande. From time to time they continued to send out adventurers from these prolific islands; and the greater part of the present inhabitants are descended from that good stock.

1777.

Langsdorff.
Reise um die
Welt. 1. 29.

Cazal. 1.
195. 181.
192.

Funes. 1.
152.

Vasconcel-
los. Vida de
Almeida.
4. 9. § 1.

Ibañez. 2.
273.

S. Catha-
rina vilely
surrendered.

Zeballos had touched at this island¹⁵ when he first went out to supersede Andoanegui: then it was in so poor a state of defence, that one of the Spanish officers told the Portuguese Governor his fortifications were good for nothing, and might be knocked to pieces by pistol shot. It had been greatly strengthened since that time: but when the Spaniards represent it as defended by forts and castles, which were mounted with more than two hundred pieces of artillery of all calibres; garrisoned by four thousand regular troops, besides the militia of the island, and the force which might be called from the neighbouring main land; and protected by twelve ships of war, . . . the exaggeration is too gross to impose, even for a moment, upon any person acquainted with the circumstances either of Portugal or Brazil. The enemy landed in the *Enseada das Canavieiras*, about nine miles from the town of N. Senhora do Desterro, the capital both of the island and the province. No resistance was made: every fort and every battery was abandoned without firing a gun, and without spiking one. The Governor, Antonio Carlos Furtado de Mendonça, was frightened at the appearance of the enemy, and his panic¹⁶ infected some of his officers, and rendered the

¹⁵ Ibañez supposes that Zeballos touched there for the purpose of preparing his plans, in concert with the Jesuits and Portuguese, for frustrating the Treaty of Limits. And he represents the visit as a piece of policy, consistent with the character of Zeballos. So it appears to have been; but of a very different policy from what this miserable slanderer supposed.

¹⁶ Funes, who hates the Portuguese, and therefore is generally unjust towards them, would not omit this opportunity of stigmatizing the nation for

courage of others unavailing. He fled to the main land, and there, where he would have been secure if he had dared to think of doing his duty, he capitulated and surrendered to the King of Spain, not the island alone, but all its dependencies upon the continent. Zeballos was then proclaimed as Viceroy, and *Te Deum* for the success of the Spanish arms was sung in the Mother-Church of *N. Senhora do Desterro*.

CHAP.
XLII.
1777.

Funes. 3:
204—206.

Zeballos
proceeds
against Co-
lonia.

This scandalous capitulation was signed on Lady Day, . . . an event which, if any thing could have shaken her popularity, might have brought *N. Senhora da Conceiçam* into discredit in Brazil. Zeballos immediately dispatched orders to the Governor of Buenos Ayres, D. Juan Joseph de Vertiz, to march against Rio Grande with the greatest force that could be collected, while he attacked it from the north and from the water. Vertiz accordingly, with two thousand troops and some militia cavalry, advanced to S. Teresa, and there fixed his quarters, ready to cooperate with the victorious armament. But Zeballos, having garrisoned his conquests and set sail for the prosecution of his well concerted plans, was baffled by the winds, and could neither make the Rio Grande, nor put into the bay of Castilhos, as he afterwards attempted. He therefore made for the Plata, and anchored at Montevideo. His first act was to deprive his predecessor of all authority, and this was ungenerously and unjustifiably done; for it was the intention of the Court that Vertiz

the cowardice of this Governor and his officers. He says, *debe confesarse, que a los Portugueses nada les habia quedado de su antigua gloria, sino los instrumentos de sus vicios. Jamas su cobardia se dexò ver con un sambenito mas ignominioso.* (p. 206.) Whether the Governor was punished I know not, but his conduct is spoken of by his countrymen with the indignation which it deserves. Pombal condemned it in the strongest language, . . . and *tam valerozo era*, is the contemptuous expression of Cazal.

CHAP. should not be displaced, but remain second in command to
 XLII. the Viceroy. Zeballos is charged with suppressing this part of
 1777. his instructions, because he did not chuse to have any interme-
 diate power between himself and the troops. The prisoners, five
 hundred and twenty-three in number, were sent to the pro-
 vince of Cuyo, and then without delay he proceeded against
 Colonia.

*Funes. 3.
207.*

*Capture of
Colonia.*

Colonel Francisco Jozé da Rocha, the Governor of that place, had long been aware of his danger, and had applied to the Rio for supplies of men, ammunition, and provisions. All had been sent, and all captured by the enemy's cruisers. Many of his letters also had been intercepted, and among them one in which it was stated that the provisions of the garrison would not last beyond the twentieth of May. Relying upon this, Zeballos sailed from Montevideo on the eighteenth, and on the twenty-second anchored before this unfortunate settlement. He pitched his camp immediately, out of cannon shot, and began his approaches. The Portugueze Commander called a council of war; they had only five days' food, (so little had he exaggerated their wants in his dispatches,) relief was manifestly impossible with such a fleet in sight, and resistance useless when they must so soon yield to¹⁷ famine. An officer was sent to propose terms of capitulation. Zeballos is perhaps the last strong example of that Spanish cha-

¹⁷ Funes passes over these circumstances in silence, and relates the capture of this place in a tone of insult which would be misbecoming in any writer, and is especially so from one of such general uprightness and generosity as the Dean of Cordoba.

Shortly after this event, a preacher at Buenos Ayres entered, in one of his sermons, upon the subject of female vanity; and in describing the dress of the women, he concluded by saying, .. In short, they have more ornaments than Zeballos brought artillery to conquer the Portugueze. *Memorias. MSS.*

racter which was formed under Ferdinand, Charles V, and Philip,.. CHAP.
 wise in council, vigorous in action, cool, prompt, decisive, and XLII.
 inflexible; but not a generous, not an honourable enemy. He 1777.
 detained the officer the whole day, and during that time pushed
 his approaches, knowing the Portugueze would not fire while
 their negociator was in the camp. At night-fall he sent him
 back with this answer, that when the works were compleated he
 would communicate the orders of his sovereign before he opened
 his fire; but that if the garrison interrupted him meantime they
 must abide the consequences. The pitiable garrison were fain
 to await his pleasure; and when his batteries were planted,
 mounting twenty-four pieces and four mortars, besides six for
 red-hot shot, he produced a manifesto, saying, that he was come
 by order of the King of Spain to chastise the Portugueze for the
 insult which they had committed at Rio Grande, in invading
 that territory under cover of peace: and he summoned the Go-
 vernor to surrender at discretion, seeing the place was in a state
 which did not admit of capitulation. They proposed terms,
 which were rejected: it was agreed, however, that the inhabitants
 should remain in undisturbed possession of their property. That
 condition was grossly violated. They were obliged to sell their
 goods at a valuation, and pay the ¹⁸ duties on the sale. The
 officers only, with their families, and a few settlers who found
 means of purchasing their liberty, were allowed to transport
 themselves to the Rio. All the rest were shipped as prisoners for
 Buenos Ayres, plundered by the seamen, and afterwards sent
 into the country, under every circumstance of brutal barbarity,
 to be settled as colonists about Cordoba and Mendoza. With

*Illtreatment
of the pri-
soners.*

*Memorias.
MSS.
Cazal. 1.
125.*

¹⁸ Which, says the Portugueze writer (who seems to have been one of the sufferers,) was the same as obliging a man condemned to be hanged, to pay for the rope.

CHAP. such inhumanity was this done, that women were forced away
 XLII. from husbands who were lying dangerously ill in the Hospital at
 1777. Buenos Ayres; and mothers were compelled to march, with in-
 fants dying of the small pox in their ¹⁹ arms.

*Second
 Treaty of
 Limits.
 1 Oct. 1777.*

*Tratado
 Preliminar.
 § 1.*

§ 2.

§ 3.

Zeballos was preparing to march against Rio Grande, when he was stopt in his career by dispatches informing him that a Preliminary Treaty of Peace and Limits had been signed at Madrid, to serve as the basis of a Definitive Treaty of Demarcation, which would be made in good time, after the necessary surveys should have been taken. The first article stipulated the customary and impossible condition, that there should be an oblivion of all mutual hostilities. Prisoners were to be released, and prizes restored. Portugal ceded Colonia, with all its claims upon the north bank of the Plata, and acknowledged in Spain an exclusive right to the navigation of that river, and of the Uruguay, as far as the place where the Pepiri-guazu falls in from the western shore. The Spanish line was to begin at the mouth of the Chuy, on the coast, where Fort S. Miguel stood, including that fort. Proceeding thence to the shore of the Lagoa Mirim, it made for the sources of the Rio Negro, which, with all other rivers that flowed into the Plata, or into the Uruguay below the mouth of the Pepiri-guazu, was now determined to belong to Spain. The Rio Grande, with the Lagoa dos Patos, was assigned to Portugal: and the boundaries of Brazil on this side were to proceed from the southern extremity of that great lake to the brook Tahim, and by the shore of Lake Mangueira in a straight line to the sea. Inland the line followed the shore of the Lagoa Mirim, to the first stream on the south, which should be near-

¹⁹ *Tam mau he o homem*, says Casal, when he relates this. The Manuscript Memoirs contain instances of inhumanity more shocking than even this

est to the Portugueze fort of S. Gonzalo ; then ascending the brook, it kept along the heads of the streams which flow to the Rio Grande and to the Jacuy, till it passed the sources of the Ararica and Coyacui, on the Portugueze side, and of the Piratini and Ibimini, on the Spanish : a line was then to be drawn, which, on the one hand, should cover the Portugueze establishments, as far as the mouth of the Pepiri-guazu, and on the other, the Spanish establishments, and the Uruguay Missions, which were to remain as they then were. The Commissioners were instructed to follow the tops of the mountains, and so to arrange the boundary, that the rivers, from their source, should flow always within the same demarcation. The Lakes, Mirim and Mangueira, and the land between them, and the narrow slip between the latter and the sea, were left as neutral territory, which was not under any pretext, nor in any manner, to be occupied by either people : so that the Portugueze might not pass the brook Tahim, nor a line drawn from it to the sea ; nor the Spaniards the brook Chuy. And as Spain ceded her pretensions upon the Lagoa dos Patos and the country to the Jacuy, so Portugal relinquished her's upon the Chuy, Castilhos Grande, and Fort S. Miguel. Along the whole line to the mouth of the Pepiri-guazu, an intervening portion of neutral ground was, in like manner, to be left, the breadth whereof would be determined by the Commissioners upon the spot, according to local circumstances. The Spanish artillery taken at Rio Grande, and all its dependencies, was to be restored ; but that which they had found there, when they took the place from the Portugueze, was to remain. The demarcation from the mouth of the Pepiri was, in every respect, the same as by the former treaty. The Governors on the frontiers were to exert themselves on both sides, that the border might not become an asylum for robbers and murderers : they were to pursue such persons, and extirpate them

§ 4.

§ 5.

§ 6.

§ 7.

§ 8-14.

CHAP. by the severest punishments. And as the riches of the country
 XLII. consisted in slaves, the Governors were mutually to give up all
 fugitives of that description, who were not to be protected in the
 liberty they sought to obtain, but only from punishment, in
 § 19. case they had not deserved it by any other offence:.. the latter
 part of this stipulation is honourable to both Courts. S. Catha-
 rina, and all its dependencies, were to be restored; and Portugal
 engaged, that no foreign merchantmen, or ships of war, should
 be received there, or in any of the near ports, especially if they
 belonged to powers at war with Spain, or could be suspected of
 § 22. contraband commerce with the Spanish possessions. The treaty
 moreover contained a resignation on the part of Portugal of its
 claims to the Philippines, the Mariannas, and any other posses-
 sions of Spain in the eastern seas, to which it might have pre-
 tended by virtue of Pope Alexander's Bull,.. the validity of
 which curious instrument was thus virtually asserted by the two
 § 21. contracting powers!

*Death of
 King Jozé,
 and disgrace
 of Pombal.*

*Coxe's Mem.
 of the Span-
 ish Bour-
 bons. 3. 391.
 23 Feb.
 1777.*

Florida Blanca²⁰ prided himself upon having thus defini-
 tively settled a dispute, which had lasted for more than two cen-
 turies and a half. He always regarded it as one of the most
 important measures of his ministry. But the Portugueze look
 back upon this treaty, as having been dictated in injustice, and
 accepted in weakness. Probably it would not have been ac-
 cepted at any other time; but the death of King Jozé, a few
 months before, had produced great changes at Lisbon. A sudden
 friendship was brought about between the two Courts. The

²⁰ It is worthy of notice, that in his Apology for his administration, of which Mr. Coxe has given an abstract, (*Memoirs of the Spanish Bourbons, vol. 3. ch. 69.*) he acknowledges that Rio Grande could not justly be retained by the Spaniards after the Peace of Paris; which is confessing the injustice of Spain, in making its recovery by the Portugueze a pretext for their hostility.

dowager Queen of Portugal visited her brother Carlos III; and if a bias toward Portuguese interests was suspected on the first Treaty of Limits, a contrary inclination might, with more reason, be presumed in the second. England was in no condition to interfere. At that time, Spain was secretly preparing to take part with the American colonies against her; . . . a policy for which she was destined, in due season, to pay the full and proper penalty in her own: and she was not without hope of inducing Portugal to enter into her views, and join in a league for the destruction of her old and only faithful ally. Such counsels would never, for a moment, have been entertained by Pombal; but he was in disgrace. His fall had ensued immediately upon the death of the King, whom he had zealously served, and by whom he had been steadily supported. Among the preposterous calumnies with which he was now assailed, was a charge that he had betrayed his country; and that S. Catharina had been delivered up to the Spaniards, in obedience to secret orders which he had sent out. This was so confidently asserted, that the fallen Minister thought it necessary to expose the absurdity of so impudent a slander.

CHAP.
XLII.

Becattini
Istoria de
Carlo 3.
p. 290.

Vita di
Pombal 5.
128.
Confutazion.
MS.

The Companies of Maranham and Pernambuco were now abolished, when so many of Pombal's measures were annulled, and so many of his plans overthrown. The Lisbon merchants are said to have had *Te Deum* performed, when these monopolies were suppressed. The question of their utility, which at first had been doubtful, was now no longer so; for their capital was at this time by no means ²¹ adequate to carry on the trade.

Extinction
of the Com-
panies of
Maranham
and Per-
nambuco.

Administra-
tion de Pombal.
4. 168.

²¹ The capital of the Maranham and Para Company was four hundred and eighty *contos*; and in the year 1781, the exports from S. Luiz alone, which was considered as the minor port, cost, at the shipping prices, nearly four hundred and sixty. The exports of that year from S. Luiz, were fifty-four thousand four

CHAP. XLII. They had expended great sums in building large ships, which they were now obliged to sell at disadvantage; and the adventurers never recovered their capital. The increase of commerce in those ports must, however, in part, be attributed to the impulse which the Companies had given. Soon after their extinction, cotton, the growth of which they had promoted at Maranham, was introduced from that place into Pernambuco; and it is there cultivated at this time so successfully, as to form the main article of export.

Ratton.
§ 58.

hundred and thirteen *arobas* of cotton; one hundred and seventy-one thousand five hundred and fifty-five *arobas* of rice; four hundred and ten *arobas* of cacao; twenty-four thousand and five tanned hides; fourteen thousand seven hundred and ninety-six raw hides; seventeen deer skins; twenty-six *canadas* of rum; six *alqueires* of sesame, or gergelim; five thousand and fifty billets of wood; twelve thick planks; twenty-two planks for doors; eighty-one *arobas* of coffee; seventeen hundred and twenty-eight *arobas* of sugar; eleven hundred and seventy *arobas* of ginger; nine hundred and seven *arobas* of starch (made, I suppose, from mandioc); and one hundred and thirty-three barrels of honey. The number of ships was twenty-four.

D. Luiz da Cunha thought the extinction of the Brazil Company a bad measure, and a worse precedent, which would deter adventurers from embarking in other Companies. In the present instance, the profits made while the monopolies lasted, more than counterbalanced the loss sustained at their extinction.

CHAPTER XLIII.

New Settlement on the Mato Grosso frontier. Alliance with the Guaycurus. Their present state. Progress in reducing the Tribes of Goyaz. Conspiracy in Minas Geraes. War of the French Revolution. Conquest of the Missions. Removal of the Royal Family to Brazil.

It was not upon the side of the Plata only, that hostilities had been commenced against the Portuguese: the Spaniards had erected a fort opposite the Praça dos Prazeres, on the Igatomy, and they attacked, took, and demolished, the Portuguese establishment. Some earlier settlement had existed there in forgotten times, vestiges of which, consisting of pottery, charcoal, and half-burnt wood, were found at a depth of twelve feet below the surface, when the foundations were laid. Having destroyed their neighbours' fort, the Spaniards abandoned their own, because of the malignant fevers which prevailed there annually, from the beginning of February until April; yet they who settled at a little distance from the river were not attacked by the disease; and the extraordinary fertility of the soil would have induced a more industrious people to try, whether the local causes of the evil were not remediable by industry and art, and whether they themselves might not in time become acclimated. Maize is said to have

CHAP.
XLIII.

Praça dos Prazeres destroyed. 1777.

CHAP. returned an hundred and fifty fold; rice, two hundred fold; and
 XLIII. cotton had been found to flourish there; but the situation was
 now forsaken by both nations.

Cazal. 1.
273.

*Encroach-
ment of the
Spaniards.*

The Spaniards of Paraguay acted at this time with unusual vigour: provoked, not unreasonably, by the conduct of the Portuguese officer, in building Nova Coimbra on their side of the river, they began on their part to enlarge their border, and founded three places within the Brazilian limits, . . . S. Joseph, S. Carlos, upon the river Appa, and Villa Real, upon the Ipane-guazu, . . . from whence they trespassed upon the pastures of the Portuguese, and approached Camapuam, a position of the greatest importance for the communication between S. Paulo and Cuyaba. The unlucky fort, which had given occasion for these retaliatory aggressions, was at this time commanded by the *Sargento Mor*, Marcelino Rodriguez Camponez. He brought with him strict orders from the Governor of Mato Grosso, Luiz de Albuquerque, not to offend the Guaycurus; but that he should endeavour to establish a friendly intercourse, and induce them to trade with the fort. They abhorred the Portuguese, the Governor said, because of the injustice and inhumanity of the old Sertanistas. The positive directions of the Court were, that he should seek to do away that feeling: but he was charged not to allow them to offend with impunity. Soon after his arrival at Nova Coimbra, some Guaycurus came to the fort on horseback; they spoke Spanish, and said they were desirous of peace. Camponez went out of the estacade to receive them, with pistols in his belt, and a party of armed men. The conference was amicable on both sides: he made them presents, partly from the King's stores, partly from his own; and they promised to return within a month, and open trade. The month elapsed, and some of the officers began to murmur against the Commandant, because the Guaycurus did not appear according

Cazal. 1.
263. 287.
*Almeida
Serra. Pa-
triotas. 2. 5.
36.*

1780.

*Treachery
of the Guay-
curus.*

to their promise. He had affronted or intimidated them, they said, by the appearance of suspicion with which he had received them; and in that spirit of intrigue and mutiny, which it is the tendency of lax discipline to produce, they actually drew up a memorial against him for his conduct. Just then, however, a party of the savages arrived, with women in their company, and sheep, turkeys, deer-skins, and other such commodities, for barter. The Commandant directed them to stop about three hundred paces from the fort, upon the ground where the fair was to be held; and he appointed the Adjutant, Francisco Rodriguez Tavares, with twelve soldiers, to be present, cautioning them to be upon their guard. Tavares accordingly formed a stand of arms, and placed a centinel over them; but when the savages requested him to remove the musquets farther off, and to have them covered over and send away the centinel, because the sight of fire arms terrified the women; and represented that they came without arms themselves, having only their short clubs and their knives, . . . the Adjutant, with unpardonable folly, consented. The Guaycurus then invited the Portugueze to court their women. The only part of the ensuing tragedy which is not disgraceful to all parties is, that many of the women were observed to weep when they accepted the gifts which their blind victims were lavishing upon them. This was imputed to their repugnance at the prostitution whereto it appeared that their husbands were exposing them, . . . neither the vices nor the virtues, which characterize this nation, being then understood. One man, however, who was innocently engaged in bartering for a sheep, was intreated by the woman with whom he was dealing, to leave her, and quit the place; and though he mistook the cause of her tears and gestures, they were so earnest, that he complied. Meantime the Chief of these treacherous savages, with an interpreter of his own nation, went into the fort, where they were

CHAP.
XLIII.
1780.

6 Jan.
1781.

CHAP. XLIII. hospitably entertained, and dismissed with gifts after they had eaten and drank their fill. When they came out of the estacade, some of the Portugueze were greedily engaged in barter, regardless of every thing else; others were reclining upon their Dalilahs; and the Chief, seeing them entirely in the snare, gave signal by a whistle. Instantly the massacre was commenced: some were knocked on the head, others had their throats cut, . . . the women, with whom they had been dallying, holding them down in their laps while the men performed the murder. The Adjutant, who was a man of gigantic strength, drew his sword and retreated, fighting and facing the murderers; but one got behind and felled him by a blow on the legs: he was then butchered on the ground; and the Portugueze from the fort, running to protect their comrades, came up just in time to hear the word 'Jesus,' uttered through his throat as he expired. Forty-five men were thus massacred; and the Guaycurus, without receiving the slightest hurt, carried off the arms and spoils before the garrison could reach the spot. The officers then destroyed the memorial against their Commandant, which accused him of treating the Guaycurus¹ with too much suspicion, and drew up another, wherein they charged him with reposing a fatal confidence in their perfidious overtures.

*Francisco
Alves do
Prado.
Hist. dos
Indios Ca-
valleiros.
Patriota. 3.
5. p. 32—
36.*

¹ That same year, a party of ten persons from the fort obtained leave to cross the river, for the purpose of shooting on the opposite shore. Three of them landed, and were presently attacked by the Guaycurus: they fired, killed the Chief of the savages, and wounded another; but one of them was run through the breast with a spear; another killed on the spot by arrows; and the third, with an arrow-wound in the arm, ran toward the canoe. His cowardly companions, seeing that he was closely pursued, pushed off into the middle of the river. The poor fellow began to swim after them; but the blood from his arm attracted those terrible fish, with whose jaw-bones the savages used to decapitate their enemies, (*See vol. 1. p. 122.*) and in a few minutes he was literally torn to pieces by them! (*Francisco Alves do Prado. Patriota. 3. 5. p. 36.*)

That part of the Guaycurus who possessed the eastern bank, below the Fecho dos Morros, were at this time at peace with the Spaniards of Paraguay; this had been brought about by a negotiator in every respect unlike the Jesuits, by whom such treaties had usually been made, . . . it was a Priest² who had actually turned savage, and having taken refuge with this tribe, lived with them, took a wife among them, suffered his eye-brows and eye-lashes to be eradicated, and followed all their customs. But those upon the Upper Paraguay, who committed the massacre at Nova Coimbra, were still at war with the Spaniards. In resentment for some wrong, real or imaginary, which they had sustained some years before from the Rector of Corazon de Jesus, (one of the Chiquito Reductions, where, when the Jesuits made their last census, there was a population of two thousand three hundred persons,) they fell upon that settlement, carried off kine, horses, and captives, and compelled the Administrators who had succeeded the Jesuits, to remove a hundred miles from the site where that establishment had flourished for nearly a century. They attacked also the neighbouring Reductions of Santiago and S. Juan, the one containing two thousand, the other sixteen hundred inhabitants, and reduced them almost to a state of ruin and depopulation. The country was too far from Santa Cruz de la

CHAP.
XLIII.
1781.

The Guaycurus make peace with the Spaniards of Paraguay.
1774.

They attack the Chiquito Missions.

Peramas. Census Oppidorum Chiquitorum, Anno 1766.

1785.

Francisco Alves. Patriota. 3. 5. 48.

² Francisco Alves learnt much of their history from this Ex-Priest. He says of him, that because he was the means of delivering Paraguay from the ravages of the Guaycurus, *adquirio o nome de justo entre a plebe Hespanhola*. If this be the case, it implies a very general indifference to their religion in the Spaniards of that country. The conduct of the Priest is easily explained: like many of his fraternity, he did not believe a word of the fables which he preached; . . . he was too ignorant to separate the truths of Christianity, which he had never felt or understood, from the impudent corruptions of the Romish Church; and he acted an honest part in a short petticoat than he had ever done in his canonicals.

CHAP.
XLIII.

Sierra, for the Spaniards of that province to make any efforts for its protection. And indeed, even the Portugueze, who were less patient under provocations of this kind, did not attempt to take vengeance for the treacherous murders committed at Nova Coimbra in their sight, and with so many aggravating circumstances. They knew how difficult it was to get at such enemies; and, probably, regarding the massacre as the work of those only who were concerned in it, continued in hope of reconciling the whole nation by a conciliatory policy, which proceeded neither from weakness nor from fear. This was the more prudent, because, though the Guaycurus did not venture to make advances toward a peace, they committed no fresh act of hostility. A tacit truce had lasted in this manner about eight years, when a party of the savages one day appeared on the opposite side of the river, and called out to the garrison. The Commandant sent over some persons to speak with them; but the Guaycurus were afraid to approach, lest the treachery should be retaliated; and they withdrew, without proceeding further in this first attempt at renewing a friendly intercourse. After an interval of three months, they came again, called out in the same manner, and taking more courage, ventured to speak with the Portugueze who answered their invitation, accepted some presents, and promised to return in five days. They kept their word: one of their Chiefs came with them, by name Queima: he was a man in great estimation among them, the son of a Payagua father and a Guaycuru mother, and of the highest parentage on both sides. After this interview, a trade was renewed with the garrison, but under all needful precautions. The savages brought horses, sheep and turkeys, and other things of less value, for which they received tobacco, baize, hatchets, basons, knives, pewter plates, and *facoens*, or large knives, which, as more likely to serve for evil purposes than for good, were afterwards prohibited by the

1789.
They make
peace with
the Portu-
gueze.

Governor. A new Commandant came now to the fort, and brought with him instructions to pursue, without delay, the opportunity which was now offered for treating with this nation. Accordingly, four armed canoes were sent in search of them during the inundation. Upon the second cruize, they fell in with the people whom they sought, and invited them to the garrison: the conscious savages feared to accept the invitation; but they sent two of their captives to see in what manner they were treated; and these men went with as much reluctance as if they had been delivered up to the executioner. They were well fed, dressed finely, and dismissed with presents. Two of the Chiefs then ventured, with four of their followers; but so different is the courage of a savage from that of an European, that, though these men would have borne the severest tortures without betraying the slightest indication of sensibility, they trembled from head to foot when they entered the estacade. The result of this visit was, that Queima, and Emavidi Chané, a Chief of great authority and reputation, went to Villa Bella with a party of their people, and a Negress as an interpreter, who had been born and bred among the Brazilians, but was one of their captives. There, in the name of those Guaycurus who inhabited the eastern side of the Paraguay, from the Mondego, or Imbotatiu, which is its Indian name, on the South, to the Ipane, on the North, they made a solemn peace with the Portugueze; and, according to the words of the treaty, promised to the Queen of Portugal implicit obedience, in the same manner as all her subjects. Emavidi, upon this occasion, took the name of Paulo Joaquim Joze Ferreira, after the Commandant of Nova Coimbra; and his companion, preserving his native appellation, was called Joam Queima de Albuquerque, after the Governor. The Guaycurus could hardly have understood the meaning of the obedience which they promised and subscribed; but it was never

CHAP.
XLIII.

Francisco Alves.
Patriota. 3.
5. 36—42.
Cazal. 1.
254—283.

Present state of the Guaycurus.

likely to be exacted in its full sense; and if peace be preserved for a few generations, they will disappear from the land. It has continued unbroken for more than five and twenty years. They visit³ Nova Coimbra whenever they please, in canoes during the inundation, on horseback at other seasons. They pitch their huts without the estacade, and are admitted within by day, but not with arms; and they leave it at the evening bell; after which hour, only the Chiefs are allowed to remain.

There were, at the close of the eighteenth century, three divisions of the Guaycuru nation; . . . one on the western side of the Paraguay; one on the eastern, below the Fecho dos Morros, being those who made peace with the Spaniards of Asumpcion, through the Ex-Priest; and the third, above the Fecho, who are, according to their own intention in the treaty, allies of the Portugueze; but, according to its letter, acknowledged vassals of the Portugueze crown. These branches are declared enemies each of the other, although they are of the same origin, speak the same language, and observe the same customs. The Brazilian branch is divided into seven⁴ great hordes, who are generally upon friendly terms, and perfectly resemble each other in all their habits and institutions. Each of these hordes is so numerous, that the assemblage of its tents is said to deserve the name of a large town. The tents are arranged in straight wide streets, and are of the simplest structure: mats, made of flags or rushes, laid upon poles, almost horizontally in dry weather, but with more inclination when it rains; and when the rain is heavy,

³ Among the articles which are kept in the fort, on account of the Crown, as presents for this people, are *veronicas* and *figas*.

⁴ These seven hordes are called, Chagoteo, Pacachodeo, Adioeo, Atiadeo, Oleo, Laudeo, and Cadioo. (*Cazal.* 1. 276.)

and the matting begins to bag with the weight of water, they brush it off from within ; but many have two or three mat coverings, one above the other, with intervals between, as a better protection both against rain and sun. They always encamp upon the banks of a river or great lake, and remain there as long as they find sufficient food for themselves and their cattle, which are very numerous ; for they despise agriculture, and live chiefly upon meat. They have profited thus much by their intercourse with the Portugueze, that they rear every kind of domestic bird and beast, which has been introduced from Europe into America ; and they treat them all with such kindness, as well as care, as to render them remarkably tame. Neither stirrups nor saddle of any kind are in use among them ; their bridle is made of the *acroata*, one of the aloes of the country ; and they are so incessantly on horseback, that their legs are deformed by it. Yet they are said not to be good horsemen, only that they know how to manage the horse at full speed ; . . . which, indeed, is all the horsemanship they need. Their mode of breaking-in the animal is peculiar to themselves : it is done in the water, almost up to the creature's belly, that he may have less power to struggle, and that the rider may have less to fear from a fall. The war-horse is never used for any other occasion, and never sold ; but, upon the death of the master, it is killed at his grave. In their wars against the Portugueze, they made use of their horned cattle ; and, collecting them and the horses into a great herd, drove them furiously upon the enemy. Even the Paulistas were afraid of such an attack ; and their largest parties dreaded to meet the Guaycurus in the open country : the only resource was, to get into the woods, and climb the trees ; then their musquets gave them the advantage. As the Guaycurus, like the savages of South Africa, made this use of their cattle in war, so, like the same people, they had trained them to

Francisco
Alves.

CHAP. obey a whistle, by which, at any time, they could assemble and
 XLIII. direct them.

As soon as the surrounding pasture is exhausted, the horde removes. Presently their tents are struck, all are in motion: the large town which was standing in the morning disappears; what was then swarming with life and population, is left as a desert behind them; and before night, the town rises upon the banks of another water, and the wilderness is filled with flocks and herds. They sleep upon the ground, on hides, and cover themselves with skins, or with a matting made from the inner rind of certain trees; or with the garments which the women wear by day, and which are large enough to serve for coverlets. The men wear nothing, except a short philibeg, which used to be of cotton, but since their intercourse with the Portuguese, is ornamented with beads of various colours. The women wear a wider petticoat, without which they are never seen from their earliest infancy; and over this a garment, or rather web of calico, is wrapt about them, from the neck to the feet, which is laid on in such heavy folds, that it is said to render the breasts pendant by its weight and pressure: the colour of the cloth is red, with stripes of black and white. They have trimmings of shell work, beads on the arms and legs, silver bugles for a necklace, and a plate of ⁵ silver on the breast. Formerly these ornaments were made of wood, and the lower classes still make them of that material. The men adorn their heads and limbs with feathers: they wear mouth-pieces of wood or silver, according to

⁵ Where they should have obtained this silver, is a curious question: Francisco Alves supposes that it has existed among them from the time of Alexo Garcia's expedition, and is part of the spoil which he brought from Peru, and which remained among the tribes by whom he was cut off. Is it not more likely to have found its way from Potosi, passing from one possessor to another, sometimes by fair means, sometimes by foul?

their means, and silver ear-rings in the form of a crescent. They eradicate their eye-brows and eye-lashes, tattoo their faces (a fashion, by which the women also deform themselves), and stain the body in patterns with the juice of the *urucu* and *jenipapo*. The young men shear their hair after their own fancy; the elder to a prescribed form, resembling the tonsure of the Lay-Franciscans: the women also wear only a broad circle on the head. Unlike most of the Brazilian tribes, these Guaycurus are not polygamists: it is not to be supposed, that either law or custom renders their marriages indissoluble; the parties separate if they chuse; but such separations are said to be unfrequent. Their connubial attachments are represented to be both durable and strong; and they are tenderly fond of their offspring, when their accursed customs suffer them to be born. The children are charged with showing little natural love toward their parents: cautious, as we ought to be, not to oppose mere opinion to what is asserted as fact upon fair authority, it may yet be affirmed, that this cannot be generally true; for it is impossible that tenderness in the parent should not, generally, produce correspondent, though not equal affection, in the child. Each horde has one great cemetery, . . . a long piece of ground, covered like a gallery along its whole length with mats: under this roofing every family has its own burial place staked off. The weapons, and other personals of the deceased, are laid upon his grave; and if he were distinguished in war, these things are decked with flowers and with feathers, which are annually renewed. The body of a young woman is attired for her funeral as it would have been for her marriage, and carried on horseback to the cemetery: the spindle, and other articles of her use, are laid upon her grave. Upon the death of a relation, or a slave, the household change their names.

Francisco
Alves.

The distinction of ranks is strongly marked in this nation:

CHAP. XLIII. the true Guaycurus form but the smallest part. They call themselves Joage⁶ and are divided into classes, the first of which is a nobility, proud to excess of their birth. The men have a title equivalent to Captain; and their wives and daughters also are addressed by an honourary prefix. There are not many of these nobles, and no supremacy among them. The second class, which is much more numerous, consists of the Guaycuru people, all of whom are soldiers, from father to son; but the great bulk of the population is composed of slaves and their descendants; for with them, one chief motive for making war is, to keep up their numbers by this system of half adoption. They spare no adult males, and sometimes kill the women; but the women are sometimes carried away prisoners, and the children always. When it happens that they bring away an infant without its mother, the wife of the captor takes the babe to her breast, whether she have a babe of her own at the time or not; for they have⁷ discovered that a secretion of milk is excited by the action of the infant's lips, even in women of more than fifty years of age, who have never been mothers. The Chief, who makes the largest addition to the horde by such captures, obtains the greatest reputation. The state in which these prisoners grow up has only the name of slavery, for they are never called upon to perform any compulsory service. But the inferiority of their rank is considered to

⁶ This name is so like that of Jaadge, by which the Lenguas called themselves, that, notwithstanding the opinion of Hervas, (*see p. 392,*) it affords a strong presumption in favour of the assertion of Francisco Alves, that the Lenguas are a branch of the Guaycurus; but when he identifies the latter with the Chiriguanas, he is certainly wrong.

⁷ The Editor of the *Patriota* (3. 4. 29), seems to intimate a disbelief of this; but many instances have been known. A well-authenticated one is mentioned by Baxter, in his *Own Life and Times*. (*Lib. 1. Part 1. p. 46.*) and the far more extraordinary fact, that milk has thus been produced in the breast of a man, is authenticated by the indisputable testimony of Humboldt.

be so great, that it is deemed disgraceful for a Chief to take a captive for his wife ; and the son of a Guaycuru woman by a prisoner, would despise the woman who bore him, as one who by such a connection had dishonoured herself. The Chamococos sell their children to the Guaycurus for knives and axes.

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XLIII.

*Francisco
Alves.*

When they are going to war, they chuse for leader the youngest of the nobles who is able to bear arms ; and the elder Chiefs accompany him as his counsellors. On the day of their outset, the young warrior sits upon his bed, while they who are to serve in the expedition collect round him, and one by one pay their respects to his mother, and to the woman who nursed him ; and these women, with tears, and in empassioned tones, remind them of the famous actions of their forefathers, and exhort them rather to die than show themselves unworthy of their ancestry. They have a singular notion, that a shirt made of the skin of a jaguar is impenetrable, even to a musquet ball, . . a superstition, which seems to indicate that they have not often been opposed by good marksmen. When a youth kills his first enemy, or brings home his first prisoner, his mother makes a feast, at which the guests inebriate themselves with mead almost as potent as brandy. They make war upon the Cuyarabas, or Coroados, as the Portuguese call them, who roam about the sources of the Mambaya, a river which falls into the Parana ; upon the Cambebas, or Pacaleques, about the sources of the Imbotatiu, . . a race who flatten their heads like the old Omaguas of the Orellana ; and upon the Caupezes, a burrowing tribe, who are said to form for themselves natural but monstrous aprons, by stretching down, from earliest infancy, the skin of the groin. They have also children from many other tribes ⁸ among their slaves, if that ap-

*Francisco
Alves.*

⁸ Francisco Alves enumerates the Goaxis, Quanas, Guatos, Cayvabas, Bororos, Ooroas, Cayapos, Chiquitos, and Chamococos.

CHAP. XLIII. pellation may be applied to persons who feel none of the evils of slavery, and are subject to none of its restraints.

Cazal. 1.
84.

They believe in an Intelligent Creator of all things; but they offer him no worship, and seem not to regard him either with love or with fear. The invisible power, to whom they apply for a knowledge of what is to befall them in sickness, or in war, is supposed to be an inferior Deity, named Nanigogigo; and their jugglers, who are called Unigenitos, pretend to communicate with him. There is a small kind of hawk, of which the native name is Macaubam; its cry resembles that of a man in distress, and serves as an indication of weather, for those who are accustomed to it: but the Guaycurus suppose that it foretells coming events; and when it is heard the Unigenito is put upon hard duty for the following night. He passes it in singing and screaming, imitating the notes of various birds, shaking a *maraca*, and calling upon Nanigogigo to interpret to him the augury of his unintelligible messenger. With the same ceremonies these knaves pretend to inquire whether the sick are to recover, and if an expedition will meet with good or ill success. The only appearance of a religious ceremony among them, is an annual festival of many days at the first rising of the Seven Stars; for at that season the cocoa of the Bocayuva palm begins to be ripe, upon which they probably relied for food before the introduction of European cattle. It is said, that no belief of retribution after death is combined with their notions of a future state. They hold that the souls of departed Chiefs, and Unigenitos, enjoy themselves among the stars, while those of the common people wander about the place of their interment. The Guaycurus seem to have caught their superstitious practices and opinions from many different tribes, . . . a natural consequence of the manner by which the population of their hordes is supplied: it is therefore remarkable, that with this aptness for adopting the tenets of

Francisco
Alves.

others, they should not during their long and close connection with the Payaguas, have learnt to look for retributive justice after death.

Mead is their only fermented liquor. Both sexes employ themselves equally in preparing their food, which is very much dressed; they eat very leisurely, and make many meals in the day. It is affirmed that they never suffer from indigestion, that scorbutic complaints are never seen, and sudden death unknown among them, . . . assertions which may be admitted to prove, that these things occur much less frequently than in Europe. In every kind of illness they observe extreme abstinence, taking no food whatever, except a very small portion of the pith of the Caranda palm. There are blind people among them, but none that are bald. Their complection is of a darker tint than copper; they are rather above the middle stature of Europeans, well made, (were it not that their legs are injured by the great use which they make of the horse and the canoe,) muscular, and capable of making prodigious exertions, and enduring almost incredible fatigue. The women have large coarse features, which, with the additional and needless deformity of tattooing, renders them altogether ⁹ ugly, to the eye of an European. Their teeth are irregular, and discoloured by the constant use of tobacco; for even the women are never without a quid in the mouth; but they preserve them to extreme old age. The men girdle themselves with a cord upon their expeditions, and if food is scarce, they deaden the sensation of hunger by drawing it tighter round

⁹ Francisco Alves says they have none of the simple graces of Milton's Eve. It is gratifying to an Englishman to find the Commandant of a Portuguese fort, in the heart of South America, thinking of Milton. I believe no nation would display more literary industry and ambition than the Portuguese, if the restrictions by which they are so miserably fettered were withdrawn.

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Alves.

them; in this, as in a belt, they carry a short club on the right hand, and a large knife on the left. The women soon become lean and haggard, and both sexes are excessively wrinkled in old age. The odd variety of a male and female dialect prevails among them, as among many American tribes. For some purposes they can communicate by whistling, as well as by words. They have names for the planets and more remarkable stars, and for the cardinal points.

The women have many excellent qualities. They are compassionate, and so humane towards all creatures under their care, that it is said, the domestic animals of the Guaycurus could not be treated with more kindness if they were in a Banian hospital. They deserve also the praise of industry and ingenuity: they spin, they weave dexterously, they make cords, girdles, mats, and pottery; they evince intelligent curiosity, as well as pleasure, at the sight of any thing new, and examine it attentively in all its parts. There are men among them who affect the dress and manners of women, and are called *Cudinas*, the name by which all emasculated animals are designated. The first conquerors found such persons in Florida, and in the country about the isthmus of Darien; so widely extended in the New World was this abomination, which has its root perhaps in one of the oldest corruptions of heathen worship. Clear nights are their favourite time for sport. Their diversions are of a rough character. The men toss the boys in the large mantles of the women, which serve as blankets for the operation. The women hold hands in a ring, while one runs on the outside; the amusement is for those who are in the circle to put out their feet, and trip her up as she is running; she who falls then takes her place in the circle, and the one who threw her runs round and round till her career is stopt in the same violent manner. They ride races, in which the women engage as well as the men. Other sports are to imitate

the action of birds, carrying a wing in each hand; to leap like frogs; and pretend to run at each other like bulls, upon all fours. Sometimes the women have regular scolding matches, as a sort of dramatic amusement; and she who rails with greatest fluency, and has the most copious vocabulary of abuse at command, is applauded by the bye-standers. Quarrels among them are decided by boxing; they are said to be good boxers; and they never have recourse to weapons in their disputes with each other.

*Francisco
Alves,
Patriota. 3.
4. p. 14—
33. 3. 5. p.
26—44.*

They have neither music nor songs; yet they manifest a lively sensibility to sweet sounds: they listen to a Portugueze song with exceeding great delight; and if the air be melancholy, it always draws tears from the women. They are faithful in their dealings, although they account treachery not only lawful, but laudable, in war. It does not appear that any attempts are making for the conversion of this remarkable people: but if the Portugueze evince no desire to improve them, by the best and surest means, they are no longer guilty of injustice and oppression towards them. There is land enough for both; and long before the Brazilians can replenish half of what they already possess, the Guaycurus, who are now doing their work in diminishing other tribes by their incessant hostilities, will themselves disappear from Brazil, as they have disappeared from the Lower Paraguay. The wicked practice of abortion¹⁰ is destroying them faster than war, and more surely than pestilence. Already it has so reduced their numbers and their strength, that the Guanas upon the Imbotatiu have shaken off their old vassalage,

1793.

*Francisco
Alves. 3. 4.
29.*

¹⁰ Francisco Alves knew twenty-two Chiefs, none of them under forty years of age, all of them married, and only one of them having a child, and he but one. (3. 4. 21.) From this fact, he infers that the custom, though they say it is an old one, cannot long have obtained among them, or they must have been extinct before this time.

CHAP. and placed themselves under the protection of the Portugueze, as
 XLIII. a people independent of their former Lords.

The Cay-
 apos reduced.
 1780.

On the side of Goyaz also, considerable progress was made in reducing the native tribes by conciliatory means. Under the government of Luiz da Cunha Menezes, a *Pedestre*, by name Jozé Luiz, noted for intrepidity, was sent with a party of fifty men, to seek an interview with the Cayapos, who, notwithstanding the exertions which from time to time had been made against them, still remained unsubdued, and in a state of warfare with the Portugueze. Jozé Luiz had often borne arms against them, and had in his company one of their nation, who had grown up in his service, having been made prisoner in youth, and went now to act as interpreter. They entered the *Sertam* from the Rio Claro, and explored it for three months, subsisting all that time upon game and wild honey, after the manner of the old *Sertanistas*. At length they obtained sight of some Indians, and the Interpreter, with the help of presents, persuaded them to visit the Great Captain, who, he said, desired to see them, and to take them under his protection. An old man and six warriors, with their women and children, thirty-six in all, were by these means induced to accompany them to Villa Boa. There they were received with military honours, entertained with a *Te Deum* in honour of their arrival, feasted to their hearts' content, and enriched with toys; and then they were sent to inspect some of the *Aldeas* in which the domesticated Indians were enjoying a plenty and security not to be found in the *Sertam*. They were so well pleased with all this when they departed, that the old Chief halted with the women and children upon the Rio Claro, and sent the warriors to collect and bring with them the whole of their horde in the course of eight months. They succeeded in their charge, and two hundred and thirty-seven Cayapos, under two Caciques, arrived at Villa Boa: one hundred and thirteen of

the number were sufficiently young to receive baptism immediately, in presence of all the chief persons of the town. In the middle of the ceremony one of the old Indian women cried out that she would be christened too. They endeavoured to explain to her that some knowledge of the principles of Christian belief must be acquired before an adult person could be admitted to receive that sacrament. The old woman did not comprehend this; she became impatient and clamorous; and the Priests, who were better politicians than to be too scrupulous on such an occasion, quieted her by converting her presently into a Donna Maria. The *Aldea* Maria was founded for them, on the river Tartaruga, eleven leagues south-east of the capital. Others of the same tribe followed their example and joined them, so that the new village soon contained six hundred inhabitants. These people behaved well, appeared grateful for the benefits which they enjoyed, and kept their word faithfully. Some of them acquired those manual trades which were most wanted, and the women learnt to sew, and to spin and weave also, . . . for so much ruder were they than many other tribes, that these arts were unknown among them. But the colony which began with such good promise has not prospered. No steady system of training up the Indian children has ever yet been followed in Brazil; and in spite of the laws, and of the example in Cuyaba and Mato Grosso, the Indians in Goyaz are looked upon as so inferior a race, that none of those intermarriages take place there, which it was Pombal's wise object to promote.

Seven hundred Javaes and Carajas were settled in the same Captaincy, five leagues from the capital, in the *Aldea* of S. Jozé de Mossamedes; and these also discovered the same apt docility as the Cayapos. An attempt to reduce the Chavantes, under the next Governor, Tristam da Cunha e Menezes, was less fortunate in its results, though at first it seemed to have the most splendid

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XLIII.

Memorias de Goyaz. Patriota. 3. 4. 66. Casal. 1. 337.

Attempt to reduce the Chavantes.

CHAP. success. This tribe, the most numerous of all in Goyaz, inhabit
 XLIII. the country between the Araguaya and the Tocantins, and the
 banks of that river whereunto they have given, or wherefrom they
 have received their name, which falls into the western Araguaya
 a little before it reunites with the eastern branch. They inhabit
 also the Ilha de S. Anna, or do Bananal, as it is sometimes called,
 in that river, which is probably the largest river-island in the
 world, though there may be some exaggeration in the statement
 that makes it more than one hundred leagues long and thirty
 wide, and gives it a lake communicating with the river, of such
 extent, that they who navigate it lose sight of the land. A
 pacific expedition, under the command of Miguel de Arruda e
 Sa, was so successful that no less than three thousand five hun-
 dred of the Chavantes repaired to Villa Boa, promised allegi-
 ance to the Crown of Portugal, and were established in the *Aldea*
 de Pedro Terceiro do Carretam. There, during many years, they
 cultivated the ground, and lived in plenty; but at length, for
 some unexplained cause, more likely to be found in the miscon-
 duct of the Directors than in their own inconstancy, they forsook
 the *Aldea* with one consent, returned to their old habits of life,
 and are at this time the most formidable enemies of the Brazil-
 ians, in the heart of Brazil.

Patriota. 3.
6. 26.
1783.

*Memorias
de Goyaz.
Patriota.* 3.
5. 3.
Cazal. 1.
338.

*Route from
Goyaz to
Para by the
Araguaya
explored.*

*Memorias
de Goyaz.
Patriota.* 3.
5. 3.

Their enmity is no inconsiderable evil; because it opposes a serious obstacle to the communication between Goyaz and Para by the Araguaya, which would otherwise be the most convenient line. This course was explored in the year 1791, by orders from Portugal, but at the expence of Colonel Ambrosio Henriquez, and other merchants of Para. Captain Thomaz de Sousa Villa Real commanded the party: they embarked at the Arrayal de Santa Rita, upon the Rio do Peixe, or Fish River, and ascertained the distance from thence to be seven hundred and thirty-two leagues. Other parties have embarked upon the Rio

1789.

*Expedition
against the
Canoeiros.*

Vermelho, or Red River, which also joins the Araguaya; but there were as yet too many difficulties, both from the nature of the navigation and from the temper of the intermediate tribes, for this course to be much frequented. A year or two before, the Governor, being instructed to reinforce Para with eight hundred men, resolved to explore another line, and make so considerable a force perform some useful service as they went. The same Miguel Arruda, who had reduced the Chavantes, commanded the party; and Jozé Luiz, who had succeeded so well with the Cayapos, accompanied the expedition, in order to chastise the Canoeiros, a terrible race of savages, upon the way. They embarked upon the river Uruhu, the remotest source of the Tocantins: it rises in the southern skirts of the Serra Doirada, not far from Villa Boa, on the south. But at Agua Quenta they left the river, and proceeded over land, taking up men for the service in all the *Arraiaes* through which they passed, as far as Pontal, .. one of the earliest settlements in that country, upon an elbow or point of land, formed by the river of the same name, about four leagues above its junction with the Tocantins. From thence Jozé Luiz began his military operations. The Canoeiros had cruelly infested the Tocantins, and the rivers communicating therewith; insomuch, that they had compelled the people of Goyaz to abandon many of their farms upon the Maranhão, which receives the Rio das Almas after that river has received the Uruhu. Their name seems to be derived from their aquatic expeditions; but their head quarters are among the mountains, in the Serra do Duro, and have never been reached. They are remarkably distinguished from all the other tribes, by their ferocious and unconquerable courage; for they never fly before an enemy, and never submit, but die resolutely, fighting to the last gasp. The women behave in battle as bravely as the men; and they have a breed of fierce dogs trained for war, to seize upon

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their enemies. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, and the long spear; and horseflesh is their favourite food. Upon these people Jozé Luiz commenced hostilities, by land and by water. They defended themselves with their characteristic fearlessness, and the women and dogs bore their part: but Jozé Luiz was accustomed to savage warfare, and in many encounters made great slaughter among them. Arruda then resumed the command, and conducted the expedition down the river to Para; but instead of bringing a reinforcement of eight hundred men, he arrived with only eighty; for the men had been so disgusted with the severity of the service, or were so unwilling to be taken from their own country, that nine-tenths of them deserted by the way. The route from Goyaz to Para, by the Tocantins, though the shortest course, has not since been used. Luiz da Cunha appears to have been an active and able Governor, and to have exerted himself for the improvement of the province, in many ways. He increased its military force, embellished the city of Villa Boa, made a public walk there, and provided that all the new buildings should be erected upon a regular plan: he punished a set of impostors, who defrauded the credulous, and especially the women, by pretending to tell fortunes; and he encouraged the people to prepare, for their own consumption, the salt which that province would supply in sufficient abundance, instead of procuring it from Campo Largo and from S. Romam, on the left bank of the Rio S. Francisco in Minas Geraes, which is a great mart for salt from the *salinas* of Pilam Arcado in Pernambuco.

*Memoirs
de Goyaz.
Patriota.
3. 5. 4.
3. 6. 19.
3. 4. 68.
Cazal. 1.
391.*

*Conde de
Rezende,
Viceroy.*

1789.

These events in Mato Grosso and Goyaz occurred during the Viceroyalty of Luiz de Vasconcellos e Sousa, who succeeded to the Marquez de Lavradio in 1778, and held the Government eleven years. The Government of his successor, the Conde de Rezende, D. Jozé de Castro, is rendered remarkable, by the first

manifestation of revolutionary principles and practices in Brazil: it took place in Minas Geraes. A cavalry officer of that Captaincy, inflamed by the example of the United States, thought it easy for his countrymen to throw off the authority of the Mother Country, and establish an independent republic. Overlooking the difference between the Americans and the Brazilians, in all their circumstances, habits, institutions, and hereditary feelings, he used to say, that foreign nations marvelled at the patience of Brazil, why it did not do as British America had done. His name was Joaquim Jozé da Silva Xavier; but he was commonly called *O Tiradentes*, the tooth-drawer: . . . Nick-names obtain such currency in Portugal and Brazil, that they are found in official documents, and in historical writings. His views did not extend beyond the Captaincy of Minas Geraes, either because he thought that territory large enough to constitute a powerful commonwealth, or because it would have been too perilous to have formed a wider conspiracy; and he expected that success there would induce other provinces to hoist the standard of insurrection, and that then a federative union might be established. Even in his own country, his reliance was not upon public opinion, which had never been disturbed, but upon a peculiar state of affairs, not more perilous to the stability of the Government than it was discreditable to its prudence.

The fifths in that Captaincy, which for many years after the Capitation was commuted had averaged more than one hundred *arrobas*, had for about thirty years been gradually declining, till they fell short of fifty. The people were pledged by their own offer to make up the amount of one hundred, whenever the fifths might produce less. Had this been always regularly exacted, the tax would have continued to be paid, till the difficulty of collecting it, and its disproportion to the diminished produce

CHAP.
XLIII.
1789.

*Conspiracy
in Minas
Geraes.*

*Cause of
Discontent.*

CHAP.
XLIII.
1789.

Noticias.
MSS.

of the mines, would have convinced the Government that it was necessary to abate the impost. It was collected till the average fell a little below ninety; but from the death of King Jozé, at which time the decay of the mines became more and more rapid every year, the arrears had been allowed to accumulate, till, in 1790, they amounted to the tremendous sum of seven hundred *arrobas*, which is equal to the estimated amount of all the unmined gold then circulating in that Captaincy, and is more than half of all that circulated in those interior provinces, where there was no other circulating medium. It was believed, that the Visconde de Barbacena, then Governor of Minas Geraes, was about to enforce payment of the whole arrears. A general alarm in consequence prevailed among the inhabitants: Tiradentes hoped to avail himself of this; and for the purpose of increasing the irritation, he spread a report that the Court was resolved to weaken the people, as one means of retaining them in obedience, and with that view a law was to be passed forbidding any person to keep more than ten slaves. The first person to whom he imparted his designs was a certain Jozé Alves Maciel, a native of Villa Rica, then just returned from travelling in Europe: he had probably been living among the revolutionists in France, at a time when their views appeared to be directed with the most upright and benevolent intentions wholly toward the improvement of mankind, and the general welfare of the human race. They met at the Rio, arranged their plans, and, proceeding to Villa Rica, engaged in the conspiracy Maciel's brother-in-law, Francisco de Paula Freire de Andrada, a Lieutenant-Colonel, who commanded the regular troops of the Captaincy. The Colonel hesitated at their first disclosure; but they assured him that there was a strong party of commercial men at the Rio in favour of a revolution, and that they might count upon the assistance of foreign powers. Colonel Ignacio

Jozé de Alvarenga, and Lieutenant-Colonel Domingos de Abreu Vieira, were soon enlisted in the plot; the latter was induced to join in the scheme, by persuading him that his share in the assessment for arrears would amount to six thousand *cruzados*. P. Jozé da Silva Oliveira Rolim was one of the associates; P. Carlos Correia de Toledo, Vicar of the Villa de S. Jozé, was another. But the person who was represented to all the confederates as the chief and leader, was Thomaz Antonio Gonzaga: he enjoyed a high reputation for talents; and it was said, that he had undertaken to draw up the laws, and arrange the constitution of the new Republic.

Their plan of operations was, that when the assessment was made for collecting the arrears, the cry of 'Liberty for ever!' should be begun at night in the streets of Villa Rica. Colonel Francisco de Paula was then to collect his troops, under pretence of suppressing the rioters, and to dissemble his real intentions till he had received intelligence that the Governor had been disposed of. The Governor was at a place called Caxoeira, and it was not determined what should be done with him: some of the conspirators were of opinion, that it would be sufficient to seize him, carry him out of the limits of the Captaincy, and then dismiss him, telling him to go to Portugal and say, that the people of Minas Geraes could govern themselves. Others were for putting him to death at once, and sending his head¹¹ to Francisco de Paula as the signal: this was to be determined accord-

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XLIII.
1789.

*Sentença,
&c. MS.*

*Plan of the
Conspirators.*

¹¹ It is said in the official report of the proceedings, that Tiradentes undertook to bring the Governor's head; but that he himself denied this, confessing that he had undertaken to seize him, and carry him and his family to the frontiers. The Judges were of opinion, that he hoped to extenuate his guilt by admitting it to this extent. Probably his intention was as he stated it to be; but certainly he would not have shrunk from going farther, when the work was begun.

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XLIII.
1789.

ing to the circumstances of the seizure. But whether the Governor's head were brought to Villa Rica, and exhibited to the troops and inhabitants as the first fruits of Revolution, or not, proclamation was to be made, in the name of the Republic, calling upon the people to join the new Government, and denouncing the punishment of death against all who should oppose it. P. Carlos Correia had engaged his brother in the plot, who was *Sargento Mor* of the cavalry of S. Joam d'El Rey; he undertook to place an ambuscade upon the road from Villa Rica to the Rio, and resist any force which might be sent from that city to suppress the rebellion. A remission of all debts due to the Crown was to be proclaimed; the Forbidden District to be thrown open; gold and diamonds declared free from duties; the seat of Government removed to S. Joam d'El Rey; and a University founded at Villa Rica. Jozé de Rezende Costa, one of the conspirators, had a son, whom he was about to send to Coimbra for his education; he now changed his mind, detained him in Brazil that he might be placed at the new University, and thus involved him in the plot, and in its fatal consequences. Manufactories of all necessary articles were to be established, and particularly of gunpowder: this was to be under Maciel's direction, because he had studied philosophy, having travelled for the purpose of acquiring information upon such subjects. They consulted concerning a banner for the new Republic: Tiradentes was for having three triangles united in one, as an emblem of the Trinity: Alvarenga, and the others, thought it more appropriate that the device should bear some striking allusion to liberty; so they proposed a genius breaking some chains; and for a motto, the words *Libertas puæ sera tamen*,.. Liberty, though late; and this was approved.

Sentença.
sc. MS.

Discovery
of the con-
spiracy.

The conspirators acted like madmen: they held seditious discourses wherever they were, and with all kinds of persons,.. for-

getful, that though the people might be discontented the Government was both vigilant and strong; and that whatever desire might exist for a diminution of imposts, there was no desire for any other change. Maciel felt this when he had proceeded too far; and he observed to Alvarenga, that there were but few to support them in their designs. But Alvarenga replied, they would proclaim liberty for the Creole and Mulatto slaves. Another person said, that the insurrection could not be maintained, unless they got possession of the fifths, and unless the city of the Rio should unite with them. Alvarenga, who seems to have been one of the most ardent of the party, affirmed, on the contrary, that if they could get into the country enough salt, iron, and gunpowder, for two years' consumption, it would suffice. Their machinations continued some months, and several persons of considerable influence and rank in life appear to have been implicated. Many intimations of inflammatory and dangerous language had reached the Governor, before a complete discovery of the design was made, by a man named Joaquim Silverio dos Reys; and two other persons shortly afterwards gave information to the same tenour. One of his first measures was, to make it known that the proposed assessment was suspended. This was an act, which, by allaying the popular discontent, deprived the conspirators of their great pretext, and of their main hope. Still they determined upon trying their fortune. But they were watched too closely. Tiradentes was at the Rio when he heard that the design was discovered: immediately he fled, by unfrequented ways, into Minas Geraes, and concealed himself in the house of one of the conspirators, still hoping that an insurrection would be commenced; but he was traced to his hiding-place, arrested, and sent prisoner to the seat of Government. The *Sargento Mor*, hearing of this arrest, met his brother, P. Carlos Correia, by night; the Priest was terrified at the intelligence, and

CHAP. XLIII.
 1789. intreated him to abscond ; but he resolved that he would stand firm to his purpose, and accordingly he sent off dispatches to the other conspirators, requiring them to keep their oaths, and come forward with all the force they could collect in this hour of danger. It was too late ; great numbers were arrested and thrown into prison. The evidence against them appears to have been full and compleat. They followed the most obvious means of defence, . . . that of accusing the principal witness against them as the author of the plot, and representing themselves as the tempted, him as the guilty person. In this story some of them persisted till the falsehood could avail no longer, and they then admitted the truth of the charge against them.

*Sentença,
 &c. MS.*

*Sentence of
 the Conspirators.*

1792.

More than two years elapsed, from the time of their arrest, before sentence was pronounced ; during that time one of them committed suicide, and one died in prison. Tiradentes, being the prime mover of the mischief, was condemned to be hanged ; his head to be carried to Villa Rica, and exposed upon a high pole in the most public part of the city ; and his quarters in like manner hoisted in the places where the chief meetings of the conspirators had been held. Though there be no cruelty in thus disposing of a senseless corpse, humanity is outraged by such exposures, and it is time that they were disused for ever. The house in which he had dwelt at Villa Rica was to be razed, and the site thereof sown with salt, never again to be built upon ; and a pillar to be erected there, with an inscription recording his guilt and his punishment. If the house were not his own, still the sentence was to be executed, and the owner indemnified out of the proceeds of the criminal's property, all which was confiscated. The most barbarous part of the sentence was, that his children and grandchildren, if he had any, were despoiled of all their property, and declared infamous. Maciel, his brother-in-law Francisco de Paula, Alvarenga, and three others, were also

to suffer death at the gallows; their heads to be exposed before their respective dwellings; their property to be confiscated; and their children and grandchildren, in the same detestable spirit of old law, to be made infamous. The only difference between their sentences and that of the author of the conspiracy, was, that their bodies were not to be quartered. Four others, among whom were the poor youth who should then have been pursuing his studies at Coimbra, and his infatuated father, were to be hanged; their bodies were not to be mutilated, nor their houses razed; but their possessions were forfeited, and their children, to the second generation, declared infamous, as were those of the conspirator who had delivered himself from prison and from punishment by voluntary death. The other criminals were banished to different places, and for different terms, according to their degrees of guilt. Thomaz Antonio Gonzaga was one of those who were condemned to banishment for life. There was a doubt concerning the part which he had taken: both Tiradentes and P. Carlos Correia, denied that he had appeared at any of their meetings, or taken any share in their designs; they had used his name, they said, without his knowledge, because of his reputation, and the weight which his supposed sanction would give to their cause. Tiradentes protested that he did not say this for the sake of screening Gonzaga, because there was a personal enmity between them. There was no direct proof to countervail this positive testimony in his behalf; but there was this strong ground for suspicion, . . . he had urged the Intendant to levy the tax, not for the deficiency of one year's fifths alone, (which appears to have been what the Government intended), but for the whole arrears. His defence was, that he believed the *Junta da Fazenda*, when they tried this, would be convinced of its utter impracticability, and that by reporting accordingly to the Queen, they would obtain a remission. But this policy

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1792.

appeared too fine to be honest: the Judges believed that he acted in collusion with the conspirators, for the purpose of exciting discontent and tumult; and upon that opinion they condemned him. Some were to be flogged and banished, or employed as galley-slaves: some were declared innocent, .. among them the poor man who had died in prison: and two were said to have atoned sufficiently for the suspicion which existed against them, by the confinement which they had undergone. These sentences were mitigated at Lisbon. Tiradentes was the only person who suffered death. The others who had been condemned to die were banished, some for life, and some for ten years; and these terms were afterwards shortened, as were those of all the rest. So that, though the law was barbarous, the Portuguese Government deserves the praise of having acted with clemency: for however imperfectly the forms of justice may appear to us to have been observed in the proceedings against the accused, there can be no doubt concerning the nature and extent of their design.

Sentença.
8c. MS.

Abolition of
the salt con-
tract.

During the first years of the Revolutionary War, while all Europe was in arms, Brazil continued undisturbed, in a state of rapidly increasing prosperity. The spirit of the Government also was improved. Memorials were submitted to the Ministry, in which the errors of the existing system were decorously and strongly stated, and the evils arising from them clearly exposed. Even the press, which had long been subject to a fatal restraint, was allowed a certain degree of freedom upon these subjects; and the good effects were perceptible. The salt contract, which was the greatest grievance in Brazil, was abolished in consequence of such representations; a moderate tax of sixteen hundred *reis* per *moio* was imposed in its stead; and Government is said to have gained considerably by thus relieving the people.

Ratton.
§ 59.

In the progress of the war, when Spain had been betrayed by its imbecil Minister into a league offensive and defensive with the French Republic, and thereby made compleatly subservient to France; the Portugueze indemnified themselves in America for the indignities which they were compelled to endure in Europe. D. Fernando Jozé de Portugal was then Viceroy. From the year 1777, the Commissioners had been proceeding in the demarcation with a slowness that characterizes both nations. Perpetual disputes occurred respecting the intended line, clearly as the Treaty had attempted to lay it down; and the Portugueze are accused of starting imaginary difficulties, advancing false pretensions, and extending their boundary without any regard to right. There is more asperity than truth in these accusations. The only place which they occupied beyond what appears to be the just line of the Treaty, was Nova Coimbra; and for that the Spaniards, by a like trespass, had secured for themselves an indemnity. But an end was put by the war to the labours, and delays, and bickerings of the Commissioners. The Mother Countries were in no condition to send out armaments, and when the colonies were left to their own resources, the superiority of the Brazilians was manifested.

Bucarelli's system for the Missions had at that time been more than twenty years in operation; and they are truly said to have been years of plunder, cruelty, and unhappiness. Instead of tracing these evils to their true source, in the want of that moral discipline and parental care under which the Guaranies had flourished; and in the substitution of ignorant, avaricious, unfeeling, and unprincipled Administrators; the Marquez de Aviles, who was the Viceroy, imputed it to the system of community; and thinking gradually to abolish that system, he began by assigning lands and cattle in propriety to three hundred fa-

CHAP. milies, as an experiment. The war broke out; he was removed
 XLIII. to Lima, and succeeded by D. Joaquim del Piño. The new
 1800. Viceroy was soon made to understand the impolicy of Spain
 in having expelled the Jesuits. Since that unhappy measure,
 the population of the Reductions had diminished from more
 than one hundred thousand to less than forty-six thousand;
 the Guaranies were universally and justly discontented; their
 military discipline was lost, perhaps because the Administra-
 tors had been afraid to keep it up; and even if they had still
 possessed ability to oppose their old enemies the Brazilians,
 it was believed that they had not the will. More recent, and
 less pardonable injuries, from the Spaniards, had effaced that
 enmity.

Fines. 3.
 399—404.

1801.
*Expedition
 against the
 Seven Re-
 ductions.*

The Governor of Rio Grande, as soon as he received advice
 of the war in Europe, without waiting for instructions from the
 Viceroy, issued a declaration against the Spaniards, and offered
 a pardon to all deserters who should come forward and present
 themselves for service. One detachment was sent toward the
 western frontier, another toward the south. The fort of Chuy
 was surprized and sacked without the loss of a man; the Spanish
 forts upon the Jaguaron were in like manner demolished, and all
 their establishments toward the Jacuy, including S. Thecla.
 While these operations were going on, a movement was made
 upon the Seven Reductions, by a party of adventurers under the
 command of Jozé Borges do Canto. This man, a native of the
 province, was a deserter from a dragoon-regiment, who had
 come in upon the proclamation, and immediately proposed to
 make an inroad in that direction, relying upon the disposition of
 the people, which, he said, he well knew, . . . if the Commandant
 would give him men and arms. Neither could be spared: but
 he was supplied with ammunition, and authorized to raise as
 many volunteers as he could, among his countrymen and fellow

deserters. Forty of the two descriptions joined him, all armed at their own expence; and with this handful of men he advanced toward the Uruguay Missions. On the way he met a Guarani of his acquaintance, flying from one of those, now miserable establishments, to seek his fortune. The fugitive assured Canto, that the Guaranies would not hesitate a moment to put themselves under the protection of the Portugueze Government; and so confident was he in this opinion, that he turned back to accompany the band of liberators, as the Portugueze were now considered in a country where they were once the objects of general and hereditary hatred. The command in these Missions had been entrusted to Lieutenant-Colonel D. Francisco Rodrigo; and he, fearing an attempt of this kind, had taken a position in sight of S. Miguel. But the Guaranies abandoned him, drove off the horses and cattle, and joined the Portugueze; who then pushed forward to the entrenchments, carried them almost without opposition, and took ten pieces of cannon. Rodrigo retired into what had been the Jesuit's house; but knowing his danger, from the temper of the inhabitants, he proposed to capitulate: and Canto, who was under no little apprehensions lest reinforcements should reach the Spaniards, and lest the insignificance of his own force should be discovered, (for he pretended that he had only with him the advanced-guard of the expedition,) gladly granted him the terms which he asked, allowing him to quit the province with his men, and every thing belonging to them. The representation, however, which he made, for the purpose of intimidating the enemy, though false in its intention, proved to be true in fact. The Spaniards on their march fell in with another detachment, under Manoel dos Santos, and were immediately made prisoners. Rodrigo appealed to his capitulation; but Santos replied, that he was perfectly independent of Jozé Borges do Canto, and therefore not bound by any act of his; that the

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Casal. 1.
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Funes. 3.
404—405.

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405—407.

Casal. 1.
263, 264.
287.

matter must be referred to the Governor of Rio Grande; and that, till his decision could be known, the Spaniards must be contented to remain prisoners. The Governor decided that the capitulation should be performed, except as it related to the cannon, which, he said, must be detained for the Crown. The other six Reductions submitted joyfully to these adventurers. Canto was rewarded with a Captain's commission, and Major Joaquim Felis sent to command the province, with a good reinforcement. The Spaniards made an ineffectual attempt to recover it, in which they lost some seventy prisoners; and the Portuguese crossed the Uruguay in boats, which were constructed of hides for the occasion, attacked the Spaniards there, and took from them three pieces of artillery. Before this conquest was made, peace had been concluded with Spain. The Portuguese had been taught how to quibble in the interpretation of treaties, by repeated lessons from their neighbours; and profiting now by their example, they insisted, that as the seven Reductions were not specified in the Treaty of Badajoz, they were justified in keeping them, . . . and therefore keep them they would. The Marquez de Sobremonte, who was the next Viceroy of Buenos Ayres, resolved to recover them by force; and that resolution was approved by the King: but Spain was too much embarrassed with nearer and more serious concerns, to carry this purpose into effect; and from that time, the seven Reductions have been annexed to Brazil. While these hostilities lasted, the Spaniards from Asumpcion, under D. Lazaro de Ribeira, ascended the Paraguay, with four schooners and twenty canoes, and besieged Nova Coimbra. It was well defended by Ricardo Franco d'Almeida; and the besiegers, after nine days, were compelled to retire, with some loss. This was the first time that the Guaycurus and Payaguas saw Europeans engaged in war with each other. The Portuguese, on their part, destroyed S. Jozé, which was one of the latest foundations of the Spaniards.

The Treaty of Badajoz, between Portugal and Spain, was followed by the Treaty of Madrid, between Portugal and France. By that Treaty, France extorted from Portugal a cession of territory on the side of Guiana. The Treaty of Utrecht had named the river of Vicente Pinzon for the boundary: both nations at that time agreed that that river was the Wiapoc; but as the latitude had not been specified in the Treaty, France latterly pretended that the Arawari was meant, which is sixty leagues S. E. of the Wiapoc. Not, however, contented with this, the French now fixed upon the Carapanatuba for the division, . . a river which falls into the Orellana, about twenty miles above Macapa. This brought them close upon the Portugueze settlements, and would have given them the opportunity of quarrelling at any time, when it should be most convenient to fall upon their neighbours. That river was to form the line up to its source; the line was then to proceed to the summit of the Cordillera, which divides the waters, and follow the summit to the part where it approaches nearest to the Rio Branco, which, it was supposed, would be in about two degrees and one-third North. But when the Peace of Amiens was made, the Arawari was substituted for the Carapanatuba, and the line was to be directly from its source to the Branco, toward the West, the navigation of the river being common to both nations. Though the line had thus been carried back, still a considerable cession was extorted from Portugal; and the Portugueze, who, as a nation, amid the corruption of all their institutions, have ever retained a high sense of national honour, resented deeply the injustice to which they were compelled to ¹² submit.

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1801.
*Treaty of
Madrid.*

¹² The Portugueze have since had the satisfaction of fixing the boundary themselves, having taken Cayenne from Buonaparte, and restored it to France, after the overthrow of that Tyrant. By the treaty of 28 Aug. 1817, the Wiapoc

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XLIII.11 Feb.
1805.*Conde dos
Arcos,
Viceroy.*

1806.

*Expedition
down the
Pardo.*

The renewal of the Revolutionary War was not at first felt in South America ; that part of the world remained in peace, and seemed happily exempted from the curse under which Europe was suffering. Brazil continued to flourish. The Marquez de Alorna was appointed to succeed D. Fernando Jozé de Portugal: but that appointment was shortly afterwards annulled, and the Conde dos Arcos was nominated in his stead. Under his administration an expedition was undertaken for reducing the savages in the Captaincy of Ilheos. Joam Gonçalvez da Costa, the Commander, determined to explore the country well at the same time, and follow the Rio Pardo to its mouth. He began by making a road from the mouth of the Varada, to the point where the Giboia falls into the Pardo: there he collected his stores, and built canoes; and having obtained intelligence that there was a settlement of Mongoyos in that part of the *Sertam*, from thence he sent a party of seventy men in search of them. They reached the *Taba*, as such villages are called, in forty-five days: a considerable part of the time had been consumed in halting by the way, to attend to some of the men who were bitten by snakes, or had met with other casualties. The Mongoyos received them as friends: they were the only savages of that *Sertam* who subsisted by agriculture. One of them had formerly been a prisoner among the Portugueze, and had received baptism: he gave information that there was an old gold mine at no great distance. A party of Portugueze and of these friendly Indians went in search of it; but when they were near the spot they fell in with a troop of Botocudos, who were inveterate enemies of the Mon-

was again made the boundary; and to prevent all farther cavil, its mouth was stated to be between the fourth and fifth degrees of N. latitude, and in three hundred and twenty-two degrees longitude, E. of the island of Ferro. From thence the line of demarcation was to be in conformity to the Treaty of Utrecht.

goyos, and immediately attacked them fiercely. One of the Portugueze being severely wounded in this action, was carried back to the village for assistance: his comrades were eager to revenge him; and under Captain Raymundo Gonçalvez da Costa, the Commander's brother, they pursued the track of the Botocudos, till, on the fourth day, they discovered their habitations, and attacked them suddenly before day-break. The savages fought behind their palisade with desperate courage, the women supplying the men with arrows as fast as they could let them fly: but in the end they lost the hope of defending the post, and took to flight, leaving about twenty dead, and a few children. A great quantity of human bones were found in their dwelling, and rattles made of human shoulder-blades strung together, to the clatter of which they used to dance at their cannibal feasts. The Portugueze persuaded themselves that these people ate their own dead, and killed all who were growing old: the former conclusion they drew from the prodigious quantity of human bones which were discovered; the latter, as hastily, because not a single old person was observed among them, though they had been taken by surprize, and all the population had been seen. They found the mine on their return to the Mongoyo village. It was evident that many persons had worked at it very long ago: trees were growing in the mine itself, and from the roots of those which the miners had cut down, shoots had sprung which were as large as the original stock. They collected a few specimens of gold, and returned to rejoin the Commander at the mouth of the Giboya. When the sick and wounded were recovered, the same men, under the same officer, were sent in search of some other Mongoyo settlements; they found five; and had the same success in conciliating the inhabitants. Meantime, Joam Gonçalvez embarked upon the Rio Pardo, and, after a dangerous navigation among the rapids,

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1806.

reached the mouth of the Catolé, where he halted his troops and waited for the absent detachment. They joined him after an expedition of thirty-five days, very much broken down by the difficulties which they had endured. He was obliged to dismiss fifty, that they might return home to recover; and with the remainder, now reduced to twenty-one, proceeded down the river. The navigation was perilous, and the country peopled with Botocudos, the smoke of whose habitations they frequently saw. After twenty days they passed the rapids, and got into smooth water; and in eight days more they reached the *Povoação de Caniavieiras*, the highest Portuguese settlement upon the Rio Pardo, there called the Patipé, . . . their identity, which till that time had only been conjectured, being thus ascertained.

Joam Gonçalves da Costa. Investigador Português. t. 23. pp. 397—412.

English expedition against Buenos Ayres.

The time had now arrived when South America was to feel the effect of those momentous changes which every year was producing in Europe. A rash enterprize was undertaken against Buenos Ayres by the English; and its success induced the British Government to pursue schemes which it had not authorized, and would never have commenced. The plans were formed in ignorance of the nature of the country, and of the people: they were miserably conducted, and though the most exemplary courage was displayed both by men and officers, with the exception of their General, the issue was as disastrous as all such attempts at distant conquests deserve to be. Events of far more permanent importance were about to ensue. Napoleon Buonaparte, at that time Emperor of France, in league with Russia, and exercising uncontrolled authority over the rest of the continent, had determined upon adding the Peninsula to his Empire. The perfidy of this tyrant equalled his ambition: while he endeavoured to delude the Court of Portugal by carrying on a negociation with it, he dispatched an

Removal of the Court of Portugal to Brazil.

army with the utmost celerity into the land, for the purpose of seizing the royal family. But the House of Braganza had more than once contemplated the possibility of being expelled from their kingdom by a superior enemy. The Prince Regent embarked in time; the seas were secured for him by the powerful protection of England, the old and constant ally of Portugal; and the seat of the Portugueze Monarchy was removed from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro. That event terminates the colonial annals of Brazil; and a summary view of the general state of that great country, at the time when its history thus assumed a new character, will fitly conclude this long and arduous work.

CHAP.
XLIII.
1808.