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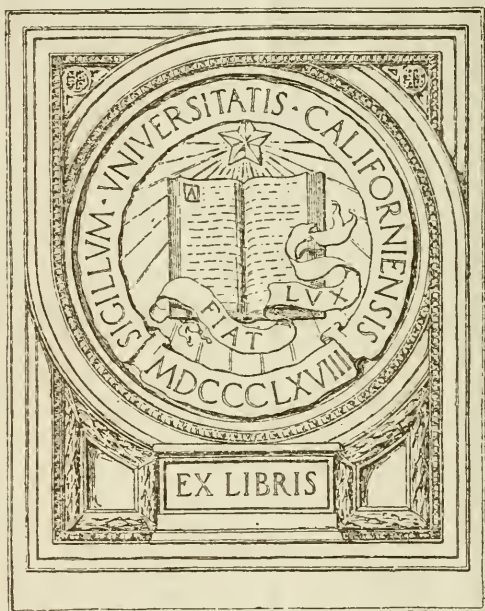
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AN

ACCOUNT

OF

THE ABIPONES,

AN EQUESTRIAN PEOPLE

OF

PARAGUAY.



FROM THE LATIN OF MARTIN DOBRIZHOFFER,
EIGHTEEN YEARS A MISSIONARY IN THAT COUNTRY.



IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.

MARTIN DOBRIZHOFFER was born at Gratz in Styria, on the 7th of September, 1717. In the year 1736, he entered the order of the Jesuits; and in 1749 went as a Missionary to South America, where for eighteen years he discharged the duties of his office, first in the Guarany Reductions, latterly in a more painful and arduous mission among the Abipones, a tribe not yet reclaimed from the superstitions and manners of savage life. Upon the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America, he returned to his native country, and, after the unjust and impolitic extinction of his order, continued to reside at Vienna till his death, which took place July 17, 1791. The Empress Maria Theresa used frequently to send for Dobrizhoffer, that she might hear his adven-

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tures from his own lips ; and she is said to have taken great pleasure in his cheerful and animated conversation.

These notices concerning him have been obtained from one of the last survivors of his celebrated order.

In 1784, he published the work, a translation of which is now laid before the public. The original title is *Historia de Abiponibus, Equestri, Bellicosaque Paraquariæ Natione, locupletata copiosis Barbararum Gentium, Urbium, Fluminum, Ferrarum, Amphibiorum, Insectorum, Serpentium præcipuorum, Piscium, Avium, Arborum, Plantarum, aliarumque ejusdem Provinciæ Proprietatum Observationibus; Authore Martino Dobrizhoffer, Presbytero, et per Annos duodeviginti Paraquariæ Missionario*. A German translation, by Professor Kreil of the University of Pest, was published at Vienna in the same year. There is no other work which contains so full, so faithful, and so lively an account of the South American tribes.

- His motives for undertaking the work, and his apology for the manner in which it

is executed, may best be given in his own words:—

“In America, I was often interrogated respecting Europe; in Austria, on my return to it, after an absence of eighteen years, I have been frequently questioned concerning America. To relieve others from the trouble of inquiring, myself from that of answering inquiries, at the advice of some persons of distinction, I have applied my mind to writing this little history; an undertaking which, I am aware, will be attended with doubtful success and infinite vexation, in this age, so abundant in Aristarchi, accustomed to commend none but their own, or their friends’ productions, and to contemn, as abortive, those of all other persons.”

“A seven years’ residence in the four colonies of the Abipones has afforded me opportunities of closely observing their manners, customs, superstitions, military discipline, slaughters inflicted and received, political and economical regulations, together with the vicissitudes of the recent colonies; all which I have described with

greater fidelity than elegance, and for the want of this I am surely to be pardoned; for who can expect the graces of Livy, Sallust, Cæsar, Strada, or Maffeus, from one who, for so many years, has had no commerce with the muses, no access to classical literature? Yet in writing of savages, I have taken especial care that no barbarisms should creep into my language. If my sincerity be only acknowledged, I shall have attained my object: for candour was always the most noble ornament of an historian. To record true, and as far as possible well-established facts, has been my chief aim. When you read, I do not ask you to praise or admire, but to believe me; that I think I may justly demand."

"What I have learnt amongst the Paraguayrians in the course of eighteen years, what I have myself beheld in the colonies of the Indians and Spaniards, in frequent and long journeys through woods, mountains, plains, and vast rivers, I have set forth, if not in an eloquent and brilliant narration, certainly in a candid and accurate one, which is at least deserving of

credit. Yet I do not look upon myself as a person incapable of making a mistake, and unwilling to be corrected. Convince me of error and I shall yield, and become as pliable as wax. Yet I advise you to proceed with caution; for you may err in judging as well as I in writing. So far am I from deeming this little work of mine perfect, that before it is printed and published, I intend to correct and polish it. But as I am now fast approaching my six-and-sixtieth year, I dare no longer defer the publication, lest the work should prove a posthumous one. These premises I have thought proper to make. Adieu! friendly reader, whoever you are; and pardon the errors of the press, and of the author likewise: for, *Nihil humanum a me alienum puto.*”

In the course of the work, Dobrizhoffer frequently takes occasion to refute and expose the erroneous statements of other writers respecting the Jesuits in Paraguay, and the malignant calumnies by which the ruin of their institutions in that country was so unhappily effected. It has been

deemed advisable to omit many of these controversial parts, which, though flowing naturally from one who had been an active member of that injured society, must of course be uninteresting in this country, and at these times. In other parts also, the prolixity of an old man, loving to expatiate upon the pursuits and occupations of his best years, has been occasionally compressed. No other liberty has been taken with the translation. The force and liveliness and peculiarity of the original must of necessity lose much, even in the most faithful version. Yet it is hoped, that under this inevitable disadvantage, Dobrizhoffer will still be found one of those authors with whom the reader seems to become personally familiar.

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AN ACCOUNT
OF
THE ABIPONES.

PREFATORY BOOK ON THE STATE OF PARAGUAY.

PARAGUAY is a vast region in South America, extending very widely in every direction. From Brazil to the kingdoms of Peru and Chili, they reckon 700 Spanish leagues: from the mouth of the river La Plata, to the northern region of the Amazons, 1,100. Some reckon more, some fewer leagues, according as they use German, French, or Spanish miles. Concerning this matter, a determinate opinion must not be expected. These huge tracts of land, receding very far from the Colonies, are not yet rightly explored; possibly, never will be.

Geometry is there a *rara avis*; and were any one capable of measuring the land, and desirous of the attempt, he would want the courage to

enter it, deterred either by the fear of savages, or by the difficulties of the journey. Men of our order, seeking out savages for God and the Catholic King, examined the coverts of its forests, the summits of its mountains, and the banks of its remotest rivers, traversing, to the utmost of their ability, every part of the province, always risking, and often losing, their lives. In Peru and Mexico, there is no corner which the Europeans, attracted by the hope of gold, have not searched into; but we are still unacquainted with great part of Paraguay, a region unproductive of gold, and, therefore, wanting the requisite allurements. As for what *is* discovered, who can deny that it is almost entirely owing to the efforts of the Missionaries? The plains which they traversed, the rivers which they crossed, together with the distances of places, they have noted with the utmost fidelity, though not always with equal art.

Paraguay is subject to the King of Spain, in whose authority it is ruled by three governours, and as many bishops. Each province has its governour; the first is that of La Plata, on the banks of which is the city of Buenos-Ayres, the seat of the royal governour, and of a bishop. It is famous for an academy, monasteries for both sexes, a port, and a citadel, which, though

impregnable to the assaults of savages, and even of the citizens themselves, would soon yield to the warlike engines of Europeans; the river compensates for the weakness of the walls, ships being prevented, by shoals, from approaching. It is destitute of a wall, ditch, gates, and similar fortifications; defects common to all the other cities of the province. The inhabitants are reckoned at 40,000, the dwellings at about 3000, constructed chiefly of brick, and roofed with tiles; but they are all low, excepting a few of two stories. The churches are handsome, even to the eye of an European. The finest are two of which Primoli, a Roman lay-brother of our order, and now in repute in his native city, was the architect. There are no public fountains, colossal statues, or images of the Saints in the market-place. You may count more carriages in Austrian Vienna in one street, and in one hour, than you can here, in the whole city, during a whole year. Troops of horse may be seen every moment, nor is it surprising, that even those of moderate estate should, in the Spanish tongue, be called *Cavalleros*. Military rank, the magistracy of the city, and similar dignities, alone confer nobility. The riches of the inhabitants consist rather in cattle, than in money. The land round about the city, for near two

hundred leagues, is a well wooded plain, often destitute of water, but rich in corn and pasturage, the latter of which feeds innumerable herds of cattle, horses, and mules. Wherever you turn you meet droves of wild horses, the property of the first that catches them. Besides willows, in which the islands of the river abound, the peach tree is constantly made use of for fuel.

Buenos-Ayres is one of the principal emporiums of America, merchandise being either brought from Spain, or secretly smuggled from the Portugueze. The more wealthy carry on a lucrative trade with Peru and Chili, in mules and the herb of Paraguay. The climate is moist. Tempests are equally violent at all times of the year, thunder often continuing for whole days and nights; this is common to all parts of Paraguay. Clouds, pregnant with fire and water, terrify, and often destroy, both men and cattle, either with lightning, or hail of an incredible magnitude, the like to which Europe has never seen. The city is situated in S. lat. $34^{\circ} 36'$, and in long. $321^{\circ} 3'$.

On the eastern shore of the river stands Nova Colonia do Sacramento, opposite to Buenos-Ayres, which the Spaniards, as built and fortified by the Portugueze on Spanish ground, have often besieged, and as often restored by treaty; a restoration which the inhabitants of

Buenos-Ayres openly favoured, having in view their profitable traffic with the Portugueze. But the revenue of the Catholic King was grievously affected by the gains of these private individuals, from the diminution of the customary taxes. This little city, the subject of so many disputes, stands on the higher bank of the river. The houses are few and low, forming a village, rather than city, yet it is far from despicable; opulent merchants, wares of every kind, gold, silver, and diamonds are concealed beneath its miserable roofs. Surrounded with a single and very slender wall, though sufficiently stored with military engines, arms, and provisions, for the sudden occasions of war, it yet discovers neither strength nor elegance. The land under Portugueze authority is of such small circumference, that the most inactive person might walk round it in half an hour. Portugueze ships, laden with English and Dutch wares, and Negro slaves, which have a great sale in America, crowd to this port, and the Spanish sentinels, either bribed or deceived, convey the goods to Paraguay, Peru, or Chili. It is incredible how many millions are lost to the Spaniards in this forbidden traffic. Hence it is easy to guess why the Portugueze have ever determined to defend this colony, at all

costs, and the Spaniards, on the other hand, to destroy it.

During my residence of two days, the appearance of the place was such, that I thought it might be taken, in one assault, by a hundred soldiers. But as the fear of war came upon them, I doubt not, that new fortifications were added to the old wall, as the siege cost so much time and trouble to the Spanish General, Pedro Zevallos, a consummate officer, and of known success, who, when he prepared to storm the city, through a breach in the wall, secured as it was with a numerous garrison and military engines, took it conditionally, October 31, 1762. Before the walls were yet repaired, twelve English and Portugueze ships of war arrived there, intending to reduce the Spaniards, then masters of the city. They conducted the affair with much noise, but little success. Chance put an end to the engagement, when it had lasted a few hours. The English Admiral's ship being burnt, the rest fled hastily to the ports of Brazil, the English throwing the blame on the cowardice of the Portugueze, and they in turn accusing the foolhardiness of the English. For the one fought under the very gates, that they might be near to strike home; the other at a distance, lest themselves should

be injured. This they threw in each other's teeth. Transient, however, was the advantage which Paraguay derived from this victory; for peace being ratified between the European powers, the Spaniards restored Nova Colonia to the Portuguese, that they might recover the Havanna, and Manilla, capital of the Philippines, both which places the English had taken from them. After a few years, war was re-kindled; and Pedro Zevallos, having conquered the Island of Santa Catharina, took it a second time. Finally, in the last peace concluded between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, it was ceded to the Spanish. This was a bitter loss to the Portuguese, yet by the accession of new territories, many more inlets were opened to them. Cuyaba, a place rich in gold, Matto Grosso, the little fort of S. Rosa, (called La Estacada,) and other colonies, were added to Portugal. Some think this intimate connection dangerous to Peru, hurtful to the Spaniards, and advantageous only to the Portuguese. For what should hinder the latter, accustomed, as they are, from their infancy, to arms and difficult routes, and never slothful in extending the limits of their kingdom, from going and possessing themselves of the treasures of Potosi, a mountain abounding in silver, but destitute of iron, and of men to wield it?

Some years ago, when I was in Paraguay, a handful of Portugueze defended the little fort of S. Rosa, (La Estacada,) against a numerous army of Spaniards and Indians, enlisted at Potosi, the assailants being shamefully repulsed. About the same time, a very few Portugueze sallied from the same fort, and coming artfully by night, surprised S. Miguel, a Peruvian city, inhabited by Indian Christians, called Moxos. Two Jesuit priests, who had the care of the city, were dragged into captivity; one of them, an old man, fell a victim to the journey, whilst the other was thrown into prison. The Indians, except those who had escaped by flight, were driven out and dispersed, and every thing was rifled. But away with these sad memorials; for we would not tear open the newly seared wound, we would not presage ill for the future. That the happiness and safety of these flourishing estates may be confirmed by a lasting alliance, is the desire and the prophecy of every good man.

Fifty leagues to the south of Nova Colonia, on the same shore, stands Monte-Video, a little city, founded in the year 1726, by D. Bruno Maurio Zavala, Governour of Buenos-Ayres; and afterwards fortified with a wall, a castle, and, here and there, with tiers of cannon, by the labours of the Guaranies. Besides soldiers

and Guaranies, it contains many men from the Canary islands. On every side the land is fertile in corn, the farms large, and the cattle and horses incredibly numerous. The produce of the farms is a provision for the colonists, and there is daily opportunity of selling cattle and hides for corn: as the ships, which frequently leave this port, need a provision for many months, scarce a single vessel sets sail without a freight of twenty or thirty thousand ox hides for Europe. Grievous it is that so rich a soil should lie open to the devastating savages, who rise up in troops from their coverts, in quest of blood or booty, always creating terror, and often inflicting death. By no arts can they be subdued, by no kindness be won to the friendship and religion of the Spaniards. Fiercer than wild beasts, they have now for two centuries mocked the toil of soldiers and of priests. The latitude of this city is $34^{\circ} 48'$, its longitude $322^{\circ} 20'$.

About thirty leagues from hence lies the gulph of Maldonado, affording a commodious station for ships, even of large burden. Except sentinels, you see nothing here but a few cabins, the abodes of misery. Hard by is an island, the habitation of seals; it lies nearly in the middle of the river, and were the natural rock on which it stands defended by a double tier of

cannon, how would it guard Paraguay against its enemies! For they could not elude the fire of the cannon by taking the east side of the river, unless they preferred being buried in the *Banco Ingles*, or English shoal.

To the government of Buenos-Ayres belong the cities of Santa Fé and Corrientes; the one on the east, and the other on the west shore of the Parana. The former is the handsomest and most opulent. From its trade in divers articles, and from its countless herds of cattle, it amasses wealth to a great amount. In former years, it was almost razed to the ground, and thus reduced to solitude, by the barbarous *Abipones*, *Mocobios*, *Tobas*, and *Charruas*. The more valuable and remoter estates were entirely destroyed; slaughters were committed, in the very market-place, at mid-day; and it was provided by law, that no one should enter the church, unless armed with a musket. But after we had founded the colonies of S. Xavier, S. Jeronymo, Concepcion, S. Pedro, and S. Pablo, this city began to take breath, and, flourishing again, returned the security it had previously received. Before, behind, and on both sides, it is bounded by rivers, which, when they overflow, threaten destruction to the inhabitants, but are, at other times, extremely beneficial to them.

Its latitude is $31^{\circ} 46'$. From Buenos-Ayres, its distance is reputed to be an hundred leagues.

The other city, which the Spaniards call De las Siete Corrientes, takes its name from seven points of the rock jutting out into the Parana, against which the current breaks with great violence, and flowing on very rapidly, carries down ships, coming up the stream, unless in full sail under a strong wind. A row-boat, in the passage of the river, must make many windings to avoid the rapidity of the current, as I have often experienced: for hard upon the city, the great river Paraguay flows into the still greater river Parana, the one changing its course, and the other its name. For the Parana, rolling on from east to west, when joined to the Paraguay, hurries down in a southerly direction with it. The Paraguay loses its name for that of the Parana after its junction with that river. It is inconceivable with what a mass of water these conjoint streams roll proudly down in one mighty channel. If you did not see the banks, you might fancy it a sea. This place, in name alone a city, and unworthy of the name, is chiefly composed of mud-hovels, with roofs of palm-leaves. The inhabitants are remarkable for their beauty, fascinated by which, many of the Europeans are entangled in marriages, which they repent

for the rest of their lives. The women destroy themselves with labour, weaving, and exquisitely embroidering garments, which they call ponchos. The men are naturally agile, lively, and expert in horsemanship; but, from their indolence and love of ease, are oppressed with poverty, when they might abound in every thing, if they but knew how to improve the fertility of the soil, and the advantages of the river. The Abipones, who had long afflicted the neighbourhood with slaughter and rapine, being at length subdued, and settled in the new colony of St. Ferdinand, the inhabitants revived after they had entertained thoughts of deserting the city, and the use of the fields and woods, on the other side of the river, was restored them. These last, being stocked with noble trees, afford excellent materials for building ships and waggons. The fields supply pasturage for cattle of various kinds. The inhabitants derive considerable profits from these sources; gains which the daily fear of assailing savages deprived them of. The lat. of the city is $27^{\circ} 43'$, its long. $318^{\circ} 57'$.

In the jurisdiction of the Governour of Buenos-Ayres, are also thirty Guarany towns, on or near the banks of the Parana, the Uruguay, and the Paraguay. By geographers they are called Doctrines, or the land of Missions; but the ignorant or malicious style them, in their books,

the kingdom of the Jesuits, a republic rebellious to the Catholic King, painting them in the blackest colours which envy and unbridled calumny can suggest. Let me be excused, if to manifest the falsehood of their calumnies, I mention the following facts:—That the Jesuit missionaries have ever left Europe at the expense of the Catholic King, for the purpose of founding new colonies, and preserving the old—that they are supported by an annual stipend from the royal purse—that the Guaranies pay yearly tribute to the King—that a century before as many thousands as were appointed, fought in the royal camps without any stipend, whenever they were called upon by the royal governour—that the parishes are visited by the Bishops as often as seems good—that the Bishops are honourably received, and splendidly entertained, it may be for many weeks—that the castles of Buenos-Ayres and Monte-Video were built under the direction, indeed, of the Spaniards, but by the labour of the Guaranies—that the royal army consists chiefly of the Guaranies, under our authority, which were ruled by a few Spaniards, as the body by the soul, in every undertaking against the warlike savages, against the Portugeeze and their town of Nova Colonia, so often attacked and taken, or against the insurgents of the city

of Concepcion. The Guaranies were governed by the Jesuits, to whose care they were intrusted by the Catholic kings, not as slaves by their masters, but as children by their parents; and these towns were conducted in a manner precisely conformable to the royal laws.

By the labours of nearly two centuries, the Guaranies, formerly wandering cannibals and obstinate enemies to the Spaniards, have been reduced to civilization, to religion, and to the sceptre of the Catholic King. With what labour, what expense of lives the Jesuits have effected this—how infinitely these thirty towns surpass the other American tribes in the number of their inhabitants, in Christian morality, in the splendour of their churches, in their prompt loyalty, in mechanical skill, in arts, and in military activity, you may learn from the letters every where published of the kings, the royal governours, and the Spanish bishops; from the works of Doctor D. Francisco Xarque, Dean of Albarrazin, an eye-witness, of the learned Abbot Antonio Muratori, and an anonymous Englishman, whose book was translated from English into German, at Hamburgh, in the year 1768. This work gave me great pleasure, though it sometimes made me smile, especially where the author says, “ We Europeans doat when we blame the Jesuits of Paraguay.

It were better to deliberate how we may bring about in Europe, what they effect among the Guarany Indians without violence and without money. In their towns, each labours for all, and all for each. Without needing to buy or sell, every one possesses the necessaries of a comfortable subsistence, victuals, lodging, medicine, and education. Money wanting, all is wanting, say the Europeans; the Guaranies, on the other hand, though destitute of gold and silver, though unacquainted with any kind of money, daily experience the truth of the aphorism, *Dii laboribus omnia vendunt*, God gives every thing to labour. Proportioning the task to their age, their sex, and their strength, they are always employed, never oppressed with labour. Of luxuries they are ignorant, superfluity they know not, yet are happier in their contentment than the wealthiest in their opulence. He is not prosperous to whom much abounds, but whom little suffices. The Jesuit priests are curates not of the souls, but of the bodies of the Guaranies." Being in subjection only to the Catholic King and the royal governours, not in dreaded slavery amongst private Spaniards, like the other Indians, the towns increase wonderfully every year in population under our care, and fresh towns were now and then added to the old ones. In the year 1732, 141,252 inha-

bitants were reckoned in the thirty colonies of the Guaranies; but the small-pox breaking out soon after, cut off thirty thousand of them. Some time after it returned again, but in a milder form, and eleven thousand only were its victims. The measles, likewise, so fatal to Americans, made repeated ravages to a frightful extent. I write from experience in both, for in my office of priest, I attended the sick of the small-pox and measles, day and night, for many months. Famine, also, arising from the continued drought and consequent density of the land, filled the tombs with Guaranies. Add to these, the victims of war in the royal camps, where five, and sometimes six thousand men were detained. In 1767, when we bade America farewell, there were about an hundred thousand numbered in these towns. M. Louis Antoine de Bougainville, in his work entitled *Voyage autour du Monde*, printed at Neufchatel, in the year 1772, must be read with caution. He loads the Jesuits with egregious praises, but by and bye relates a thousand things as contrary to truth as dishonourable to us and the Guarany colonies. *Pessimum inimicorum genus laudantes*, says Tacitus, in the life of Agricola. I would not, however, willingly believe that an author, the distinguished favourite of Mars, of Neptune, and, unless I am deceived, of all the

Muses, is to be classed with these knaves. True it is, he wrote falsely concerning us and the Guaranies; but rather deceived by the narrations of others, than through envy or malice. He never even saw the Guarany towns from a distance. I wish he had seen them! he would have painted the Indians and their missionaries in fairer colours. A little while, and but a little while, he remained in Buenos-Ayres, the port and threshold of Paraguay. There he drew the very worst notions, from the very worst sources, and gave them to Europe as the undoubted truth. Alas! alas! the friendliest well-wisher could not then, without danger, advocate our cause. The rising, not the setting sun is praised by the multitude, and such was then our fate. A Spaniard of no despicable authority has opened his mind in these words: "If every thing else which M. de Bougainville has written on the other provinces be as false as what he has said concerning Paraguay, let his history be carried to the spice shop to wrap pepper; yea, to a meaner office."

As for Paraguay being the kingdom of the Jesuits, it is the dream—the stupid fiction of Bernardo Ybañez, a Spaniard, twice expelled from our society. It would be endless to mention all whose vile detractions have calumniated the towns and the missionaries of the Guara-

nies. To refute them, I oppose the histories of Father Nicolas del Techo; *La Conquista Espiritual* of Father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya; the history of Father Pedro de Lozano; the familiar epistles of Father Antonio Sepp to his brother; the French original of Father Francis Xavier Charlevoix, (for the German translation is wretchedly mutilated and corrupted); the annual accounts of Paraguay, printed at Rome; and the letters of Philip the Fifth—his two epistles to the Jesuit missionaries of Paraguay, dated from the palace of Buen-retiro, the 28th of December, 1743; the letter, printed with them, of the illustrious Joseph de Peralta, bishop of Buenos-Ayres, in which, himself an eye-witness, he acquaints the same Philip with the state of the Guarany colonies. These important documents translated into Latin, and published in 1745, are every where on sale:—from a perusal of them you may learn, that the Guaranies are not only obedient to the Catholic King, but especially prompt in their repulsion of his enemies, exceeding the other American nations in the extent of their services. The sedition of the Guaranies dwelling near the banks of the Uruguay, may perhaps be objected; but what was the cause? Exasperation against the royal decrees, which delivered up seven of the finest towns of Paraguay to the Portugueze,

and obliged thirty thousand of their inhabitants to migrate into solitude, or seek a precarious livelihood among the other colonies. Long and vigorously did the Indians oppose the mandate, not through hatred of the king, but love of their country. What! do we think the Spaniards, French, or Germans would act otherwise, if compelled by the command of their sovereigns to relinquish their native land to enemies? For dear to every one is his country; particularly so to the Americans. Hence, though no one can approve the repugnance of the Indians of the Uruguay, who does not think it, in some measure, worthy of excuse and pardon? They erred in understanding, rather than in will; for their loyalty to the Catholic King was sound and lively. No eloquence of the missionaries could induce them to believe themselves condemned by their good king, to a perpetual and miserable exile from their native soil, in favour of the Portugueze, their enemies. “In nothing,” (said they in their letters to Joseph Andonaegui, the royal governour,) “in nothing have we or our ancestors sinned against our monarch—never have we injured the Spanish colonies: how then shall we, unoffending subjects, believe ourselves sentenced to exile by the will of our gracious sovereign? Our grandfathers, great grandfathers, and in like manner all our bro-

thers have frequently fought under the royal banners against the Portugueze—frequently against the armies of the savages. Who shall count the number of those our countrymen who have fallen in battle, or in the repeated sieges of Colonia? We, the survivors, still bear about us scars, monuments of our loyalty and courage. To extend the limits of the Spanish domains, to defend them against invaders, has ever been our first desire; nor have we spared our lives in its accomplishment. Would the Catholic King have these our deserts repaid with the most grievous punishments—with the loss of our country, our handsome churches, our houses, fields, and spacious farms? It exceeds belief. But if this be really true, what can we ever deem incredible? In the letters of Philip the Fifth, (which were read to us at his command, from the pulpits of our churches,) we were instructed never to allow the Portugueze to approach our territories—that they and theirs were our bitterest enemies. Now they cry out to us, day and night, that the monarch wills our ceding to the Portugueze those noble, those spacious tracts of land, which nature, which God, which the Spanish sovereign himself had yielded us; and which we have cultivated for upwards of a century with the sweat of our brows. Who shall persuade us that Ferdinand, so dutiful a

son, will command what Philip, his excellent father, had so often forbidden? But if, indeed, these enmities be changed into friendship, (for both times and disposition do often change,) and the Spaniards be desirous of gratifying the Portugueze, let them grant them the spacious plains void of inhabitants and of colonies, with our free leave. What! shall we give up our towns to the Portugueze, by whose ancestors so many thousands of our countrymen have been either slain, or forced into cruel slavery in Brazil?—We can neither suffer nor believe it. When, embracing Christianity, we swore allegiance to God and the Catholic King, the priests and royal governours with one voice promised us the friendship and protection of the king: now, though guilty of no crime, and deserving every good return for our services, we are constrained to expatriate, a punishment most grievous, and almost intolerable. What man in his senses will believe the faith of the Spaniards, so versatile in the performance of promises—their friendship so slippery and unsound?” To this effect wrote the Indian chiefs to the royal governour, who, being a well-wisher both to the king and the Indians, when he saw their letter, could hardly refrain from tears; but suppressing pity through military obedience, he never ceased urging the execution of

the royal decree to the utmost of his power, and threatening those who refused to obey it with all extremities.

There were, (who could believe it?) among the herd of Spaniards, men of so hardened a conscience as to whisper in the ears of the Indians, that the king had never enjoined the delivery of their towns, but that the Jesuits had sold them to the Portugueze. Such convincing proofs, however, had the fathers given of their good-will towards the Guaranies, that the pestilent falsehood never gained credit; some suspicions, however, were engrafted in the minds of the least wise. Many of the missionaries, who urged the migration with more fervour than prudence, had nearly been slain by the Indians in the phrenzy of their patriotism. Father Bernardo Nusdorfer, superior, as it is called, of the Guarany towns, and conspicuous for the magistracies he had held, for his venerable age, his thorough knowledge of the Indian tongue, and lastly, for his authority and favour with the people, visited the seven cities, exhorted them again and again, with every kind of argument, to respect the injunction of the Catholic King, and thought he had prevailed; but as the Indians are of a versatile and unsteady disposition, when the time for executing the decree arrived, unmindful alike of their pro-

mises and intentions they would not endure even the mention of the migration. When the Jesuit, Father Ludovico Altamirano, was sent in the king's name from Spain to Portugal, to hasten the delivery of the towns, the Indians would not acknowledge him as a Jesuit or a Spaniard, because they saw him differ in dress and diet. They even dared to pronounce him a Portuguese disguised in the habit of our order. Terrified at a report that the Indians were approaching him in the city of St. Thomas, he consulted his safety by flying in the night, and soon after I found him, to my great amusement, in the city of Santa Fé, out of danger, and hastening to the Abiponian colonies. Had the Indians shown as much alacrity in yielding to our admonitions, as the Jesuits evinced in endeavouring to inculcate obedience into their wavering minds, the business would have been happily effected without disturbance or delay; but we seldom gained attention, much less compliance. The public supplications in the market-place, undertaken for the purpose of persuading their minds, in which a priest of our order, crowned with thorns, in a mournful voice exhorted the by-standers, with threats and groans, to proceed with the emigration; these supplications had so good an effect, that the major part promised conformity: nor did the

matter end in words. A journey was undertaken by the missionaries the next day, to mark out the limits of the new towns; but the remembrance of their birth-place soon after recurring, it was broken off.

Meantime, it being reported that Gomez Freyre de Andrade, governour of Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, and the author of all these calamities, had entered their territories with his forces, to arms was the immediate cry, and each being forced along by the common impulse, the united body rolled onwards like a mighty river; you would have thought there was a second Hannibal at the gates. Thus, while the Guaranies repelled force by force, in defence of their churches and fire-sides, they are proclaimed rebels—worthier, in fact, of pity than of punishment; for maddened by their rooted hatred of the Portugueze and the love of their country, they were hurried blindly on wherever their passions impelled them. To shake off the Spanish yoke—to injure the neighbouring colonies of the Spaniards, never so much as entered their thoughts: their ancient love towards their monarch still burnt in their breasts, but it was not powerful enough to extinguish the innate love of their country.

Who, then, can wonder that the weak-minded Indian left no stone unturned, to avoid his ex-

pulsion from a land he could not fail to love,— a land pleasant in its situation, salubrious in its climate, wide in extent, the envy of the Spanish cities for its churches and other edifices, adorned with woods, with rivers, and with plains of the greatest fertility, and lastly, well stored with all the necessaries of subsistence? Joachim de la Viana, governor of Monte-Video, sent forward with a detachment of cavalry to explore the country, having leaped from his horse on the summit of an eminence, and examined through a telescope the city of S. Miguel, (a place inhabited by seven thousand Indians, and famous for its magnificent churches and famous row of buildings,) in his astonishment at the size of the place, exclaimed to the horsemen about him,—“ Surely our people at Madrid are out of their senses, to deliver up to Portugal this town, which is second to none in Paraguay.” This he said, though a strenuous favourer of the Portugueze, whose party he embraced to ingratiate himself with Barbara, Queen of Spain. The six other towns—those of S. Juan, S. Lewis, S. Nicholas, S. Borgia, and S. Lawrence, were also eminent for the number of their inhabitants and the beauty of their churches, though neither of them was fortified with wall, ditch, palisadoes, or even a gate.

To defend these, the inhabitants of the Uruguay assembled on all sides. Rude and undisciplined, and without a general even tolerably versed in military knowledge, they entered the unequal lists, the ridicule rather than the terror of an European army. No time, no place was left them undisturbed by fear and anxiety, as often as they were assailed by the equestrian spearmen. This was repeatedly mentioned in Gomez Freyre's journals, addressed to the Portuguese commissioners of the demarcation. On both sides the war consisted of long marches and skirmishes, attended with various success; and thus it ended, more noise having been made by both parties than blood spilt. This, however, is agreed on all hands—that the Europeans could never have penetrated to these seven towns, had all the Guarany towns come to the aid of the Uruguayans. But those who dwelt on the banks of the Parana were happily restrained from leaguings with the insurgents, by the exertions of the Jesuits. Judge from this what opinion must be formed by those who have impudently stigmatized us as the authors of the sedition, and the leaders of the rebels. Their books are as many as they are dangerous: for although they allege nothing but falsehoods, yet, with specious arguments, and pretended testimony, they seek to extort that credit which

would be exploded by all Europe, were the characters of their witnesses as well known to others as to ourselves.

And now, gentle reader, a word in your ear! If the Guarany insurgents were indeed encouraged by the Jesuits, could they not have effected more against the royal forces? Destitute of the counsels and presence of the Fathers, they did their business stupidly and unprosperously; a circumstance mightily advantageous, both to the Spaniards and Portugueze, whose victory was owing to the bungling management of their opponents. About the beginning of the disturbances, one Joseph, Corregidor of S. Miguel, was elected general of their forces against the Portugueze. This Joseph, an active and courageous man, behaved like a good soldier but an execrable general, for he was as ignorant of military tactics as I am of the black art. On his falling in a chance skirmish, Nicholas Neengirù, many years Corregidor of the city of Concepcion, succeeded. Under his conduct the war was poorly carried on; and the affairs of the Uruguayans gradually declining, the seven towns were delivered up to the royal forces. But, reader, when you utter the name of Nicholas Neengirù, uncover your head and bend your knee, or rather, if you know all, burst into laughter. This is that celebrated Nicholas

Neengirù whom the Europeans called King of Paraguay, whilst Paraguay itself had not an inkling of the matter. At the very time when the feigned majesty of the King of Paraguay employed every mouth and press in Europe, I saw this Nicholas Neengirù, with naked feet, and garments after the Indian fashion, sometimes driving cattle before the shambles, sometimes chopping wood in the market-place; and when I considered him and his occupation, could hardly refrain from laughter.

But mark the progress of King Nicholas's fate. To obtain for the base fiction an appearance of truth, a person in the kingdom of Quito was bribed to get money coined and stamped with the name of King Nicholas. This base money was issued both in Europe and America, and no one could doubt its being coined in Paraguay by the pretended king, where, from the want of bullion, the Catholic kings themselves had no mint. The deceit however at length appeared; on March the 20th, 1760, the artificer of the coin wrote a letter to the King, in which he confessed—"that he was compelled by the secret stings of conscience to divulge his crime," &c. This letter detected the venal wretch who instigated him to coin the money of King Nicholas.

The fame of King Nicholas and the money issued in his name gave reasonable apprehension to the Court of Madrid; but Pedro Zevallos, who was sent with an army to reclaim Paraguay, soon perceived that it was all a false alarm, and declared the same in letters to the king. If any one doubt my veracity, let him examine the Madrid newspapers, published in the October of 1768, where he will find these words:—“Whatever has been rumoured of King Nicholas is certified to be a fabulous invention.” If you require yet stronger evidence, attend to what follows. The tumults in the Uruguay being settled, Nicholas went himself to the Spanish camp, and appearing, of his own accord, before the royal governour, Joseph Andonaegui, gave him an account of all his proceedings. He was quietly heard, dismissed unpunished, and continued in his office of Corregidor. Had he been even suspected of affecting the crown of Paraguay, how different would have been his treatment! Loaded with fetters,—locked in a horrible dungeon,—he would have expiated his crime by some fearful punishment, and perhaps been torn limb from limb. But let us trace the story to its source.

It is a trite proverb in Spain—*La mentira es hija de algo*, falsehood is the daughter of something. Those pernicious rumours which spread

far and wide, like a pestilence, generally originate in some trifle of no consequence. Such was the fable of King Nicholas, which sprang from an ignorance of the Guarany language, was perpetuated by malice, and spread over all the world. *Tubicha* signifies *great* among the Guaranies; and *Mburubicha*, King or Cacique. Among the companies of Indians sent to plough the land, to cut and carry wood, or to ferry on the river, there is always a chief, who directs their motions, and whom they address by the title of *Ñanderubicha*, our chief or captain. In this manner the Uruguayan Indians called their leader, Nicholas Neengirù, *Ñanderubicha*, our captain; which, being heard by the Spaniards of Asumpcion, who speak a confused jargon of Spanish and Guarany, they ignorantly and wickedly asserted that the Indians called Nicholas their king. I must not here omit to mention, that, from the ignorance of the Spanish and Portugueze interpreters, the most unfavourable opinions of our affairs and the most execrable calumnies have often arisen. These men, from their ignorance of Latin and Guarany, have frequently misinterpreted our letters to governors, acquainted with Spanish only; so that deeds and expressions, entirely innocent, have been construed into crimes.

Let us now return to Nicholas, whom error

and malice have gifted with an imaginary sceptre. He was born in the city of Concepcion; his ancestors were Guarany Indians, and he had married, many years before, a Guarany woman in the city of Concepcion, where also he had held many and various offices. Father Ignatius Zierhaim boasts that this celebrated Nicholas, monarch of Paraguay, was publicly whipped, when a young man, by his orders, himself being vicar of the place. Nicholas was a tall man, with a good countenance, but grave and taciturn; his face was good-looking, though marked with a large scar. Think then how ridiculously fable must have been added to fable, when this Nicholas was made out a lay-brother of our order. Only five of this description were with us at that time, whereof two were physicians, the third had the charge of providing apparel, the fourth was employed in painting churches, and the fifth was a feeble old man, whose maladies exercised our patience and his own. None of them bore the christian or sur-name of Nicholas, and they were all Europeans. Persons of Indian extraction were never adopted into the number of priests or brothers. The Indians are none of the wisest, I own, but they are not such idiots as to crown a layman in preference to the priests, whose dignity and wisdom they

rank so high, if the madness of choosing their own king *had* possessed them. Allowing the Jesuits, in a fit of insanity, to have aimed at the sovereign power, they would not have elected an uneducated layman, but some priest of distinguished virtue and prudence. An anonymous Frenchman, in a book intitled, *Nouvelles Pièces intéressantes et nécessaires*, says, page 18, “ I will now show you the origin of Nicholas, King of Paraguay, being supposed a lay-brother. Some Spanish countrymen happened, in the course of conversation, to mention the late insurrection on the banks of the Uruguay. “ Ve-
“ rily,” says one, “ if the Jesuits be wise, they
“ will put the government of the Indians into
“ the hands of Joseph Fernandez, a lay-brother
“ of theirs.” This Joseph was a native of Spain, formerly lieutenant of some light-armed cavalry of the king’s, and a man of great military science. We never find a story lose by carrying. The vain supposition of putting the Indians under the conduct of this lay-brother was reported in such a manner that what one said *should be* done, another said *was* done, and the rest giving implicit credit to their asseverations, a prodigious tale grew out of nothing. This Joseph Fernandez, during the disturbances of the Uruguay, was master of the public school at Tucuman, and necessarily remarked

by the whole of this populous town, if he intermitted his attendance for a single day. Having held the office of school-master many years, he managed an estate in the neighbourhood of the city, and so diligent was he in the exercise of his calling, that I could swear to his never having seen the land of the Guaranies of which he was reported King.

To corroborate my account I shall subjoin a few circumstances relative to this affair. From the seven towns which were garrisoned on their surrender by the Spaniards, upwards of thirty thousand Indians departed. Among all who witnessed these innocent exiles, their tender infants, and their feeble old men, not one but shed a tear of compassion. Fifteen thousand of the emigrants were received by the towns of the Parana, and lodged in hovels of straw,—they whose former homes had been of stone, well-built, and commodious. Nearly the same number were dispersed over the plains of the Uruguay, where numerous herds of cattle supplied the means of subsistence. The towns at length evacuated, were offered by the Spanish Governour to the Portugueze, but not accepted. Amongst other ways of accounting for this refusal on the part of the Portugueze, it was reported, that, after exploring the lands of the Uruguay, they found them destitute of the gold and

silver they expected to find there. At this crisis of affairs died Barbara, Queen of Spain, a Portuguese by birth, and through an overweening attachment to her own country, a strenuous advocate for the exchange of lands in Paraguay. Not long after, Ferdinand the Sixth followed his consort to the tomb. Charles the Third succeeded his brother in right of inheritance. Whilst King of the Two Sicilies he had disapproved these treaties which settled the exchange of lands in America with Portugal; and on his succeeding to the throne, he utterly abrogated them, as fraught with danger to the monarchy. He restored the Guarany exiles to their towns, which now, alas! resembled Jerusalem after the return of the Jews from Babylon. They found their farms drained of cattle, their fields overrun with brambles and insects, their houses either burnt or miserably dilapidated; nay, they were sometimes terror-struck by the dens of tigers and the holes of serpents! Charles confirmed the Jesuits in their old administration of the Guarany colonies, of which the Portuguese party itself did not wish their utter deprivation. Had the King believed us the fomenters of the late war he would not have committed the Guaranies to our care and fidelity. About the same time, Zeno, Marquis de la Ensenada, was recalled from banishment to

Madrid by the royal letters. This principal court minister had never admitted the exchange of lands agreed upon with the Portugueze, but had transmitted notices of it to Charles then King of Sicily. For this, if we may credit a report prevalent in Spain, the Marquis de la Ensenada was banished. That was not the happy time when you might think as you chose, and speak what you thought.

King Charles not only refused to acquiesce in the treaties ratified with the Portugueze, but immediately declared war upon that people; to the carrying on of which six thousand Guaranies strenuously applied themselves in the royal camp, under the conduct of Pedro Zevallos, who having occupied Colonia, carried his victorious arms into Brazil; but being stopped by the news of peace having been restored in Europe, testified in his letters to the King, that the success of his expeditions was greatly owing to the Guaranies. Suffer me, by way of episode, to draw a rude sketch of the immortal hero Zevallos. His father, the descendant of a noble family in Spain, was royal governour in the Canaries, and died in an insurrection, bravely fighting for the crown. The son, Pedro Zevallos, was handsome, tall, and well made, and the comeliness of his person was set off by the elegance and suavity of his manners. Courteous

among his friends, and authoritative with his soldiers, he was neither ruffled with anger, nor soured with harshness. At every place and time he maintained the character of the pious Christian, the consummate general, the equitable judge, and, if need required, the dauntless soldier. During his leisure hours you might see him praying on his knees in the church for two hours together. Such was the innocence and integrity of his life, that envy, argus-eyed as she is, could never detect a stain to reprobate. So exemplary was his conduct, that the soldier and the christian never jarred, but harmonized together in one beautiful concord. The victories which have gained the Spanish hero the plaudits of his country, are rather to be attributed to his piety, than to his military skill;—to that heaven by which his undertakings were constantly favoured, and his slender resources rendered sufficient. In the keenness of his wit, the sagacity of his judgment, the courage and alertness of his mind, and the soundness of his loyalty, if one man ever excelled another, *he* excelled. His steadfast aim was to benefit rather than please his sovereign, and both he effected, though more than once disgraced from the royal favour by the artifices of calumny. He did nothing without much previous consideration. To crown his purposes

with success, he was master of the most admirable devices; was never at a loss to remove obstacles,—to anticipate dangers,—and either elude them by artifice, or overcome them by force. He never charged the future with the present business—never let slip a good opportunity: did nothing from impulse, every thing from reason; yet though never headstrong in attempting any thing, or hasty in attacking an enemy, in battles and sieges he was fierce and determined. Neither dejected by adverse nor inflated by prosperous circumstances, he always preserved an equal mind. By kindness and good example, he bound his soldiers to a prompt obedience; and this I conclude was the cause of his doing so much with such scanty resources. He was not content to have given his orders, he would himself overlook their execution. On the eve of an expedition, he used to inspect the waggons, carefully enquiring whether they were stored with the requisite arms and provisions, and if they were properly guarded. Rarely trusting to vague reports and uncertain answers, he examined every thing, as far as he was able, in his own person. Early in the night he inspected the different stations of horse-guards, regardless of sleep, as indeed he was of every other indulgence. He

used to say, that vigilance in the general and obedience in the men, were the safeguards of the army, and the parent of victory, a maxim most happily demonstrated in his own person.

Think not that such egregious merits went unrewarded by royalty: he was honoured with the rank of commendador in the equestrian order of St. Iago, made knight of the order of St. Janeiro, and even created military governor of Madrid. Some years after, he received from King Charles the golden key, a mark of singular prerogative in the court. Rumours of the Paraguay disturbances having reached Spain, he was invested with the government of Buenos-Ayres, and commanded to sail thither, to compose the minds of the Guaranies, and forward the delivery of the seven towns, accompanied by five hundred regular cavalry-men, chosen from every regiment of light-armed horse which Spain possesses. To these were added seven companies of foot, consisting of runaway Germans, French, Italians, Poles, and even Russians, collected, a few years before, by a Spanish lieutenant at the surrender of Parma. Most of these were veterans—fierce warriors, fresh from European battles. As often, therefore, as Paraguay found them an enemy, they did not let their help be wanted; but being used to running away at home, they did not

forget their old propensities amongst the antipodes, for they sometimes fled in troops, from the desire of marriage and a life of less hardship.

During the voyage, Zevallos was anxiously devising methods to tranquillize Paraguay, which he imagined to be embroiled with intestine war, and devoted to King Nicholas. On coming in sight of the shores of Buenos-Ayres, lest by a sudden landing he should endanger his men, he despatched some soldiers in a boat to feel the way before them. Perceiving a multitude assembled on the bank of the river Plata, they hailed them from afar with the usual interrogation of the Spanish guards, *Quien vive?*—Who reigns here? With one voice they exclaimed, that Ferdinand the Sixth was their king, and should remain so as long as they lived. This was more than enough to quiet the fears of the soldiers, who, deceived by European reports, imagined that King Nicholas would be dethroned with the utmost difficulty, and at the expense of their own and much foreign blood. Zevallos himself was astonished when he learnt that the Guaranies had long since been brought to submission. He had therefore no fighting with the Indians, but many contentions with the officers of the Portugueze faction, among whom the Marquis Val-de-Lirios held a distin-

guished place, as possessing, from royal investment, full power of determining every thing connected with the stipulated exchange of territory with the Portugueze. Equitable in other respects, but too studious of Queen Barbara's favour, he consulted principally the advantage of the Portugueze; while Pedro Zevallos, who laboured for the safety of his country, rather than the favour of his queen, endeavoured to oppose him. Having impartially investigated all the occurrences of the revolt previous to his coming, and discovered that many things had been written against the Guaranies and their missionaries, without foundation, and that others were basely exaggerated, he transmitted the court a correct statement of the matter, standing forth, on a sudden, the vindicator and eulogist of those very Guaranies he had come to put down and punish.

Tucuman, another division of Paraguay, extends very widely in every direction: on the East it reaches the territory of Buenos-Ayres; on the West, the mountains of Chili; on the South, it is bounded by immense plains, running out as far as the Magellanic region; and on the North, by the district of Tariji. It has a governor and bishop of its own, the one of whom resides at Cordoba, the other at Salta, the capital cities. Cordoba is famous for the beauty of its

houses, the number and opulence of its inhabitants, and a celebrated academy. In the richness of its pastures and the multitude of its cattle, it has no superior. Many thousand mules are annually exported from its estates to the Peruvian market. Lofty rocks rise in every part of the Cordoban district. A few leagues distant, on the banks of the river Pucara, which washes the city, is a place where lime is made. Coming to the place one night, when the sky was calm and the air tranquil, I heard terrible noises like the explosion of cannon. But the natives assured me, that these sounds were common to the neighbouring rocks and happened perpetually. The air, confined in the cavities of the mountain, and attempting a forcible passage through the chinks, when stopped by opposing rocks, and reverberated by their windings, bellows after this fearful manner. In the city of Cordoba itself, a hollow murmur, resembling the knocks of a pestle in a wooden mortar, is frequently heard by night. This low mournful sound runs from one street to another, and is called by the Spaniards *el pison*, or the paving-hammer. The ignorant vulgar believe that some spectre or goblin haunts the streets; as for me, I am convinced that it originates in subterraneous wind, which, forcing its way through the interstices of the earth, makes

violent endeavours to find a vent; for I observed the lands near the city excavated and fissured in many places by earthquakes. The city of Salta derives its principal profits from the passage of mules. St. Iago del Estero, a very ancient city of Tucuman, was long the seat of a bishop, and afterwards of a governour. The houses are, however, neither large nor elegant. Pope Innocent the Twelfth transferred the episcopal see from hence to Cordoba. The city of St. Iago boasts some tolerably handsome churches. It is washed by the Rio Dulce, which, during its annual flood, rolls down mountains of sands; excellent bulwarks against the cannon of assailants, if the city were ever besieged. The inhabitants of the district of St. Iago are distinguished alike for the greatness of their valour and the scantiness of their means in the wars against the savages. From the trade in wax, which they collect in their distant woods, and from that in corn, they derive some profits, inadequate, however, to recompense them for the hardships they undergo. Their herds are few, from the scantiness of the pastures: for the plains, which are bounded on every side with sand, supply a slender provision of grass, by reason of the frosts in winter and the drought in summer. In winter, when the fields are bare, I have observed the horses

cropping the branches of trees, nay, sometimes gnawing their trunks. Did not the Rio Dulce yearly overflow its banks, the soil would produce nothing esculent. This flood generally takes place about January, from the melting of the snows on the Chili and Peruvian mountains. The fertility of the soil is at that time incredible, producing abundant crops of corn, and water-pumpkins of great size and sweetness. Clouds of a remarkable hue announce the event to the natives. The woods around St. Iago abound in the *alfaroba*, which is converted into a drink, or a sweet-flavoured bread, and taken in either form is possessed of medicinal virtues. The Rio Dulce too supplies the inhabitants of its shores with food. Annually, but at no certain time, shoals of a fish called *zabalo* hurry down the river, and are taken by the hand, in such numbers that, during the period of their arrival, the lower orders need no other provision.

The city of St. Iago formerly numbered many Indian colonies within its jurisdiction, the ruins of which are now alone visible, the inhabitants having perished of want or the small-pox. Some little villages yet remain: Matarà, Salabina, Moppa, Lasco, Silipica, Lindongasta, Manogasta, and Socconcho; they are governed by secular priests, and inhabited by a very few In-

dians, employed in the service of the Spaniards who live amongst them. Their condition is miserable, their barbarity beyond conception, their houses mere hovels, and their churches little better. The same may be said of all the villages remaining in the other districts of Paraguay.

The little town of St. Miguel, situated near the Chili mountains, is surrounded with hills, plains, large streams, and pleasant woods adorned with lofty forest trees, which supply the whole province with cedar planks, and timber fit for the largest houses. Rioja and St. Ferdinand, or Catamarca, little towns, buried amongst mountains, gain their principal returns from the culture of vines and red pepper, which is in daily use amongst the Spaniards. Not only meal, but even cheese, which, considering the multitude of cattle in the estates of Buenos-Ayres and Cordoba, is but seldom made, is seasoned so high with this powerful spice, that it acquires a deep red colour, and a pungency intolerable to an European palate. All the vineyards in Paraguay scarce equal the number of fingers on both your hands; for although the climate and soil are extremely suitable to vines, they are uniformly destroyed by an army of ants, wasps, and wood-pigeons. The little wine that is made is deep-coloured, thick, and gene-

rous, though to Europeans newly arrived it smells somewhat like a drug. The new must squeezed from the grape is simmered on the fire till it obtains a consistence. Such is the scarcity of wine in the remote colonies, that we were sometimes unable to celebrate the Eucharist. For whatever is used at the table or the altar, is principally brought from Chili, by a long journey, and at great expense, and often is not to be had for love or money.

In the districts of Rioja and Catamarca there is very scanty pasturage, and consequently few cattle; a want compensated by the fertility of the soil, the productiveness of the trees, and the industry of the inhabitants, who dry figs, weave a kind of woollen garment in common use, dress ox and sheep hides to great perfection, and apply the leather to various purposes, as saddles, trunks, and similar articles, to be commuted for other goods. Xuxuy, a district of St. Salvador, situate on the Peruvian side of Tucuman, though far from populous, is the seat of the royal treasurers for the last mentioned country. In this place, the tertian ague and wens are common; a circumstance arising from the rivulets flowing from the neighbouring mountains. Talavera de Madrid, also called Esteco, a state formerly flourishing in vices as in wealth, situate on the bank of the river Salado, is said to

have been swallowed up, in the last century, with all its houses and inhabitants, by a violent earthquake; the ill-fated pillar applied to the punishment of delinquents alone remaining in the market-place.

Fareja, a city of some note, though within the jurisdiction of Chichas in Peru, contains Jesuits from Paraguay, who, in the hopes of civilizing the Chiriguanàs, a barbarous race, always hostile to the Spaniards, have neither spared their labour nor their lives; five of them were butchered by these savages.

Santa Cruz de la Sierra, with its territory, though bordering on the eastern confines of Peru, is within the dominions of Paraguay. Its longitude is 314° , its latitude 21° . It has its own governour and bishop, to whom are subject the towns of the Chiquitos, savages for many years instructed by the Jesuits in religion, humanity, and the useful arts, amid their distant woods. In 1766, the ten towns of the Chiquitos, founded by men of our order, contained 5173 families, and 23,788 souls; but the number of deaths far exceeds that of births. Whether this paucity of issue is to be attributed to the climate, the water, their food—especially the land-tortoises they use so much—or to a natural sterility in the parents, let the learned judge. I have frequently heard, that had not the Jesuits yearly

brought a multitude of savages from the woods, the towns must long since have been depopulated.

In each of the cities of Tucuman and Paraguay, the followers of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Pedro de Nolasco, as well as the Jesuits, have their own establishment. Nuns of various orders dwell in Cordoba and Buenos-Ayres, but no where else. The Spaniards account Tucuman the poorest country in America, because it is destitute of gold, notwithstanding its numerous herds of cattle of every description. This province has been honoured with the presence of St. Francis Solano. When he was called away to Paraguay, many whole states were left without a single priest. Francis Victoria, of the order of St. Dominic, first bishop of Tucuman, in 1581 found only five secular priests and a few religious, with not one presbyter who understood the language of the natives, though the province abounded in Indian colonies. Solicitous for the glory of God, this bishop wrote to request Father Juan Atienza in Peru, and Joseph Anchuela in Brazil, to send him a few Jesuits already tried by previous exertions in the Christian cause. Fathers Leonardo Arminio, an Italian; Juan Saloni, a Spaniard; Thomas Fields, an Irishman; Manuel Ortega, and Estevam de Grao, Portugueze, were sent

by sea from Brazil, and being taken by the English, were for some time infamously treated, and at last exposed to the winds and waves in an open boat; but Providence happily guiding them, reached the port of Buenos-Ayres. From Peru, Fathers Francis Angulo and Alphonso Barzena had been already despatched into Tucuman. The last of these was created vicar-general by Victoria, who esteemed him so highly as openly to declare that he would himself vacate the bishopric could Barzena benefit by his abdication. To these have succeeded men of our order, one after another, for nearly two centuries. Summoned by the bishop and royal governour, sent from Europe by their Catholic sovereigns, and dispersed in every corner of Paraguay's immense extent, how strenuously they have toiled for God and their King, it is not my business to relate. Thousands of savages won over to God and the King, colonies founded on every side, churches built to the Lord, and numbers of Spanish cities imbued with learning and piety—these will testify that we have at least done something for the Antipodes, though many have left no stone unturned to blot out our very name. This is, however, beyond dispute;—that a far more abundant harvest might have been reaped from our apostolic labours, if the Europeans had not uniformly op-

posed every measure conducive to the advantage of the Indians. Not a savage would now have been left in America, had every professor of Christianity conformed his life to its dictates, and joined his endeavours vigorously to ours.

The third division, from which the whole province takes its name, is that of Paraguay, so called from the river on which it borders. In regard to the laws of dominion its extent is immense; but from the dangerous vicinity of the savages on one hand, and the Portugueze on the other, the inhabitants, considering their number, are contracted into somewhat narrow limits. Extensive and fertile plains, both to the west on the opposite side of the river, and towards the north, are totally neglected, on two accounts—their distance from the metropolis, and the above-mentioned neighbours. The Corrientine country is accounted the southern boundary. The inhabitants are almost incalculably numerous. There are who assert their capability of bringing ten thousand soldiers into the field, Spaniards only: for if you count Indian natives, and all the herd of negroes, and other slaves, you might reckon up three times that number. But the majority of these deserve the motto—“*Nos numerus sumus, et fruges consumere nati.*” Some one was heard to complain of the governours of Paraguay—that many sol-

diers were ranged under the banners, but few who were furnished with a musket, and still fewer who could manage one if they had it. The metropolis, Assumpçion, takes its name from the assumption of the Virgin Mary. It is situated in latitude $25^{\circ} 8'$ and longitude $319^{\circ} 41'$, on the banks of the Paraguay, which affords a convenient station for ships and an opportunity of commerce, but menaces destruction to the city; for the channel constantly nearing and nearing, undermines the bank and the houses situate thereupon. Neither splendid edifices nor city fortifications are here to be found. Many of the houses are of stone or brick, and roofed with tiles, but none of them are above one story high. The monasteries are nearly of the same description, possessing nothing by which you could recognise the church. The streets are crooked, and impeded with ditches and stones thrown out of their places, to the imminent peril both of men and horses. It has but one market-place, and that covered with grass. The governor and bishop have resided here since the time of Charles V. though neither has any proper seat. Besides grammar, the scholars in our college pay much attention to philosophy and theology. For the negroes, Indians, and mulattos, there is a separate priest and parish church. Even matrons of the higher rank, boys, girls, and all the lower

orders speak Guarany, though the generality have some acquaintance with Spanish. To say the truth, they mingle both, and speak neither correctly. When the Spaniards first occupied this province, in which the Guaranies had previously settled, for want of Spanish women, they took the daughters of the natives in marriage. The couples presently caught each other's dialect; but as is usual with adults, who learn foreign tongues, the Spaniards miserably corrupted the Indian, and the Indian the Spanish language. Whence from the original two, a third dialect arose, in use at present.

The major part of the Spaniards live in hamlets, farms, and little villages, where the convenience of land and pasturage is greatest: cities, except the metropolis, they have none. Villa rica and Curuquati are meagre places, mere shades of towns, the inhabitants being almost obliterated, by frequent migrations, from fear of the Portugueze. Xerez and Ciudad Real del Guayra, which once boasted the name of cities, have long since been destroyed by the incursions of the Portugueze who, assembled in the city of St. Paulo, enjoy, to this day, the finest parts of Guayra, the Spaniards vainly lamenting the seizure of the noblest part of their territory.

Of the ancient towns, where the Spaniards

settled the Indians they had subdued with arms, or won by religion, there remain Caazapà, Yuti, Ytape, and Yta, which are governed by Franciscans. Caazapà contains about two hundred families, and exceeds the rest in the number of its herds. Ytape contains about twenty families; Yuti and Yta, somewhat more. They are all governed by parish priests. Atira and Altos together form one little town. Quarabare and Jobati are both inconsiderable. Yaguaron consists of two hundred families. The Indian inhabitants are mostly employed in the service of the Spaniards, and consequently in populousness, morality, and the appearance of their churches, vastly inferior to our Guaranies, who, exempted from private servitude, are accountable solely to the Catholic King.

In the dominions of Paraguay are three other towns, founded and preserved by men of our order. St. Joachim, situate in latitude $24^{\circ} 49'$, and longitude 321° , on the banks of the Yù, which, in 1767, numbered 2017 Christian inhabitants, named Ytatines or Ytatinguays. As early as 1697 about four hundred persons were discovered in the neighbouring woods of Taruma, by Father Bartholomew Ximenez and Francisco Robles, and assembled in the town of Nuestra Señora de Sta. Fè, 150 leagues distant from Sta Fè, where they held the Christian

religion many years. But love of freedom at length bore them back to their original forests, whence they were in vain recovered, by fathers of our order, in the year 1721. In the place called Taruma, a little town was built for them, which, in 1723, contained three hundred souls. But partly from the poorness of the pastures, partly from the disturbances raised by the Spaniards, on occasion of Joseph Antequera's obtruding himself upon them as governour, the Ytatines were again removed to Nuestra Señora de Sta. Fè, where they remained ten years, and bore a good report. But the bloody insurrection of the neighbouring Spaniards, famine, and the wasting pestilence of the small-pox, compelled them, in 1734, to take refuge in the forests they had formerly occupied. On the instant, Fathers Sebastiano de Yegros, Juan Escandon, Felix Villagarzia, and Luke Rodriguez, were sent to explore the lurking-places of the fugitives, and, after a laborious journey of eighteen months, returned unsuccessful. At length, in 1745 accident effected what labour could not. By the command of the superiors, Father Sebastiano de Yegros began the search, and after a forty-nine days journey of matchless difficulty, found the Ytatines in the woods of Tapebo. No opposition being made on their parts, a town was built for them in their native

soil. Cattle of all kinds, clothes, axes, household furniture, and a few masters of music, and other arts, being sent from the old town, every thing went on favourably.

But a sudden terror interrupted the prosperous course of the new colony. The Guaycurus or Mbayas began to devastate the neighbouring estates of the Paraguayrians with slaughter and depredation. The Ytatines, thinking the marauders already upon them, lost all sense of safety. Alarmed by perpetual rumours of the enemy's approach, they spent their nights without sleep, and in open daylight still dreamt of peril. To this another distress was added: the want of water. The Fathers therefore judged it expedient to remove twenty-five leagues southwards, where the intermediate forests could protect them against the Guaycurus, and afford them a constant supply of water. In 1753, having left their church, and the residence of the Fathers, they built a town on the spur of the moment, which was regulated after the model of the Guarany colonies, increased by the accession of new families, and settled on a good foundation. To this city I devoted eight years of unregretted labour. When D. Manuel de la Torre, Bishop of Assumption, payed us his accustomed visit, he beheld with admiration the rigid Christian discipline,

the accuracy of divine worship, and universal good order established among men so lately inhabitants of the woods. D. Carlos Murphy, an Irishman, and governor of Paraguay, was delighted during his five days' visit at my house with the dexterous management displayed by the Indians as well of their musical instruments, as of their weapons.

Another colony in the jurisdiction of Paraguay, that of St. Stanislaus, is the offshoot of St. Joachim. For the Ytatines, discovered by the joint efforts of the Indians and the Fathers of St. Joachim in woods situate between the rivers Caapivarỹ, Yeyuỹ, and Tapiraguaỹ, were prevailed upon to assemble in one place and embrace the Christian religion. Arduous, indeed, was the task of persuading them to leave their native woods; for, accustomed to the shade of towering trees, they shun the exposed and sunny plain, where they think their lives and liberties daily endangered. Father Sebastiano de Yegros lived a year in the woods with the savages; at the end of which time, he persuaded them to relinquish their woods, and occupy the plains bordering on the river Tapiraguay, whither Fathers Manuel Guttierrez and Joseph Martin Mattilla bought cattle and the necessaries of subsistence, and in 1751 erected a chapel and dwellings. Softened by the kind-

ness and liberality of the Fathers, they became docile and conformable to Christian discipline. In my visits to this town, I could not but admire the gentle disposition and compliance with divine regulations, displayed in a people bred in woods and thickets. In a few years the town was increased by the accession of Indians, won over by Fathers Antonio Planes, Thaddeus Emis, a Bohemian, and Antonino Cortada, after arduous journeys amid pathless wilds. This colony lies in latitude $24^{\circ} 20'$, and in longitude $321^{\circ} 35'$. In 1767 it contained upwards of two thousand three hundred inhabitants, who had formerly wandered over those woods, where the Spaniards gather the herb of Paraguay. So that from the towns of St. Joachim and St. Stanislaus, a lucrative trade is opened to the whole province by the removal of the savages; since which the Spaniards can fearlessly traverse the woods that produce the herb in question.

In confirmation of this, I will cite a remarkable instance. The remote forest of Mbaeverà abounds in the trees of the leaves of which the herb of Paraguay is made. To prepare this, a multitude of Spaniards, with the necessary oxen, horses, and mules, are sent from the city of Asumpcion. The forest through which their journey lay, a tract blocked up with

mingled trees and reeds, and impeded with twenty-six rivers, and as many long marshes, is full eighty leagues in extent, in which space you will rarely find ten paces of plain land. To render this passable, it was requisite to fell trees, to throw bridges over the rivers, to give the marshes consistence with bundles of boughs, and to level the declivities. When these things had been effected with equal labour and expense, huts were required to receive the Spaniards, hedges to inclose the beasts, and a frame work formed of stakes partly driven into the ground, partly laid cross-wise, to roast the leaves on. The necessary preparations made, the Spaniards were sent to the woods where the leaves were gathered. But their superintendent Vilalba lit upon a hovel, which, though empty, evidently belonged to the savages. Struck with the unexpected occurrence, he hastened to his companions with the news, which instigated them to immediate flight, and to think of saving their lives instead of gathering the herb of Paraguay. Nor do I, on this account, think them to be accused of cowardice or sloth. For in seeking the trees from which they lopped the branches, they did not traverse the woods in one body, but separately, and when they returned home, they were loaded with burthens. Moreover from carrying no

weapon but the knife they used, they were always undefended from the assault of the savages. Abandoning therefore the business on which they had come, they returned to the city on their mules and horses. Vilalba, quitting his associates, turned aside to the city of St. Joachim, and related to the Fathers what he had seen and done, conjuring them to endeavour by every possible means to bring the savages to their town. The Fathers readily began the attempt. But, perceiving themselves unequal to such a journey, dispatched a chosen band of Indians, under the conduct of Vilalba, to search out the savages, and sound their inclinations. After some days, having imprudently consumed their provisions, they turned back before they had even approached the station, which the Indians were supposed to hold. So that the glory of finding these savages was reserved to the author of this work.

Some years after, I was sent by the superior to the city of St. Joachim. The rumour concerning the Indians of Mbaeverà continued to spread, and with it the fear of the Spaniards, who durst not even approach the woods, which promised so abundant an harvest of the herb of Paraguay. Under the conduct of Vilalba, I set out with five and twenty Indians, through marshes and rivers. The bridges and

other aids, prepared to secure the passage of the Spaniards, had long perished. Every obstacle however being overcome, we arrived at the place in question, and discovered the remains of the savage hut. The bones of apes, boars, and antas, a wooden mortar, a few grains of maize, and other things of this kind, were discovered there; a path leading to the river side, well trod with the naked feet of the Indians, was also visible; but not a single recent vestige could we any where detect, though for many days we attentively searched both the neighbouring woods, and the banks of the river Acaray. After having traversed the mournful solitude eighteen days, and suffered what neither I can describe nor my reader credit, as no hope remained of finding the Indians, we returned to the town, the improvement of our patience being our only recompense. I walked the whole way, and often barefoot. Had I turned ever so little from the east to the south, we should have found the habitations of the savages, as was proved to me the following year. The Spaniards, being made acquainted with my diligent search of the forest of Mbaeverà, persuaded themselves that the savages had migrated elsewhere, and accordingly set out thither in great numbers. But, lo! in the course of their business, they perceived the

savages dropping in upon them one after another. Conciliated by familiar discourse, and presents of beef and other trifles, they seemed to entertain no hostile sentiments, but visited the dwellings of the Spaniards in friendly guise. To enquiries concerning their place of abode, they replied that it was at a great distance, and could only be approached by crossing many marshes; a cunning answer, dictated by their fears for themselves and their wives, if visited by the Spaniards. Lest their footsteps should betray their resorts, in returning home they practised the following artifice: if they went by a southern, they returned by a northern road, and contrariwise, so that the Spaniards could not form an idea of the place where they lurked. And thus the savages and Spaniards suspected one other, and their mutual distrust increased every day.

Vilalba, alarmed for his own safety, informed me how matters stood, and assured me of success in discovering the savages if I would only renew the attempt. I undertook the journey without delay. But scarcely had two days elapsed, when all the rain in heaven seemed combined to overwhelm us, and after eight days of misery, compelled us to return, from the certainty of still greater wretchedness, if we proceeded. Twenty days the obstinate rain

continued, yet we did not think our business desperate, and on returning to the town, I impatiently awaited an opportunity of renewing it. Not long after, I undertook a third expedition, which proved successful. At length I reached my post, discovering three tolerably populous hordes, over whom presided as many caciques; Roy, Tupanchichù, and Veraripochiritù. The first hut we met with was built of palms, interwoven with dry grass, opening by eight doors and containing sixty inhabitants. Here and there hung nets which are used both to sleep and sit in. Each family has its own fire, on the hearth around which stand a multitude of pots, gourds, and mugs. They are generally handsome, particularly the youths; from never being exposed to the sun their faces are fair. The males of every age shave their heads, a circle of hair being left on the crown. At seven years old they have their under lip pierced, and insert a reed of the thickness of a quill into the hole. All of whatever sex or age hang a common triangular shell in their ears. The men go almost naked, wearing nothing but a narrow girdle round their loins, but the women are covered from head to foot, with a white garment manufactured from the bark of the Pinò. These savages ornament their heads with crowns of long parrot feathers,

disposed with considerable elegance. Their arms consist of barbed arrows, with which they shoot even little birds on the wing with great dexterity. They maintain themselves and their families by the chase. They often lurk in thickets, for the purpose of shooting or ensnaring antas, which they inveigle by a skilful imitation of their bray; nor are they wholly averse from agriculture. In these woods there is an amazing produce of maize, and other fruits, as also of tobacco. On going to bed they put their pots full of flesh or vegetables on the fire, that their breakfasts may be ready when they awake: for at earliest dawn, the males, from seven years old and upwards, traverse the woods with a bundle of darts, in search of that game, on which they must subsist for the day. The mothers put their babies in wicker baskets, and carry them on their shoulders, when they travel in the woods. From the hives with which the trees abound, they collect quantities of most excellent honey, serving both for meat and drink. Their name for God, in the Guarany tongue, is *Tupà*, but of that God and his commandments, they care little to know. They are as ignorant of the worship of idols, as they are of the Supreme being. The spirit of evil they call *Aña* or *Añanga*, but they pay him no adoration. The magicians, or more properly

imposters, who arrogate to themselves full power of warding and inflicting disease and death, of predicting future events, of raising floods and tempests, of transforming themselves into tigers, and performing I know not what other preternatural feats, they religiously venerate. Like other Americans, they think polygamy allowable, but rarely avail themselves of the license: from which circumstance, repudiation is frequent among them. Marriage with the most distant relations they shun as highly criminal. They inclose their dead in large vessels of clay, according to an old Guarany rite. What their fate after this life may be, they never trouble themselves to enquire. They do not feed on human flesh to my knowledge, though the neighbouring Indians reckon it a delicacy. Every stranger whatsoever, Indian, Spaniard, or Portugueze, they suspect of hostile intentions, and receive in arms, believing every other race their enemies and designers on their freedom. They harboured the same suspicion with regard to me and my Indian comrades, when they saw us coming.

The first whom we discovered in the woods was a fine young man holding a bird like our pheasants, expiring in his hand. I approached the astonished youth, complimented him upon his singular skill in archery, and, as gifts prevail

more with the Indians than fine words, presented him with a piece of roast meat, which he devoured with all the avidity of hunger. This unexpected breakfast dissipated the alarm which the sudden appearance of strangers had excited. His name was *Arapotiyu*, or the morning: for in the Guarany tongue *ara* signifies *day*, *poti* the *flower*, and *yu* whatever is *yellow* or *golden*; so that by the golden flower of day they express the morning. And from this *morning* we discovered that the *sun*, Captain Roy, the principal cacique of the vicinity, was the youth's father. For whatever questions I put to him, he quietly answered, and said, that his father was occupied in hunting, not far distant. "Come then," said I, joyfully, "conduct us to him as quickly as possible." To this the youth willingly assented, keeping close to my side the whole way. Having proceeded through the woods for the space of an hour, we beheld an emaciated old man, armed with an immense knife, and creeping at a snail's pace, accompanied by two youths (his son and a captive) furnished with a bundle of arrows. The Indian Christians who were with us bent their bows and the points of their arrows to the ground, to testify friendship, on approaching him; one of the more aged of my companions kissed the left cheek of the cacique, as a sign

of peace, and explaining the reason of our coming, said, "God save thee, brother! See, we are come to visit you as friends, for we think you akin to us. And this father-priest, whom we attend, is the minister of God himself. He teaches us, feeds us, clothes and tenderly loves us; for when he buries our dead, wrapped in a white cloth, he chaunts over us." My Indian would have spoken more, but the old man interrupted him with an ironical and angry exclamation of *Hindo!* repeated several times. He vehemently denied that any relationship existed between them, and regarded us with the most wrathful aspect, supposing us to be Spanish or Brazilian Portuguese Indian-hunters. Then addressing himself to me, he angrily said, "You are come in vain, father-priest: we don't want a father-priest. St. Thomas long ago prayed enough for our land. All kind of fruits grow in plenty here." For the rude savage thought the presence of a priest useful only in procuring fertility to the soil. "Granting," I replied, "that St. Thomas was formerly in your territories, yet whatever he taught your ancestors of the Supreme Deity and his laws has long since escaped your memories. I am ready to repeat his instructions. But, bless me, good old man, why do we stand talking in the mud? why don't we sit down on the trunk of the tree,

which is out of the swamp?" Accordingly we sat down, and I detailed to him the occasion and the hardships of my long journey. To win the good-will of the surly old man, I ordered a choice piece of roast meat to be brought him, which he greedily seized and devoured. His hunger appeased, his jealous mind began to soften, and I tried all ways to find an entrance to his heart. To this end, I offered him some snuff, but pushing it from him with both hands, he answered, "*Aquihiye*," I fear it, supposing it magical powder, possessed of the power of charming. I then opened to him my design of visiting his horde, but he argued it to be impossible. "My residence," says he, "is very far distant from hence. Three rivers, as many marshes, and the worst possible roads intervene." "By this argument," answered I, "you can never divert me from my purpose, who, after a journey of so many days, have succeeded in overcoming so many rivers and marshes, and such woods." "But you must know," opposed the old man, "that my health is not very good, and that I feel myself unequal to the journey." "I can easily believe that," was my answer, "when I am daily made sensible of my own ailments. And no wonder: the badness of the weather, the copious rains, the wet forest, the muddy roads, the long

marsh, which I crossed up to the knees in water, the steep mountains which I ascended, the want of food, and the continued walking from day-break till past mid-day, how could they fail to produce ill health? But though we are thus debilitated, yet I think we have strength enough left to carry us to your home, where we can rest ourselves. We will take it easily: let those who are stouter go before; we that are infirm will follow slowly after." "You would keep away from my dwelling," answered the old man, "if you knew the peril that awaits you there. My countrymen are of an evil disposition; they want to slay, slay, slay all strangers." "Though your countrymen," answered I, laughing, "resemble your portrait ever so accurately, I need feel no apprehension on that account. With you, the terror of the vicinity far and near, with one so illustrious for valour and great deeds as you, for our friend and protector, what mortal durst attempt to injure us? With you at our side we will fear nothing." By this apparent confidence, by these praises, I won the old man's heart, and found him my friend. In a cheerful tone, he exclaims "It is well!" and orders the two youths to hasten home forthwith. "Tell our countrymen," says he, "that a father-priest is here, who makes much of me, and a company of Indians who

affirm that they are of our blood. Charge the women not to be frightened at the stranger's approach, but to sweep the house diligently, according to my particular desire." About sweeping the house, thought I to myself, I care little; but that the savages might possibly take it into their heads to discharge all their quivers of arrows upon us, that was indeed a reflexion that disturbed me not a little.

Away went the messengers like the wind. The old cacique and I pursued their footsteps at a slower pace, beguiling the inclemency of the weather and the asperities of the journey by familiar conversation; and whilst the majority of Europeans were feasting luxuriously, (for it was the third day of the carnival,) *we*, sitting on the margin of a river, restored our exhausted strength by a draught of cold water. About sun-set, the vast hut I described appeared in view. A crowd of the natives, fitted out with bows and arrows, and crowned with parrots' feathers, attended our arrival and addressed us with the usual salutation *Ereyupa*, Now thou art come: to which I returned the accustomed *Ayù anga*, Now I am come. One of them approached me, and, as if angry with himself for having forgotten his crown, ran back for it, and returned with it on to greet me. As I was standing with some of my companions

at the door of the house, there arose a mighty trepidation amongst the women and children. "There is nothing at all to be afraid of, dear sisters," said the eldest of my Indians. "You see before you your relations, the descendants of your ancestors. Not one of us harbours an evil thought towards you. I am the chief and director of them all." "What the old man has told you," said I, "is perfectly true. No one present is evilly disposed towards you but myself. I am a terrible fellow; for" (putting on a fierce countenance and uttering a hiss) "at one mouthful I intend to devour two or three children." This pleasantry changed all their terror into laughter. The women returned to their stations, and with one accord entreated me to enter the house. "You will never persuade me to that," replied I. "I see you have dogs and whelps amongst you, and where dogs are there must fleas be also: now there is nothing I dread so much as fleas, because they are disturbers of sleep, which, after the fatigues of a long journey, I feel myself sorely in want of. But I will not go far from your residence. In this open spot, where I may see and be seen by all, I am resolved to station myself." And truly, for the sake both of decorum and security, I spent three days and nights in the open air, though the weather was occasionally rainy.

The same evening I hinted to the Cacique Roy, that I wished to see all the inhabitants of the place assembled in one spot, that I might address them, and present them with suitable gifts. My wishes were immediately gratified. They sat around me in such modesty and silence that I seemed to behold statues instead of men. To awaken their attention I played for some time on the viol d'amour. Now, though I think myself the very worst of musicians, yet in these woods I was pronounced an Orpheus by my auditors, who had never heard a better or a worse performer than myself, or indeed any other music whatever, except that which they produce with rattling gourds together. I then addressed the assembly to the following effect: "I do not repent the long journey I have taken, the rivers and marshes I have crossed, the troubles which I have undergone, now that I see you well and kindly disposed towards me. My errand is to render you happy; your friend I am in all sincerity. Suffer me then to declare candidly what I feel with respect to you. I lament and pity your lot, which has buried you amid the shades of woods, ignorant alike of the beauties of the world and of God their creator. I know you pronounce the name of God; but how he must be worshipped, what he forbids, what he or-

dains, what he promises to the good, and what threatens to the evil, that ye know not: nor, unless taught by a priest, can ye ever learn it, miserable while ye live, and most miserable hereafter when ye die." Here I briefly explained the principal heads of religion with what plainness I could. As I discussed these things, they all listened very attentively, except that the boys laughed a little when I made mention of hell fire. The old man also, when he heard from me that marriage with relations was forbidden, exclaimed, "Thou sayest well, father; such marriages are abominable, but this we know already." From which I discovered that incestuous connexions seemed more execrable to these savages than murder or robbery. Just as I was about to finish my speech, I eyed the congregation more attentively, and cried out, like one astounded, "Alas! in all this numerous assembly I see very, very few of an advanced age; but the reason is manifest. The daily miseries which surround you ruin your constitutions, and bring on a premature death. With naked limbs you daily suffer the injuries of the weather. Your roofs, pervious to every wind, how little do they defend you! Whole days you traverse the woods like famished wild beasts, the chase at last often fruitless, your subsistence fortuitous, what wonder then if

continual solicitude about your maintenance harasses your minds? Not to mention the constant risk to which your lives are exposed from the claws of tigers, the bites of serpents, and the weapons and teeth of enemies. Nay, setting aside these things, a soil always damp, as I find yours to be, swarming with gnats and other insects, must unquestionably prove the nursery of diseases. And what hope can the invalid entertain of recovering his health in this your solitude, far from medicine or medical advice? For those whom you call physicians are impostors, fitter for cheating than curing you. From such inconveniences and perils, the Indians your brothers are almost free, who, assembled in one town, conform their lives to the commandments of God and the regulations of the priests. How many old men might you meet with there! Nor need you wonder that the majority extend their lives to the extremity of age, when such and so many assistances are supplied them in the city, of the highest efficacy in prolonging life. In the town separate dwellings are marked out for each, not indeed always the most splendid, but fortified against the vicissitudes of the weather. A suitable portion of beef is every day awarded gratuitously to each. With corn, fruit and vegetables they are commonly well

enough supplied from their own land. Every year new clothes are distributed to each. Knives, axes, glass-beads, and similar ornaments, are given as presents. Skilful physicians are night and day in attendance on the sick, who carefully provide them with food prepared in the father's dwelling, and with fit medicine, as occasion requires. If any of you think I have made a greater boast of these things than truth warrants, see before you stand Indian Christians, your brothers, and my companions and clients, of whom the greater part were born and brought up in woods like yourselves, and now, for many years back, have lived under my authority in St. Joachim. Cast your eyes on their garments. Enquire from them the mode of life which exists amongst us. You will quickly learn that they are contented with their lot, and think themselves most happy in every point of view. They have been what you are now; and you have it in your power to be what they now are. Do not deny yourselves this felicity. Consider whether it be expedient to immure yourselves in dusky woods, the prey of successive calamities, and final death. It rests with you to act conformably to my good instructions. With open arms we will receive you as friends receive friends, and without delay make you our fellow townsmen.

To propose this to you, and persuade you to accept it, I have taken a long and, as you know yourselves, a most difficult journey, urged by my love and yearning towards you;—but no more need be said on this subject.”

To add weight to my oration, I presented each of my auditors with trifling gifts,—little knives, scissors, hooks, axes, mirrors, rings, ear-rings, and necklaces of glass-beads. I seemed to have borne down all before me, because I had mingled my oration with a copious largess. For it passes belief with what significations of joy and good-will towards me, on the breaking up of the assembly, each retired to his quarters. In a little while, Cacique Roy, to testify his gratitude, offered me some loaves, prepared, he said, on my account, by his old wife. These loaves were round, made of maize, thin, baked under the hot ashes, which they resembled in colour, and, in a word, so disagreeable that their very sight would disgust the most hungry European. Nevertheless, to temporize as much as might be, I praised the skill of the baker, and their great disposition to gratify me; and taking them in one hand, returned them pleasantly with the other, adding, that it would please me highly if his children would feast on these dainties to celebrate my arrival. The old man approved my counsel,

and took back the loaves with the same joy as he had brought them. Strangers must indeed be cautious how they receive food offered by savages, who are very skilful in mixing it with poison, and though officious, always to be feared, as regarding other tribes with an hostile eye. Cacique Roy had a little house for himself and family separate from the rest; yet during the three days we spent with them, he passed the night in that vast dwelling I have named, whether anxious for the safety of his own subjects or of us, I know not. We spent our nights in the open air in the middle of the dwellings of the savages. I cautioned my men to sleep and watch by turns, lest we should be surprised in our sleep by the designs of many. But there was not a symptom or occasion of fear on either side, though the suspicion of danger never left us. On the following day, I sent four chosen men of my associates, with Arapotiyù, to slaughter an ox, which I had left at a distance, and bring its flesh to make a feast for the savages. Nothing could have been devised better calculated to raise their spirits; for the Americans never rejoice with more heartfelt glee, nor pay a more prompt obedience, than when their stomachs are full of beef. The Cacique had a pleasure in spending many hours of the day in familiar conversation with me. He

told me ingenuously, that both he and his dis-trusted the Spaniards and Portuguese in every thing. To conciliate therefore his confidence and good-will towards me, I declared that I was neither a Spaniard nor a Portuguese. Which circumstance being strongly urged by me, the Cacique told all his hordesmen that I was neither of Spanish nor Portuguese extraction, which had the utmost effect in tightening the new chain of friendship and good-will towards me which bound their savage minds. I must here relate a circumstance which I cannot write without a blush, nor can it, I think, be read without a smile. As the Cacique was smoking tobacco through a reed, he opened at once his intentions and his ignorance to my Indians who were sitting with him. "I have conceived an affection," says he, "for our father, seeing for certain that he is not a Spaniard, and should like to enjoy his company as long as I live. Now I have a daughter, the prettiest girl in the world, and I am resolved to marry her to the father, that he may always stay in our family. This intention I have just broke to my wife, and she is of the same mind as myself." On hearing this foolish speech of the old man's, my Indians could not refrain from laughing; and being asked the cause, replied, "that the fathers always live celibate,

and are interdicted from marriage by the most sacred law." The old man was thunderstruck; "*An eyrae!*" he exclaimed, with his tobacco reed suspended in the air, "what strange thing is this you tell me?" His astonishment was mingled with sighs, for he grieved that he could not accomplish his wishes. This ridiculous conversation I overheard walking behind among the trees, but dissembling my knowledge, asked my Indians, what the sudden laugh meant; but they were ashamed to repeat to me the Cacique's absurd proposal, and blushing held their peace. It is observable amongst the Guarany Indians, that if many are asked at once, no one answers. I therefore asked one of them separately, who related to me the whole conversation. I thanked the Cacique for his kind intentions towards me, and told him that I and all priests professed that kind of life which excludes wedlock altogether; but that though I could not be his son-in-law, he should always find me his most sincere friend, and, if he wished it, his companion and instructor in Christianity. When he had heard this he redoubled his astonishment and his declarations of affection.

Immediately on my entering the savage horde the preceding day, I had asked them to despatch messengers to acquaint the neighbouring

Caciques of our arrival, and exhort them to visit us there. The next day about noon the armed savages arrived in great numbers with their families. Two Caciques led the troop. The first, who was called Veraripochiritù, equalled in height and fullness of body the length of his name, a man remarkable for nothing but gentleness and docility. His son, a handsome boy of ten years old, had all his face painted with small black stars. "You think," said I, "to adorn your face with these stars, but you have disfigured it most wretchedly. Come, behold yourself in this mirror." Having looked at his face a little while, he hastened to some water to wash it, and he, who with his naked limbs, had just before come to me a perfect Pyracmon, when he had wiped off the soot, seemed transformed into a Daphnis. I presented them all with the accustomed trifles, conversed familiarly with each, and very frequently with their Cacique Veraripochiritù, whom I found particularly disposed to our worship. The other Cacique, who appeared with his troop, was Tupanchichù, a man scarce forty years old, handsome and well made, but destitute of that fairness of face and candour of mind which the others boasted. Arrogant, crafty, and designing; under a placid countenance and a perilous suavity of speech, he con-

trived to cover his cherished purpose of slaying us, which was, however, discovered by others. On coming up he seated himself with me, and demanded, in an imperative tone, a portion of the herb of Paraguay. Some friendly interrogations having passed on both sides, I seized a favourable opportunity of discoursing on the Deity. "We already know," he observed, "that there is some one who dwells in heaven." To this I returned, "that God was the supreme creator and ruler; that he was a tender loving father, most worthy of our hearts and adorations; that it behoved them long ago to have known and understood what pleased and what displeased him." "Tell me, I pray you," said he, "what *does* displease God." "He abhors," I rejoined, "and terribly punishes adulteries, uncleannesses, lies, calumnies, thefts, homicides." "What," he enquired, interrupting me, with a haughty look, "does not God permit us to slay our enemies? Should we be such fools as not to defend ourselves against those that seek our lives? Such has been my custom if any one threatened mine." I endeavoured to convince the fanatical casuist of his error, and to instil into him a horror of human slaughter, with what success I know not. At that time I learnt from good authority, that this barbarous Cacique, who was feared by the

whole neighbourhood as a formidable juggler, displayed in his tent an heap of skulls, whose former possessors he had taken off, partly by poison partly by violence.

At last the Caciques made a final resolve, and entreated me to get a colony founded for them in their native land, like those which the other Indian Christians had obtained. I consented to their wishes with the more pleasure, from perceiving the opportunities of seeking out other savages in the remoter forests, which a settlement in the woods of Mbaeverà would afford. Tupanchichù, though averse to the worship of Christ, durst not oppose the other two Caciques, men of more weight than himself as well from their age, as from the number of their adherents. He cunningly therefore pretended to assent, that he might the more certainly overturn the design of founding a colony. After having spent three days with them, I told them all that I intended to depart the next day, but that when I had procured cattle, and other necessaries for building and preserving the town, I would immediately return. To testify their good-will the Caciques made their sons accompany me to my town. The hypocritical Tupanchichù having no son grown up, associated with me his wife's brother, a youth of surpassing comeliness. Four sons of Cacique Roy came

with me; Arapotiyu, the eldest, Avarendi, the second, and two who were yet boys; Gatò, a young captive of the Cacique's, also attended us. To these were added some married men, so that, altogether, eighteen savages accompanied us on our way. The Spaniards, whom we met advancing, when they saw me accompanied by so many naked savages, armed with bundles of arrows, and adorned with crowns of parrot feathers, after their first panic had subsided, paid me liberal applauses and congratulations. Finally we entered St. Joachim in triumph, and were hailed by the festive acclamations of the inhabitants. Our Indian guests were liberally treated, clothed, and largely gifted with knives, axes, glass-beads, and other trifles. After resting fourteen days they were sent back to their woods, attended by some of my Indians, Arapotiyu excepted. This youth, from the time when he first met me, would never suffer himself to be separated from my side. Having for some months tried his constancy and his acquaintance with every thing pertaining to Christian worship, I baptized, and, not long after, united him in marriage, according to the Christian rites. Though a new inhabitant of our city he surpassed in every kind of virtue, and he might have been taken for an old disciple of Christianity. His lameness

tations knew no end, when by the royal summons we were recalled to Europe, amid the tears of all the Indian colonies. The captive Gatò also remained with us in the city fully contented with his situation, and behaving so well that his conduct obtained him baptism and Christian wedlock. But not many months after he died of a slow disease.

Our Indians, returning from the woods of Mbaeverà, brought news that the quinsy was ✓raging among the savages; that the jugglers, especially Tupanchichù, endeavoured to persuade the ignorant multitude that this pest was introduced by us, in order to inspire them with a hatred of the Christians. I immediately despatched letters to my provincial, in which I informed him of my journey, the savages I had discovered, and the intended foundation of a settlement. He approved my design, and when my return to the savages drew near, supplied my room in the town of St. Joachim with another father. The royal governour, also, D. Joseph Martinez Fontes, was made acquainted with what had been done and what was further intended, and requested to invest me with the power of founding the colony. But, alas! the devil interrupted this prosperous course of affairs, by means of two of his agents, the inhuman Tupanchichù and an opulent Spaniard.

Attend and shudder at the detail of their villainy. An unexpected messenger arrives from Mbaeverà with the news that Cacique Roy had died of eating poisoned potatoes, administered by Tupanchichù, who, not content with the murder of the old Cacique, had attempted the life of his widow, that he might possess himself of the knives and other iron implements which her husband had left. This woman, despairing of safety in the forest, betook herself to the town with her family. The mother having been well instructed in the rudiments of the Christian doctrine, was baptized on the same day with her eight children and a single captive, to the great comfort of the by-standers;—as for *me*, my joy can scarcely be conceived. Though the iniquitous deed of Tupanchichù is worthy of universal execration, yet still more detestable appears the memory of that man who, actuated by the base desire of self-aggrandizement, dared to frustrate the colony we had in agitation.

This man, a Paraguayrian, but not of Spanish extraction, having amassed great riches, principally from trading in the herb of Paraguay, required a multitude of slaves to manage his concerns; and when he understood that numerous hordes of savages were discovered by me in the woods of Mbaeverà, and that a colony was to be built there, he conceived a design of

transferring these savages, by some means or other, to his estate that he might use them instead of negroes who stood him at a great price. To this end, he selected men, versed in the Guarany tongue, to persuade the savages to that which he desired, directing them to gain over, with large presents, whomsoever words failed of affecting. These arts they put in practice, but without prevailing on a single man. And truly it was madness to expect it of the wood Indians, who, from the dread of slavery, shun the neighbourhood, yea the very shadow of the Spaniards; and who, now that their settlement had been thoroughly explored, began to despair of their safety—to fear lest that Spaniard, whose service they were unwilling to embrace, should sometime despatch an armed troop of soldiers to drive them into slavery and exile. This danger being daily and nightly before their eyes, they at length resolved to change their quarters and seek a retreat as distant as possible from their present abode, and accordingly, having burnt their hovels to ashes, they all migrated like runaways rather than travellers.

Being informed of this flight of the Indians, I set out thither with forty Christians, among whom was Arapotiyu, who was thoroughly acquainted with the circumjacent ways and woods.

But after doing much and suffering more, we effected nothing: and having traversed the banks of the rivers Mondaỹ and Acaraỹ and the interjacent country, without detecting a trace of man, we were forced to remeasure our sorrowful and weary steps: which circumstance filled every honest breast with unspeakable grief. The Spanish and Indian Christians burnt with indignation against that man who had dared to devastate an harvest ripe for the shears, and ready for the granary of the church.

In endeavouring to make these savages slaves he hindered them from becoming worshippers of the Supreme Being and disciples of Jesus Christ. But divine providence took vengeance on his crimes.

He had a number of hired men employed in the woods of Mbaeverà, upon the preparation of the herb tea, a great quantity of which, already prepared, awaited the mules which were to convey it to the city. Meanwhile it was kept in the hut of the Spanish labourers, an edifice situated on the banks of the river Acaraỹ, which were covered with reeds and tall grass. These were suddenly seized with an immense conflagration, kindled by the savages. The superintendent, fearing for his magazine, in order to extinguish the approaching flame, despatched eighteen of his comrades — to perish in the same

conflagration; for a sudden blast of wind in flamed the whole surface so quickly that the Spaniards beheld themselves encircled with fire without an outlet left for their escape. Some leapt into the marshes, but they were almost dry;—some plunged into the mud, but all their endeavours were vain. They were not absolutely burnt, but suffocated, scorched and roasted, their garments, in general, remaining unhurt. The same evening thirteen miserably perished; the next day three more; the other two came to a still more wretched, because a more protracted end. The spies of the savages witnessed this destruction of the Spaniards, but afar off, lest themselves should be hurt; now more daring, from having perceived the fewness of the Spaniards, one, armed with arrows and a club, stole into the Spanish hut where only one man remained. “So,” said the savage with a stern aspect, “you have dared to enter these woods, which were never yours! Know ye not that this is our hereditary soil? Are ye not content with having injuriously usurped immense tracts and innumerable woods, spite of the vain opposition of our ancestors? Should any one of *us* attempt *your* domains, would he return alive? No: and we will imitate your example. If, therefore, you are wise, if life is dear to you,—haste away,—advise your countrymen cau-

tiously to shun our woods, unless they would be the cause of their own deaths." During this menacing speech the Spaniard remained silent, pale with expectation of the mortal stroke. To save his life, he offered, with a trembling hand, knives, axes, garments and other trifles within his reach; pacified by which the savage returned to his comrades who lurked hard by. The Spaniard, deeming any stay in these quarters extremely perilous, ran off, leaving, to its own fate, many thousand pounds of ready made tea.

I shall here record another excursion to the savages, which, though completed in less time than the former, was productive of more advantage. A company of Spaniards were employed in preparing the herb of Paraguay on the southern banks of the river Empalado. The trees from which these leaves were plucked failing, they commissioned three men to seek for the tree in request beyond the river. By accident they lit upon a hovel and a field of maize, from which they falsely conjectured that the wood was full of savage hordes. This occurrence affected them all with such fear, that, suspending the business upon which they were engaged, they kept within their huts, like snails in their shells, and spent day and night in dread of hostile aggression. To deliver them from this state of fear, a messenger was sent to St. Joachim,

requiring us to search for the savages abiding there, and to remove them, when found, to our colony. I applied myself to the task without shrinking, and on the day of St. John the Evangelist commenced my travels, accompanied by forty Indians. Having taken a guide from the Spanish hut, and crossed the river Empalado, we carefully explored all the woods and the banks of the river Mondaỹ-miři, and discovering at length, on the third day, a human footstep, we traced it to a little dwelling, where an old woman with her son and daughter, a youth and maiden of twenty and fifteen years of age, had lived many years. Being asked where the other Indians were to be found, the mother replied that no mortal besides herself and her two children survived in these woods; that all the rest, who had occupied this neighbourhood, had died long ago of the small-pox. Perceiving me doubtful as to the correctness of her statement, the son observed, “ You may credit my mother in her assertion without scruple; for I myself have traversed these woods far and near in search of a wife, but could never meet with a single human being.” Nature had taught the young savage that it was not lawful to marry his sister. I exhorted the old mother to migrate as fast as possible to my town, promising that both she and her children should be more

comfortably situated. She declared herself willing to accept my invitation, to which there was only one objection. "I have," says she, "three boars which have been tamed from their earliest age. They follow us wherever we go, and I am afraid, if they are exposed to the sun in a dry plain, unshaded by trees, they will immediately perish." "Pray be no longer anxious on this account," replied I; "depend upon it I shall treat these dear little animals with due kindness. When the sun is hot, we will find shade wherever we are. Lakes, rivers, or marshes will be always at hand to cool your favourites." Induced by these promises, she agreed to go with us. And setting out the next day we reached the town in safety on the first of January. And now it will be proper to give a cursory account of the mother and her offspring. Their hut consisted of the branches of the palm-tree, their drink of muddy water. Fruits, antas, fawns, rabbits, and various birds, maize, and the roots of the *mandiò* tree afforded them food; a cloth woven of the leaves of the *caraquatà*, their bed and clothing. They delighted in honey, which abounds in the hollow trees of the forest. The smoke of tobacco the old woman inhaled, night and day, through the reed to which was affixed a little wooden vessel, like a pan. The son constantly chewed

tobacco leaves reduced to powder. Shells sharpened at a stone or split reeds served them for knives. The youth, who catered for his mother and sister, carried in his belt two pieces of iron, the fragment of some old broken knife, about as broad and long as a man's thumb, inserted in a wooden handle, and bound round with wax and thread. With this instrument he used to fashion arrows with great elegance, make wooden gins to take antas, perforate trees which seemed likely to contain honey, and perform other things of this kind. There being no clay to make pots of, they had fed, all their lives, on roasted meat instead of boiled. The leaves of the herb of Paraguay they only steeped in cold water, having no vessel to boil it in. To show how scanty their household furniture was, mention must be made of their clothes. The youth wore a cloak of the thread of the caraquatà, reaching from his shoulders to his knees, his middle being girded with little cords, from which hung a gourd full of the tobacco dust which he chewed. A net of coarser thread was the mother's bed by night and her only garment by day. The girl in like manner wore a short net by day in which she slept at night. This appearing to me too transparent, I gave her a cotton towel to cover her more effectually. The girl folding up the linen

cloth into many folds, placed it on her head to defend her from the heat of the sun, but at the desire of the Indians wrapped it round her. I made the youth, too, wear some linen wrappers, which in my journey I had worn round my head as a defence against the gnats. Before this, he had climbed the highest trees like a monkey to pluck from thence food for his pigs, but his bandages impeded him like fetters, so that he could scarcely move a step. In such extreme need, in such penury I found them, experiencing the rigours of ancient anchorites, without discontent, vexation, or disease.

My three wood Indians wore their hair dishevelled, cropped, and without a bandage. The youth neither had his lip perforated, nor his head crowned with parrot feathers. The mother and daughter had no ear-rings, though the former wore round her neck a cord from which depended a small heavy piece of wood, of a pyramidal shape, so that by their mutual collision they made a noise at every step. At first sight I asked the old woman whether she used this jingling necklace to frighten away the gnats; and I afterwards substituted a string of beautifully coloured glass-beads, in place of these wooden weights. The mother and son were tall and well-looking, but the daughter had so fair and elegant a countenance, that a

poet would have taken her for one of the nymphs or dryads, and any European might safely call her beautiful. She united a becoming cheerfulness with great courtesy, and did not seem at all alarmed at our arrival, but the rather enlivened. She laughed heartily at *our* Guarany, and we, on the other hand, at *her's*. For as this insulated family had no intercourse with any but themselves, their language was most ridiculously corrupted. The youth had never seen a female except his mother and sister, nor any male but his father. The girl had seen no woman but her mother nor any man but her brother, her father having been torn to pieces by a tiger before she was born. To gather the fruits that grew on the ground or on the trees, and wood for fuel, the dexterous girl ran over the forest tangled as it was with underwood, reeds, and brambles, by which she had her feet wretchedly scratched. Not to go unattended, she commonly had a little parrot on her shoulder, and a small monkey on her arm, unterrified by the tigers that haunt that neighbourhood. The new proselytes were quickly clothed in the town, and served with the daily allowance of food before the rest. I also took care they should take frequent excursions to the neighbouring woods, to enjoy the shade and pleasant freshness of the trees, to which they

had been accustomed. For we found by experience, that savages removed to towns often waste away from the change of food and air, and from the heat of the sun, which powerfully affects their frames, accustomed, as they have been from infancy, to moist, cool, shady groves. The same was the fate of the mother, son, and daughter in our town. A few weeks after their arrival they were afflicted with a universal heaviness and rheum, to which succeeded a pain in the eyes and ears, and, not long after, deafness. Lowness of spirits, and disgust to food at length wasted their strength to such a degree that an incurable consumption followed. After languishing some months, the old mother, who had been properly instructed in the Christian religion and baptized, delivered up her spirit, with a mind so calm, so acquiescent with the divine will, that I cannot doubt but that she entered into a blessed immortality. The girl, who had entered the town full of health and beauty, soon lost all resemblance to herself. Enfeebled, withering by degrees like a flower, her bones hardly holding together, she at length followed her mother to the grave, and, if I be not much deceived, to Heaven. Her brother still surviving was attacked by the same malady that proved fatal to his mother and sister, but being of a stronger constitution overcame

it. The measles, which made great havoc in the town, left him so confirmed in health that there seemed nothing to be feared in regard to him. He was of a cheerful disposition, went to church regularly, learnt the doctrines of Christianity with diligence, was gentle and compliant to all, and in every thing discovered marks of future excellence. Nevertheless, to put his perseverance to the proof, I thought it best to delay his baptism a little. At this time an Indian Christian, a good man and rich in land, who, at my orders, had received this catechumen into his house, came to me and said, "My father, our wood Indian is in perfect health of body, but seems to have gone a little astray in mind: he makes no complaints, but says that sleep has deserted him, his mother and sister appearing to him every night in a vision, saying, in a friendly tone, 'Suffer thyself, I pray thee, to be baptized. We shall return to take thee away, when thou dost not expect it.' This vision, he says, takes away his sleep." "Tell him," answered I, "to be of good heart, for that the melancholy remembrance of his mother and sister, with whom he has lived all his life, is the probable cause of these dreams, and that they, as I think, are gone to Heaven, and have nothing more to do with this world." A few days after, the same

Indian returns, giving the same account as before, and with confirmed suspicions respecting the fearful delirium of our new Christian. Suspecting there was something in it, I immediately hastened to his house, and found him sitting. On my enquiring how he felt himself, "Well," he replied, smiling, "and entirely free from pain;" but added, "that he got no sleep at night owing to the appearance of his mother and sister, admonishing him to hasten his baptism, and threatening to take him away unexpectedly. He told me over and over again, with his usual unreservedness, that this prevented him from getting any rest. I thought it probable that this was a mere dream, and worthy, on that account, of neglect. Mindful, however, that dreams have often been divine admonitions and the oracles of God, as appears from Holy Writ, it seemed advisable, in a matter of such moment, to consult both the security and tranquillity of the catechumen. Being assured of his constancy, and of his acquaintance with the chief heads of religion by previous interrogatories, I soon after baptized him with the name of Lewis. This I did on the 23d of June, the eve of St. John, about the hour of ten in the morning. On the evening of the same day, without a symptom of disease or apoplexy, he quietly expired.

This event, a fact well known to the whole town, and which I am ready to attest on oath, astonished every one. I leave my reader to form his own opinion; but in my mind I could never deem the circumstance merely accidental. To the exceeding compassion of the Almighty I attribute it that these three Indians were discovered by me in the unknown recesses of the woods; that they so promptly complied with my exhortations to enter my town, and embrace Christianity; and that they closed their lives after receiving baptism. The remembrance of my expedition to the river Empalado, though attended with so many hardships and dangers, is still most grateful to my heart, inasmuch as it proved highly fortunate to the three wood Indians and advantageous to the Spaniards. These last, having been certified by me, that, upon the immense tracts of woodland here mentioned, not a vestige of the savages remained, collected, during the three years they stayed, many hundred thousand pounds of the herb of Paraguay, from which they derived an amazing profit. Thus much on the Guarany towns of Taruma. If on this subject I appear to have written too much, let the reader be told that I have passed over many memorable things in silence.

The most recent colony in the jurisdiction of

Paraguay, called Belen, is situated on the banks of the Ypaneguazù, to the north of Asumpcion. It was built in 1760 for Indians of the savagest kind, called Guaycurus or Mbayas. They are very expert horsemen, large and generally tall, hostile in the highest degree to the Spaniards, full of the absurdest superstition and arrogance, and, as appears from their clothing and manners, ignorant of the very name of modesty. Their only care is that of their horses and arms, in the management of which their skill is admirable. War, or more correctly pillage, is the occupation they reckon most honourable. In 1745, they laid waste the lands of Paraguay, with exceeding pertinacity. The greater part of the province was more employed in regretting the slaughters and the rapine, than in preventing them, nor could they devise any remedy for the evil. The soldiers were now baffled by their swiftness, now unexpectedly surprized by their designs, and now discomfited by their powerful assaults. The savages, elated by the daily victories they had gained for many years, could neither be restrained by the arms of the Spaniards nor appeased by fair words. At last, in the sixteenth year of the present century, the desired peace was at length brought about, and a colony founded in the place above-mentioned. To

found and govern this, Father Joseph Sanchez Labrador was happily chosen. He spared no labour in learning the difficult language of the savages, and in bringing them round to civilization and christianity, both by daily instruction and by kindness. Would that the Father's diligence and patience had obtained a corresponding reward! The little grandson of the Cacique Epaguini, who presided over the colony, many infants, and, some adults whose lives were despaired of, received baptism; but the rest did little else than wander over the plains. Their fidelity, however, seems above all praise; for, after the conclusion of the peace, they never formed any design hostile to the Spaniards, who, whilst they feared the Mbayas as enemies, and remembered the slaughter they had sustained, promised mountains of gold for the maintenance of their colony; but when their fears subsided, they began to supply them sparingly, or at least tardily, with those things deemed necessary for living in a town, so that the proselytes would have died of hunger had not the fruit of the palm-tree and wild animals supplied the want of beef. Countless and incredible are the labours, cares, hardships, and perils even of their lives, with which Father Joseph Sanchez and his companions, Juan Garzia, and Manuel Duran, were harassed for

many years. Duran, the person last named, was intended to begin a new colony for the Guañas or Chañas, a pedestrian tribe, subject to the Mbayas, exceedingly numerous, on both sides the Paraguay. Being skilful agriculturists, they have already begun to cultivate the grounds and to raise themselves crops on the eastern shore of the Paraguay. In a soil so fertile, so opportune for the discovery of new nations, great progress in the Christian cause was expected from this docile, and populous nation. But he who had long employed himself in the foundation of the colony, when, with incredible labour, he had collected the necessaries for its preservation and completion, was summoned with his associates back to Europe.

Having now mentioned the Indian colonies within the domains of Paraguay, we will proceed to the other peculiarities of the province.

Notwithstanding the heat of the climate, the soil of Paraguay abounds in the most useful productions: cotton, the sugar cane, tobacco, honey, maize, mandioc, various kinds of pulse, potatoes of different sorts, medicinal plants, colours, frankincense, divers species of gums, balsams, palms, towering cedars, and other trees, both those that bear fruit, and those that serve for building of ships, houses, and waggons; it

moreover abounds in horses, mules, oxen, and sheep. There is no vestige of metals or precious stones in this country, as the early Spaniards imagined. Parrots, monkeys of various kinds, antas, stags, deer, tamanduas, tigers, and lions: choice fish, emus, partridges, dogs, crocodiles, capibaris, and huge tortoises, are every where to be found in astonishing numbers. The countless myriads of serpents, snakes, ants, and other reptiles and insects, evidently noxious, we shall fully treat of hereafter. The production peculiar to this province, and consequently by much the most profitable, is the Herb of Paraguay; of the production, preparation, nature, use, and price of which I am now going to treat.

The leaves cut from the tree *Caà*, and parched at a slow fire, got the name of the Herb of Paraguay, from a sort of resemblance to the herb tea, which, like itself, is drunk infused in boiling water. The tree *caà* grows no where spontaneously but in woods about two hundred leagues from the city of Asumpcion. Like reeds, it thrives best in a moist swampy soil. In form and foliage, except that the leaves are softer, it resembles the orange tree, but far exceeds it in size. Its flowers are small and white, with a calyx composed of five leaflets. The seed is very like American pepper, except that

three or four small whitish, oblong kernels appear beneath the skin. The boughs, which are cut off from the trees with a bill, are parched for some time on beams laid cross-wise over the fire; after which the leaves, with the smaller twigs, are spread on the ground, and beat to powder with sticks. When prepared by this less laborious method, it is called *yerba de palos*, because it is composed of leaves and leaf-stems, and their fibres, which are in a certain degree woody. An *arroba* (which is twenty-five pounds) of this herb, is sold in the forest for nearly two German florins; in the city of Asumpcion, from the expense of carriage, the price is double. The *caà-miri* is sold at a double price, being prepared by our Guaranies, with more labour and accuracy; for they carefully separate and throw aside the leaf-stems and larger fibres. After parching the leaves at a slow fire, they pound them gently in a wooden mortar, taking care not to beat them too small. For the more entire they remain, the more taste and smell they possess; if pulverized very small, they lose both. *Caà-miri* signifies the small herb, being made by the Indian Guaranies of the tender parts of the leaves, the leaf-stems and all the particles of wood being excluded; it is not, however, reduced to powder, like that of the Spaniards. The herb, when properly prepared,

exhales a very pleasant fragrance, without the admixture of any thing else; but if it be sprinkled with a little of the leaves or rind of the fruits of the *quabira miri*, the odour is doubled, the flavour improved, and the price increased. Add to this, that the herb is of a gummy nature, and in parching it, care must be taken that it be not overdried. Merchants, when they would try the quality of the herb, put a little of it into the palm of their hand, and blow upon it; when much of the herb flies off, they judge it to be too high dried, and deprived of juice and virtue; but when it adheres to the hand as if glued there by a natural gum, they value it highly. In consequence of the bitterness natural to the herb, it is drunk with sugar. The Indians, however, and the lower orders amongst the Spaniards, drink it unmingled with any thing. Though the *caà* is only found in the remotest parts of Paraguay towards the N. E., it affords a beverage not only to the Paraguayans, but to the Peruvians and the inhabitants of Chili, who never cease sipping it from morning to night. This nectar of Paraguay is relished by every rank, age, and sex, and is to them what chocolate, coffee, Chinese tea, and spirits are to other nations. The herb, after having been conveyed on mules from the remotest roads of Paraguay to the distant kingdoms of Peru and Chili, from

the difficulties of the journey, and the heavy tolls, which send great returns to the royal treasury, is sold at its journey's end, at a greatly increased price.

The vessel in which it is taken is made of a hide, or of a gourd split in half, and, amongst the higher orders, plated all round with silver. Into this vessel they put a common table spoonful of the herb, stir it up for some time with sugar and cold water, and then pour the hot water upon it. Many drop in the juice of a citron or lemon. The herb thus prepared is strained through a silver pipe, annexed to which is a little globe, finely punctured; this is done lest any particle of the herb, which is noxious to the stomach, should slip down the throat with the liquor. Others use a narrow wooden pipe or slender reed for this purpose. The Indians, who are not in the habit of straining it, often swallow unintentionally a quantity of the herb, green concrete balls of which are sometimes said to be found in the bowels of the deceased. However this may be, it is most certain, that the warm water in which the herb has been steeped too long, cannot be drunk with safety to the health. Water of this kind grows black, and is only used by ink makers to deepen the blackness of their ink.

The moderate use of this herb is wholesome

and beneficial in many ways. For when taken with caution, it acts as a diuretic, provokes a gentle perspiration, improves the appetite, speedily counteracts the languor arising from the burning climate, and assuages both hunger and thirst, especially if the herb be drunk with cold water without sugar. If any one wishes to perspire freely, he needs no drug: let him drink an infusion of this herb, as hot as possible, and then lie down. If his stomach appear in want of an emetic, he has only to take the same herb in tepid water. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted, that by the immoderate and almost hourly use of this potation, the stomach is weakened, and continual flatulence, with other diseases, brought on. I have known many of the lower Spaniards who never spoke ten words without applying their lips to the gourd containing the ready-made tea. If many toppers in Europe waste their substance by an immoderate use of wine and other intoxicating liquors, there are no fewer in America who drink away their fortunes in potations of the herb of Paraguay.

In the remotest forests, many thousands of men are employed unceasingly in the preparation of this herb during every part of the year, and many thousands of oxen are annually consumed in these labours. But who shall num-

ber the multitude of mules, not only occupied in transporting the herb, but destroyed by the asperities and the length of the journey? Hence they who hire the labourers that collect the herb, who supply oxen, mules, and the various iron implements, seldom grow rich, and they who are hired for this business live amidst constant wretchedness. The merchants who import it into Peru and Chili are the only gainers, and their gains are immense. If in all Paraguay there are a few opulent men, they have amassed their wealth from dealing in the Herb of Paraguay, and in mules, which they export into Peru and Chili. The marketing of the other Paraguayan productions is attended with infinite labour, and little or uncertain profit. I have often heard the Paraguayrians complain of the scarcity of the *caà* tree; but I must own their lamentations always appeared to me very ridiculous, when they themselves are the occasion of it. For when, after the usual manner, they ought only to cut off the boughs, for the sake of a readier profit they fell the trees themselves; this being very generally done, the trees are yearly diminished in great numbers. The Indians, more provident, only crop the superfluous and luxuriant boughs, the tree itself being left alive and uninjured for succeeding years.

To spare time, expense, and labour, we

planted the *caà* within sight of the Guarany Reductions, and from them, in a very short time, the largest forests have arisen. If the Spanish agriculturists would but imitate this piece of industry, how much would their fortunes be benefited! But the planting of woods of this kind requires art, and patience, and the labour of many hands. The seed of the *caà* being exceedingly glutinous, must be washed in water till that native gluten be thoroughly removed; which if you neglect, your time will be lost, and your hopes frustrated. The ground in which you mean to sow the prepared seed must be copiously drenched with water, and almost rendered muddy. These premises having been cautiously attended to, you may think yourself fortunate, if, at the end of four months, any sign of germination appear; the seed being sown very deep. While the plants are yet young, they must be transplanted, and set at great and equal distances, lest one impede and injure the other. A ditch, two feet deep and as many broad, must be dug, to receive and retain the rain water; and in the middle of each ditch the plants are to be placed singly. As long as the plants are tender, they must be defended against the hoarfrost and cutting south winds by a little thatched tent. This is moreover indisputable, that the trees which are planted and reared by human

care, never grow so high as those of nature's own setting in the forests. Those however which are planted and cultivated by us, in three or four years time produce a plenteous crop of leaves, so that the labour attending artificial woods is sufficiently repaid by the after-profit. Woods are likewise sown by various birds, which swallow with great avidity the seeds of the herb-tree; these being, by reason of their natural gluten, indigestible, pass through them, and falling into moist ground, become the daily origin of new trees, and gradually of forests.

I have often been asked, why the herb of Paraguay is never exported to Europe, and I have answered, on many accounts. In the first place, very little more is prepared than suffices the Americans. If, moreover, the Spaniards of Paraguay gasped after commerce and gain, they might export not only this herb, but many other profitable commodities. Their ships, especially in time of war, are few; their security none. Add to this, that in a few years it spoils, and losing its original fragrance smells like Russian shoe-leather; when in this state, it is used by the Paraguayrians to die cloth black. The Europeans, moreover, having never so much as tasted the herb, have no desire to fetch it from America, which they would certainly do, if acquainted with its virtues. Oh!

how I burn with resentment whenever I read that the Jesuits monopolize the herb of Paraguay! It has ever been free to all, without distinction, to sell as well as to drink this much spoken of herb. There is no part of the year that the Spaniards do not despatch to the cities of Corrientes, Santa Fé, and Buenos-Ayres, many thousand pounds of it, thence to be transported, in huge vessels, to the different ports of Tucuman, Peru, and Chili, not one of the Jesuits daring to arrogate the right of opposing them. The Indian Guaranies, inhabitants of the thirty-two Reductions which were under our administration, only make the herb *caà-miri*, selling it for the use of the higher orders. As the preparation of it is much more laborious, it is entirely neglected by the Spaniards, who confine themselves to the coarser herb *caà de palos*; and the quantity of herb annually sold by the Spaniards exceeds that disposed of by the Indians as much as the whole hand does the little finger. For the Guarany towns are not permitted by the laws to sell above a certain quantity; but the Spaniards are under no such restriction. In most parts of Paraguay there is no currency of money, and the herb is the usual medium of exchange. But of this trade we pay an annual poll-tax in the Guarany towns, and are besides obliged to fit out our churches, which are highly

ornamented, and procure for our Indians the necessary iron implements. Nor can the superintendents of colleges, who exchange the cattle of their estates, and other natural productions for the herb, and that again for implements, instead of money, be justly accounted herb-merchants. For the founders of the colleges did not leave estates paying rent, nor sums of money put out at interest, as is usual in Europe, but plains and cattle of various kinds, for the support of the members and the repairing of the dwellings and churches. The productions of the estates and plains are there in the place of money, with which necessaries are to be procured. This exchange, which, unless we preferred dying of want, was absolutely necessary, either ignorance or malice has designated trafficking. How many and how ridiculous are the clamours that have been raised against the Portugueze Jesuits by these lying pamphlets, because they sold sugar brought them from Brazil, when, in fact, they had received no other means of subsistence from the founders of their college!

We must now say something of the tobacco plant, in which the soil of Paraguay is very fertile. This is sown both in the plains and woods, and succeeds equally well in either, though some prefer the tobacco grown in woods. Its leaves, when dried a little in the air, and fastened into

bundles with a twig, are chewed by some, smoked by others, and by a very few taken in the form of snuff. For the higher ranks use the snuff made at Seville only, though the price of a pound is at least four Spanish crowns, and often still more in Paraguay. Certain it is that the Paraguayrian tobacco in fragrance falls short of that brought from Virginia, or the island of Cuba. The first leaves that ripen, in Paraguay, are very large, often exceeding an ell in length; those which are plucked afterwards decrease more and more. The smoke of the tobacco is generally inhaled without any tube or vessel, in the following manner:—A leaf, not perforated in any part, is squared, to the length and breadth of the middle finger. In the middle of this is laid another little leaf compressed by the finger, and rolled up, together with the exterior and larger one. Light one end of this, put the other into your mouth, and draw in the smoke. The Spaniards smoke their tobacco with more cleanness and less cost, carrying about with them a deposit of several of those folds, called *zigarros*, and lighting them at their pleasure. The common people roll up the tobacco, cut small, in a paper, or in a maize leaf, and light it; but that this smoke injures the human head is beyond a doubt. Not only the soldiers and sailors, and the common people, as in Ger-

many, but even the higher orders, often smoke tobacco.

In Brazil the Portugueze twist the tobacco leaf into ropes, which, prepared in different ways, are either used as snuff, or chewed or smoked. It is incredible how highly this Brazilian tobacco is extolled by medical men, and how eagerly it is sought by Europeans. The Spaniards themselves every year consume an astonishing quantity to provoke saliva. By the traffic in tobacco alone, many millions have been lost by the Spaniards to the Portugueze, the sole venders of an article in such demand. To restrain so great an annual exportation of money to foreigners, it was provided by the Catholic King Charles III. in the year 1765, that the Spanish and Indian Paraguayrians should henceforth prepare their tobacco in the manner of the Portugueze, as being no wise inferior to the Brazilian, and that it should be sold at the price fixed by the royal governours, the whole profits accruing to the royal treasury. The king's order was universally, though unwillingly complied with, the new manufacture costing them much labour, with little or no gain to the labourers. I will give you an account of the whole process:—The tobacco leaves are accounted ripe when their ends turn yellow, and wither, and are plucked before noon, as being

moister at that time. They are then suspended from reeds that they may dry a little, and remain some hours under the shade of a roof. The stem which runs through the middle of the leaf is either beaten down with a bat or removed entirely. The leaves thus prepared are twisted into ropes, by means of a wheel, and then rolled upon a cylindrical piece of wood. This cylinder, with its tobacco, is placed under the shade of a roof in such a manner that it may receive the heat of the sun, and yet not be touched by any of its rays. The tobacco, thus compressed spirally upon the cylinder, exudes a black, glutinous juice, which falls drop by drop into a hide placed underneath. This juice flows daily through, and in like manner is daily poured again upon the folds; and when the whole mass is thoroughly penetrated by the liquor, it will be necessary to roll the spiral folds daily back again from one cylinder to another. By this method, the lowest part of the tobacco nearest the first cylinder is transferred on the next to the surface, imbibes the juice equally, blackens, and grows rich like lard. To effect this, the translation from one cylinder to another, and the sprinkling of the tobacco, must be diligently continued for many weeks. The sweetness of the smell will mark the completion of the process. To prevent its drying, it must be kept in

a moist place, apart from every thing which might taint it with any other smell. Tobacco prepared in this manner is chopped by the Portuguese into small pieces, which they roast in a new pot placed on the hot coals, and stirring them with a round stick, reduce them to the finest powder—the future delight of every nose in Portugal.

Thus, though the trade in the herb of Paraguay, in tobacco, cotton, and sugar, and the abundance of different fruits, might offer to the colonists of Paraguay manifold opportunities of acquiring wealth, yet very few opulent men are to be found. They have many means of wealth, but still more impediments. From the very infancy of this province to the present time, bloody seditions, civil wars, contentions, and pernicious enmities to the royal governours and bishops, have miserably diminished the riches of the Spaniards. Add to this, that the savage Guaycurus, Lenguas, Mocobios, Tobas, Abipones, and Mbayas, wretchedly wasted the province with massacres and pillage, without leaving the miserable inhabitants a place to breathe in, or the means of resistance. To elude their designs, little fortlets are every where erected on the banks of the Paraguay, fitted up with a single cannon, which, being discharged whenever the savages come in sight, admonishes the

neighbours to fight or fly, according to circumstances. The fortlets not being very far distant from one another, the repeated explosions of guns quickly signifies the approach of an enemy descried from afar, to the metropolis itself. As this province is destitute of a regular soldiery, the settlers themselves are ordered sometimes to watch in these fortlets, sometimes to march against the savages. Being every year pressed for some months with the burdens of the militia, they are forced, during frequent and long absences, to neglect their substance, their families, their agriculture, and their commerce. In this you may see the chief origin of their poverty. Besides the equestrian savages, who is ignorant of the calamities brought upon this province by the barbarous Payaguas? These atrocious pirates, infesting the rivers Paraguay and Parana, had for many years been in the habit of intercepting Spanish vessels freighted with wares for the port of Buenos-Ayres, or conveying them from thence, and of massacring the crews. At length Raphael de la Moneda, the royal governour, repressed the audacity of these pirates, and after repeated successful excursions along the river, obliged them to crave a peace, of which their living quietly on the shore of the Paraguay within sight of the city of Asumpcion, was a principal condition. For many

years they have kept to the convention ; but no persuasions of the bishops, the governours, or the priests, could ever prevail upon them to embrace our religion. They are tall, and extremely muscular. The frightful appearance which nature has given them they increase with adscititious ornaments. In the under lip, which is perforated, they fix a long tube, sometimes of wood, sometimes of shining copper, reaching down to the breast. To the flap of one of their ears they tie the wing of a huge vulture. Their hair is stained with a purple juice, or with the blood of oxen. On their neck, their arms, and the calves of their legs, they wear strings of glass beads. They paint the whole body from head to foot with a variety of colours. The females, of every age, are decently covered with woollen garments woven by themselves. The males think themselves handsomely arrayed if they be elegantly painted; and formerly frequented both their own settlement, and the Spanish city and houses, in a state of complete nakedness; which being considered offensive to Christian decency by the governour Raphael de la Moneda, he provided that a quantity of coarse cotton should be distributed amongst the adult savages, with this edict, that if any of them thenceforth entered the city naked, he should be punished at the pillory in the market-place with fifty strokes. One

of them had brought fish to the house of a Spanish matron to sell, in exchange for which he received a fruit called *mandubi*. Having no sack to put them in, he held them in the bottom of his garment lifted up as high as the loins. On departing, when he had reached the door of the room, he began to think within himself that this mode of proceeding would be punished by the governour with a public whipping, if he should hear of it. Alarmed by this consideration, he returns to the matron, repeats the word *Moneda*, with his finger in a threatening attitude, and having let down the fore part of his garment, pours the fruit on the ground, puts them into the hind part, and joyfully carries them off; thinking that by this method he might walk through the market-place decently and unpunished. They use their own language, though, from their constant intercourse with the Spaniards, the majority can stammer a little Spanish and Guarany. They abound in nuptial, funeral, natal, and military rites, and in the absurdest superstitions. Their weapons are a bow and arrows, long spears, and a club; but their craft is more formidable than their arms. Each family has its canoe, a narrow one indeed, but very long. They are managed with a single oar, pointed at the end like a sword, and fly at the slightest impulse in any direction. Their

velocity is owing to their structure. The keel touches the water for little more than three palms in the middle; the remainder, towards the prow and poop, is curved like a bow, and rises out of the water. Both ends of the canoe are sharp alike, and either serves for poop or prow, as seems good. When the river is stormiest, they trust themselves and their families, without fear, to its waves. If ever the boat is upset by an unusually strong wave, which happens but seldom, the Payagua gets astride the boat, and thus pursues his way. How often, from the shore, have I beheld the Payagua struggling and laughing amid the foaming waves of the tumultuous river, and expected every moment to see him swallowed up by the eddying waters! They plunge into the lowest depths of the water, and after remaining under a surprising time, emerge at an immense distance, laden with fish. They have two sorts of canoes; the lesser for fishing and daily voyages, the larger for the uses of war. These latter will hold forty warriors. If their designs be against the Spaniards, many of them join together in one fleet, and are the more dangerous from their drawing so little water, which enables them to lurk within the shelter of the lesser rivers, or islands, till a favourable opportunity presents itself of pillaging laden vessels, or of disembarking and

attacking the colonies. These savages, though more like beasts than men in their outward appearance, do nevertheless in the contrivance of their designs discover amazing subtlety. For many years they continued to pillage the Spanish colonies, and all the ships that came in their way, from the city of Asumpcion, forty leagues southwards. To the cities of Asumpcion and Corrientes, to the vicinity of Buenos-Ayres, and to the Guarany and Spanish towns, I appeal as witnesses. Heaps of dead bodies, crowds of boys and girls driven away, houses reduced to ashes, wares, and all kinds of precious furniture carried off, and churches laid waste—these are the monuments of the barbarous ferocity of these pirates: documents of their deceit yet fresh in the memory of man, on my coming into Paraguay. Many tribes of Payaguas yet remain, who, though bound by no tie of friendship to the Spaniards, cause them no apprehension, because they live remote from the city of Asumpcion, on the northern parts of the Paraguay, and on the shores of the rivers flowing into it, which the Spaniards seldom visit. But the Portuguese who dwell in Cayaba are sometimes taken, and sometimes slain by Payaguas still practising piracy.

To the royal jurisdictions of Buenos-Ayres and Rio de la Plata, of Tucuman and Asumpcion,

must be added a region named Chaco. Its length is 300 leagues, its breadth 100. Tucuman, the region De las Charcas, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and the rivers De la Plata and Paraguay surround Chaco; on both sides it is bounded by the mountains which stretch from Cordoba to the Peruvian silver mines at the cities of Lipes and Potosi, thence to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and lastly to the lake Mamoré, where they terminate. This territory, throughout its whole extent, enjoys a salubrious climate, and a rich fertile soil. Here it gently swells into pleasant hillocks, there sinks into fertile vallies, affording rich pasturage to horses and cattle of all kinds. It is adorned with woods, and a variety of excellent trees. On the Peruvian side, stones and rocks that seem to threaten the skies, cover immense tracts of land. Towards the south, it is utterly destitute of stones, pebbles, or sand, though you dig to the depth of fourteen feet. Incredible multitudes of strange beasts, birds, amphibious animals, and fishes present themselves to the eye. Besides lakes and rivulets, the ground is watered by noble rivers, which overflow the banks and inundate the sloping plains to a great extent. The most considerable stream in Chaco is the Rio Grande, or Vermejo, which has its source in the Peruvian mountains, and is increased by the accession of many rivers, till it shortly be-

comes navigable for small ships. It flows down in a very deep channel, with the most rapid course; washes the cities of Guadalucazar and Concepcion, long since devastated by the savages, and at about thirty leagues distance from thence, mingles its waters with the Paraguay, a little before its junction with the Parana. The waters of the Rio Grande, which abound in fish, are pronounced by authors to be salubrious, especially to those who labour under a difficulty of urine, or any disease of the bladder. The second place to this river is occupied by the Pilcomayo, which also flows from the Peruvian mountains. The distance between it and the Rio Grande is reckoned at thirty leagues. It is not navigable at all times, nor in all places. Nearly eighty leagues from its junction with the Paraguay, it splits into two arms, forming an island of as many leagues in length. The first of these arms which flows into the Paraguay, within sight of Asumpcion, is called by the Guaranies *Araguaaỹ*, or the wise river; possibly because the greatest sagacity is requisite to effect its navigation. The whole island is annually flooded, so that both branches of the river coalescing into one channel, it must be attributed to fortune, rather than to skill, if any pilot pass over the opposing shallows, and the meanders of its waters in safety.

The other arm, which retains the name of *Pilcomayo*, unites with the Paraguay at about the distance of nine leagues to the south of Asumpcion. The waters of the Pilcomayo are, for the most part, extremely foul.

The Rio Salado derives its origin from the mountains of Salta. In sundry places it changes both its channel and its name. At first it is called Rio Arias, presently Rio Passage, and afterwards, in the neighbourhood of the castle de Val Buena, Rio Salado. Beyond the city of Santa Fè, it assumes the name of Coronda, and finally, under this name, loses itself in the mighty waters of the Parana. For a length of way, its waters are not only sweet, but very famous for their salubrity, which, however, tributary lakes and rivers corrupt with such filth and saltiness, that, for the space of many leagues, the very beasts refuse to touch it. It may be worth while to notice the origin of its saltiness. The neighbouring plains abound in the shrub *vidriera*, the ashes of which reduced to a calx are employed in the making of glass. The *vidriera* resembles the juniper; the berries are small and cylindrical, green, nearly transparent, and joined one with another, being in place both of boughs and leaves. If I remember rightly, it bears no fruit. The rain falling

upon these shrubs, contracts a saltness, and flowing down the country, communicates it to the lakes and streams, which enter rivers sweet at their source, and miserably taint them. The palm tree (*carandañ*) under which salt-petre is produced, has the same effect as the *vidriera*. But though the waters of the Rio Salado be salt, they are pellucid, and in the deepest parts the excellent fish, with which this river abounds, are perceptible at the bottom. Its channel is deep, and contained within narrow, though lofty and precipitous banks, through which it quietly flows, unnavigable, except near Santa Fè. Between the Salado and Dulce flows the rivulet Turugon, which, being girt with woods, even in the driest weather, affords plentiful and sweet waters to the traveller, as it is neither interrupted by shallows, nor tainted with salt. It is not far distant from the little Indian town Salabina. The Rio Dulce, which is the Nile of the territory of St. Iago, after proceeding a little southerly, overflows its banks, and is finally received by the lake of gourds (Laguna de los Porrongos) between Cordoba and Santa Fè. Not many leagues distant is the white lake, (Laguna Blanca,) where the Indians and Spaniards affirm that howlings, as of bulls, are heard in the dead of the night.

The rivers and streams of lesser note which

belong to Chaco, are the Centa, the Ocloyas, the Jujuy, the Sinancas, the Rio Negro, the Rio Verde, the Atopenra Lauate, the Rio Rey or Ychimaye, the Malabrigo or Neboque Latèl, the Inespin or Naraheguem, the Eleya, &c. ; who shall number them all, when they are almost innumerable, and often unnamed ? Most of these, after a long drought, become almost dry, a no uncommon occurrence in Chaco. You may often travel many leagues where not even a bird could discover a drop of water. On the other hand, when the sky is prodigal of its hoard, the brooks seem rivers, and the rivers seas, whole plains being inundated. During many journies of many weeks, when we had to contend with water, mud, and deep marshes, there was often not a palm of dry land where we could rest at night. The Spanish soldiers who were with me sometimes ascended high trees, and perching there, like birds, enjoyed some portion of rest during the night. Several of them lighted a fire there to heat their water. But the calamity was far more intolerable when we had to ride, without resting day or night, for many leagues, under a burning sun, before we reached a situation where we could obtain water for ourselves and our horses. At other places, you might traverse immense plains without seeing a twig to light a fire with.

Wherever you turn, you meet with an army of gnats, serpents, and noxious insects, besides lions, tigers, and other formidable wild beasts.

This is the face of the province called Chaco ! which the Spanish soldiers look upon as a theatre of misery, and the savages as their Palestine and Elysium. Hither the Indians fled, when the Spaniards first laid the yoke on the inhabitants of Peru. To escape the dreadful hands, nay the very sight of the Europeans, they betook themselves to the coverts of Chaco. For there they had mountains for observatories, trackless woods for fortifications, rivers and marshes for ditches, and plantations of fruit trees for storehouses ; and there a numerous population still eludes the attempts of the Spaniards. It appears very probable, that these lurking-places in Chaco were tenanted by indigenous tribes, prior to the arrival of the Spaniards ; and if so, it is indubitable that the new arriviers joined themselves to the natives, in the hope of security. Several tribes formerly existed in Chaco, but of these the names alone, or very slender relics remain. Of this number were the Calchaquis, formerly very numerous, famous for military ferocity, and hostile to the Spaniards. At present, a very few survive in a corner of the territory of Santa Fè, the rest having long since fallen victims to war, or the

small-pox. Nearly the same fate has swept away the equestrian tribes of the Malbalaes, Mataras, Palomos, Mogosnas, Orejones, Aquilotes, Churumates, Ojotades, Tanos, Quamalcas, &c. The equestrian nations remaining in Chaco, and still formidable to the Spaniards, are the Abipones, Natekebits, Tobas, Amokebits, Mocobios, Yapitalakas, or Zapitalakas, and Oekakakalots, Guaycurus, or Lenguas. The Mbayas dwelling on the eastern shore of the Paraguay call themselves Eyiguayegis, those on the western Quetiadegodis. The pedestrian tribes are the Lules, the Ysistines Foxistines, who speak the same language, to wit the Tonocotè, and have been, for the most part, converted by us, and settled in towns: the Homoampas, Vilelas, Chunipies, Yooks, Ocoles, and Pazaines, who are in great part Christians: the Mataguayos, whom we have so often attempted to civilize, but who always proved indocile: the Payaguas, the Guanas, and the Chiquitos. By the annual excursions of men of our order to the woods, savages speaking various languages, as the Zamucos, Caypotades, Ygaronos, &c. were added to the colonies of the Chiquitos.

The Chiriguanos, a nation very famous for number, fierceness and obstinacy, can scarcely, I think, be referred to Chaco, as the majority of them inhabit the territories of Tarija and Peru.

Their language, which is somewhat remarkable, is a dialect of the Guarany, very little corrupted. Tradition reports, that they formerly migrated from the southern shores of the Parana and the Paraguay, to these northern tracts of Peru, through fear of the vengeance which threatened them from the Portugueze, for having murdered their countryman Alexo Garzia. This cause of their migration some reject, and contend that near a hundred years before the murder of Alexo Garzia, they had been attacked, but not vanquished, by the Inca Yupangui. This is, at any rate, most certain, that the Chiriguanos, except a few who now profess Christianity, are, at this day, hostile to the Spaniards, and formidable to the whole neighbourhood far and wide.

I shall here cursorily mention the other nations yet remaining in Paraguay, without the limits of Chaco: the Guaranies, by far the most numerous of all, inhabiting thirty-two large towns, on the shores of the Parana, Paraguay, and Uruguay, and all of them sincerely attached to the King, and the Catholic Faith; as also the Ytatinguas, who occupy two colonies in the woods of Taruma. Other little towns, also, administered by secular Presbyters, or Franciscans, are inhabited by Christian Guaranies. The Tobatinguas, Tapes, and Caayguas, still

hidden in the coverts of woods, have assumed these names from the mountains, rivers, or forests which they tenant, but are in reality Guaranies, and use the Guarany tongue. The Guayaguis are a populous nation, entirely different from the Guaranies in language, customs, and fairness of complexion. They wander over the remote forests on the banks of the Mondaỹguazù. They leap from tree to tree, like monkeys, in search of honey, little birds, and other provision. Destitute of clothing and settled habitations, a timid race, they pass their lives without injuring any one. On the craggy rocks overhanging the river Tebiguary Miri, and the little city Villa Rica, dwells a race of savages, called by the Spaniards Guaycuruti, from the fairness of their faces; men tall of stature, and armed with a club, and arrows. Troops of these occasionally descend into the plain beneath their mountains, and with their missiles or clubs kill the mules and horses of the Spaniards, and cutting them into pieces, transport them on their shoulders, and feast most luxuriously upon them at home. When, therefore, this carnage of horses and mules had brought devastation on the Spanish estates, it was unanimously agreed to examine the lurking-places of the savages, and either lead them away captive, or cut them off by massacre. The expedition was weighty,

but brief. For on the very first day, some unaccountable panic induced them to return. To these horse-eaters I join the Indian man-eaters, who wander in the woods between the rivers Parana and Uruguay, as also on the shores of the Monday-guazù, and Acaray, constantly intent on the chase of men, whose flesh they infinitely prefer to that of any beast. They have been sought after by men of our order, often with great hardships, often at the peril of their lives, but always in vain. The extensive plains, the forest labyrinths, the difficult recesses of the Yguazu, Ygatimi, Carema, Curyi, Acaray, Monday, &c. abound in hives of wood Indians, who, though differently named, according to the places where they reside, may in general be referred to the Guarany nation.

Among the equestrian nations out of Chaco, the first place is held by the Guenoas, who reside between the rivers Uruguay and Plata, and the Pacific Ocean, without, however, having any fixed settlements. This very numerous nation comprehends the Charruas, the Yaros, Bohanes, Minoanes, and Costeros, all horsemen, and of the most barbarous manners. These savages, as dwelling nearest the Rio de la Plata, and being, as it were, the door-keepers of all Paraguay, have ever given the most trouble to the new arrivers from Spain, to whom they are

hostile in the highest degree. In 1750, the soldiers of Santa Fé, to revenge their frequent violation of the stipulated peace, surprized the perfidious Charruas, about morning, as they were sleeping in their tents. Many were slain, and the rest led into captivity with their families. On the western shore of the Parana, a village was built for them, about twenty leagues distant from the city, a priest given them to instruct them in religion and humanity, and a guard of soldiers added to secure his personal safety, and prevent their flight. The savages were chiefly supported by the flesh of wild horses, with which the neighbouring plains are overrun. Tamed by hunger and misery, the Charruas applied themselves to agriculture, and yielded conformity to their priest, who, fearing nothing farther for his own security, and that of the colony, desired that the soldiers might be removed, as he found their presence totally useless to himself, and extremely prejudicial to his proselytes. This good man, who was a Franciscan, knew that he should lose both cost and labour, if the Indians observed the manners and discourse of the soldiers incongruous with the precepts issued from the church. On the fear of hostile aggression, soldiers are sometimes sent from the city for the defence of a new colony; but we dreaded the coming of the soldiers;

more than that of the savages. For the former by their licentiousness do more harm to the women, than the savages could do to the colony with all their weapons. About the end of the last century, men of our order, by their eloquence and kindness, so far brought over the barbarous Yaros, who form a large part of the Quenoas, that, collected in a little town dedicated to St. Andrew, they suffered themselves, for some time, to be instructed in religion; but at the instigation of a certain famous juggler, they returned to their old haunts. Being asked the cause of their flight, "We don't like," said they, "to have a God who knows and sees all we do in secret. It is our fixed resolve and pleasure to enjoy our old liberty of thinking and acting as we like." The massacres committed by these worst of savages, in the territories of Corrientes, Santa Fé, and Monte-Video, alike exceed belief and calculation.

That immense plain which stretches out to the south west of Buenos-Ayres, is inhabited by equestrian savages. They have not all the same name or language. By the Spaniards they are either called Pampas,—dwellers in champaigne country; or Serranos,—mountaineers. From the Indians of Peru, they receive the general name of Aucas, to wit, enemies, or rebels. In reality, however, they

are divided into Puelches, Peguenches, Thuelchùs, (whom we call Patagonians,) Sanguelches, Muluches, and Araucanos, the masters of the Chili Alps. Horrible names!—but far more horrible are the dispositions, deeds, manners and opinions of those who bear them. The country tenanted by these savages stretches an hundred leagues from north to south—from east to west full two hundred; is almost destitute of wood and water, but abounds in wild animals. Multitudes of emus wander over these solitudes. The horse supplies them with food, clothes, lodging, bed, arms, medicine, thread, and what not? Of the hide they make their couch, clothing, boots, tents, saddles, and thongs which serve alike for bridle and weapons. The sinews of the horse they use instead of thread, for the purposes of sewing. They drink melted horse-fat, and wash their heads, first with the blood of these animals, and afterwards with water, in the idea of its strengthening them. They twist horse-hair into ropes. They are terribly addicted to drunkenness, and expend their whole property in purchasing brandy from the Spaniards. When I resided in Buenos-Ayres, to sell this pestilent liquor was a crime, the absolution of which was reserved for the Bishop alone. For a single flagon of brandy, the young maid is often sold by her parents as

a wife to some savage suitor. As soon as the first potation is prepared of the alfaroba mixed in water, they flock to their burying-places, not without many ceremonies, and sprinkling them with this beverage, utter the tenderest lamentations, for pity that those entombed beneath cannot enjoy their nectar. In war, these savages are extremely formidable to the neighbouring Spaniards. Fleet horses, a sword, a spear, and three stone balls covered with leather, and suspended from as many thongs, which they hurl with great dexterity, are their weapons, and weapons by no means to be despised.

The Southern savages, when wrought to the highest pitch of bitterness, leave their enemy, mutilated in both feet, and writhing on the ground, like a worm, to the tortures of a protracted death. This is their most familiar threat, when angry. Those whom they despatch at a single blow, they think kindly and humanely treated. Actuated by an irrational kind of pity, they are wont to bury their dying ere the breath has left them, to shorten their pains. At other times, when they see a man struggling in the agonies of death, they paint him with various colours, and adorn him with blue beads. They compose the corpse in such a manner, that the knees touch the face. His

horses, ornamented with small copper bells, glass beads, and emu feathers, they lead round the tent of the deceased, for a certain number of times, after which they kill them. The same fate awaits his dogs. The bodies of the horses are fastened to the grave with stakes, from which are suspended many coloured garments. They believe that the souls both of men and emus inhabit subterraneous tents. See! what multitudes of nations are yet remaining in Paraguay! numerous others, moreover, whose names exist alone in histories and maps, have perished long since from various causes. Of this number are the Caracaras, Hastores, Ohomàs, Timbus, Caracoas, Napigues, Agazes, Itapurus, Urtuezes, Perabazones, Frentones, Aguilotes, &c.

In this place we may add, that within the ample confines of Paraguay, there is scarce known a single nation upon which the Jesuits have not bestowed their labours, and for which, whenever it was permitted, a colony was not founded. Above all, the nation of the Guaranies, though never to be vanquished by the arms of the Europeans, evinced such docility and obedience to the instructions of the Jesuits, and such submission to God and the Spanish monarchy, as could neither be gained nor expected from the other Americans. The Guaranies owe it to the exceeding benevolence of the

Spanish Kings, that they have ever sent them Jesuits from Europe to teach them religion, that they have liberally supported them, that the annual tribute exacted from them has been lightened, and that they have protected them against envy and calumny by their royal letters. No time can erase the memory of such benefits. No one, however, will deny that the Spaniards, on the other hand, owe much to the Guaranies educated under our discipline. They have been partakers in all the wars which the Spaniards have waged in Paraguay against foreign or domestic foes, and have had a great share of all their victories. Again and again have all the Indian nations secretly conspired to the destruction of the Spaniards. And doubtless so great a number of rebels must ultimately have triumphed over so small a band as the Spaniards, had not our Guaranies, embracing the royal party, strenuously opposed the arms and purposes of its opponents. From one instance which I shall produce, you may judge of the rest.

In the years 1665 and 1666, the Indians almost universally harboured designs of expelling the Spaniards from the whole province. Already were the torches of sedition and tumult scattered in every corner of Paraguay. The royal Governour Alphonso Sarmiento, alarmed by these rumours, hastened from Asumpcion,

with a little band of soldiers, to the town of Arecaya, about sixty leagues distant, situate on the banks of the Yeyuy; a place of the inhabitants of which he entertained some suspicions. The greater part of them were in a state of slavery to private Spaniards, and but little content with their lot. Pretending friendship, however, they received the Governour with honour, and he, suspecting no turbulence for the present, took up his quarters on the skirts of the town, in huts of boughs and straw. In the dead of the night the Indians surprized the Spaniards with every species of weapon, and cast fire upon their huts. Some of the Spaniards were slain and more wounded; most of their clothes were burnt, their gunpowder was exploded, and some of their guns were taken by the enemy. In the trepidation excited, the soldiers betook themselves to the neighbouring church, where they thought for a little while to remain in safety. But destitute of meat and drink they must have perished of thirst and famine. The holy water was converted into a remedy for their thirst. The enemy blockading the walls, they had no opportunity of escape, no means of obtaining provision. At last, the danger of the Governour and his comrades being told to the Guarany Ytatinguas in St. Ignacio and Nuestra Señora Santa Fè, Father Quesa, who

presided over both these colonies, set out immediately with about two hundred of his Indian horsemen, in the view of assisting the Governour. After travelling incessantly for twenty-four hours, they entered Arecaya, where the Indian rebels were slain or taken prisoners by the Christian Guaranies, and the Spaniards brought forth to freedom and security. Out of the company of Guaranies three horsemen were chosen to carry the Governour's letters to Asumpcion, in which he informed them of what had happened, and what steps must be taken for his own safety and that of the province. The court of Madrid was immediately apprized of the fidelity and zeal of the Guaranies, whom the Catholic King honoured with gracious letters, which are still preserved in the register of Nuestra Señora a Santa Fè. It appears from sufficient authority that a sedition raised by factious and warlike nations, with a view to the destruction of all the Spaniards, would have broken out had they not stood in awe of the strength and immutable fidelity of the Guarany nation towards the King. On this very account they were exposed to the hatred of the savages hostile to the Catholic King. The Guaycurus for many years harassed these two towns of the Ytatinguas, and compelled them, at length, to exchange their station for one surrounded by the

rivers Parana and Paraguay, where yet remain the posterity of those who aided the Spaniards endangered in Arecaya.

Concerning the ten towns of the Chiquitos I have spoken before. These Indians, formidable from their warlike courage and mortally poisoned arrows, whenever commanded by the royal Governours have uniformly proved brave and faithful fellow-soldiers to the Spaniards against the savages, and even against the Portuguese. Less in point of number, but highly consequential to the tranquillity of the whole province, have been the four cities of the Abipones, the two of Mocobios, one of Tobas, and another of Mbayas, warlike and equestrian nations. To these add the pedestrian nations, the Lules, Vilelas, Chiriguanos, Chunipies, Homoampas, &c. converted by us to the Roman rites and discipline in their own colonies. In language, manners, and religious observances, they differ amongst themselves; they are all, however, attached to agriculture.

Very many Indian towns have long since ceased to exist, sometimes from the inconstancy of the Indians sighing for their native land, sometimes from the malevolence, the avarice, or inertness of the Europeans. Father Joseph Labrador is my authority, that seventy-three towns of various Indians perished in the pro-

vince of Chaco. In the present age, by much labour of the Jesuits, three towns have arisen, at an immense expense, for the southern savages, the inhabitants of the Magellanic territory, all dedicated to the most holy mother of God. The first, named Concepcion, is inhabited by the Pampas, and acted as a defence to the inhabitants of Buenos-Ayres against the incursions of the savages. The rulers of the newly-built town, Father Matthias Strobl from the province of Austria, and Manuel Querini, a Venetian of noble family, were men of distinguished piety, prudence, and fortitude. Both Fathers possessed singular dexterity in managing the minds of the Indians. The neighbourhood of the city, and of the Spanish estates, where there was plenty of spirit and of bad example, incredibly retarded the conversion of the savages to a better way of life. The Serranos and Patagonians, who came backwards and forwards to visit the Pampas, won by the kindness of the Father, and taken by the conveniences of life which the inhabitants of the colonies enjoyed, began earnestly to desire a little town of this sort in their native soil. Their wishes were immediately gratified. Fathers Falconer and Cardiel, the one an Englishman of great skill in medicine, the other a Spaniard, and a man of an

ardent and intrepid mind, travelled to their savage wildernesses, and having felt the pulse of the people, looked about for an opportune situation, wherein to establish the intended colony. At length the town was built, and the Caciques Marike and Tschuan Tuya, with four-and-twenty hordesmen belonging to them, settled therein; it was named Nuestra Señora del Pilar. To govern this colony, Father Matthias Strobl, who knew a little of those languages, was removed thither by the mandate of the Superior. Though daily vicissitudes occurred, yet hopes of the happiest progress shone through them. But an unforeseen event almost proved fatal to the new raised colony. Thus it was: a murder happening to be committed in the territory of Buenos-Ayres, soldiers were sent by the Governour to detect the assassins. Cacique Yahati, a Serrano, accompanied by fifteen persons of both sexes, in travelling to the city, fell in with the soldiers, and without any foundation for the conjecture, was carried off on the suspicion of this murder, and kept closely confined in prison with his people in the city. With how incensed a mind the inhabitants of the town bore so great an injury done to their countryman, of whose innocence they felt assured, can scarcely be expressed. The life of Father Matthias Strobl was placed

in the most imminent danger. Cacique Marike, who, though blind in both eyes, possessed the greatest authority among them, was immediately delegated by the infuriated people to make the just demand of their captive's liberty from the Spanish Governour, and to declare instant war, in the name of the whole nation, against the Spaniards if he should refuse. This threat filled Joseph Andonaegui with distracting cares, conscious, as he was, of the slender forces he had to oppose to so numerous a foe. The examination of the murder being resumed, and the witnesses being heard again and again, the innocence of the imprisoned Cacique at length appeared, some credible Spaniards asserting, that at the very time when the murder was committed he was engaged in a certain shop in the city. Which being proved, after a causeless captivity of four months, they were immediately granted their liberty and the power of returning to their friends by the equitable Governour. These things fell out on my third visit to Buenos-Ayres, about the beginning of the year 1748. Through an Indian interpreter I had a good deal of conversation with the blind Cacique Marike, and on my playing to him in my chamber, on the viol d'amour, he took such a liking to me, that he earnestly entreated me to go to their colony, as an assistant to Father

Matthias Strobl, who was growing aged. Both my feet, I confess, itched for the journey; I answered, however, "Pleased indeed should I be to mount my horse, and accompany you to the Magellanic lands. But men of our profession cannot go where we will, except we be sent by the command of our captain, (the provincial.)" "Where, pray, does your captain dwell?" eagerly inquired Marike. "In this very house," returned I. On hearing this he immediately caused himself to be led into our provincial's chamber, and with importunate but vain entreaties, begged me for his companion. The provincial replied, that I was now appointed to another station, but promised to send me in two years to his colony, and the provincial would have stood to his promise, had not my labours been needed amongst the Abipones.

On the departure of the captives from Buenos Ayres, the town was restored to its former tranquillity, and shortly after increased by new supplies of Patagonians. For these a single town was prepared, four leagues distant, and named Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados. The government of it was committed to Father Lorenzo Balda of Pampeluna, and to Father Augustino Vilert a Catalan. Three of the Patagonian Caciques, with eighty of their hordes-

men, occupied this colony. A horde consists of three or four families, sometimes of more. Each family generally numbers four, five, and often more heads; for the Patagonians have many children, and polygamy is very common amongst them. They are docile beyond all the other southern tribes, and make less opposition to baptism, but I cannot commend the young men of this nation either for honesty or modesty. Scarce any commerce is carried on between the Spaniards and Patagonians. From a nation so populous, so tractable, and of so gentle a disposition, great accessions were reasonably expected to Christianity, but Satan confounded all these fair hopes. Cangapol, the potentate of that region, long beheld these Christian colonies with gloomy and envious eyes. Through them he thought that friendships would be formed with the Spaniards, the freedom of the southern nations endangered, and his own power in these parts gradually diminished, and ultimately suppressed. Hence he turned his whole heart and thoughts to hastening the destruction of the new town, and the banishment of the Fathers who taught the strange religion. In order to effect these purposes, as many savages as possible were associated in a contract of arms, and an expedition was at length undertaken. Matthias Strobl, being made acquainted

with the route and immense number of the enemy, made a timely request by letter, to the Governour, for military succours from Buenos-Ayres, which city promised seventy provincial horsemen, but never supplied one. Thus having suffered a repulse from the Spaniards, whose interest it chiefly was to maintain these towns, by flying with his people, the Father eluded the enemy—eluded since he could not subdue. The towns, their flocks, and their herds were left. The neophytes and catechumens, all who were sincere in religion and friendly to the Spaniards, fled with the Fathers to the city of Concepcion. But this colony being daily harassed by hostile incursions, and but lazily defended by the Spanish guards, was entirely deserted on the 3d of February, 1753, a severe loss to the city. For the savages being now at full liberty to ravage where they would, the estates for two leagues distant from the city were presently left destitute of their guards, and the lands around the village of Magdalen, famous for large crops of wheat, of their cultivators, both having fled to safer quarters. In the city itself the most disgraceful trepidations often arose, sometimes from real danger, at others from the suspicion alone of an enemy. In the circumjacent estates and plains very many were despoiled of their substance, their cattle, and

their life, by the assaulting savages. The light-armed cavalry, who were commanded to keep watch in the country and repress the enemy, suffered repeated losses. Waggons laden with silver from Peru, were often despoiled of their treasures, the soldiers who guarded and transported them being miserably butchered. The same savages have often proved fatal, always formidable, to the inhabitants of Barragan, a bay of the Rio de la Plata, where vessels are often drawn out and refitted. Those who went southward in great numbers for salt to the salt-pits, were sometimes slain to a man. Then at length the Spaniards perceived the utility of the southern colonies, after they had irrecoverably lost them. That so many thousand Indians who dwell in the southern parts, should be buried together in their darkness, is indeed a reflexion worthy of regret. Who will not deplore the infinite miseries of the Jesuits, who laboured for many years upon this people, the hardships of their journeys, their want of necessaries, the daily perils that threatened their lives, and the greatness of their labours,—labours almost fruitless, except indeed their sending to Heaven a considerable number of infants, baptized before their death, as also not a few adults? At first, before oxen and sheep were sent for their subsistence, the Fathers lived on

horse-flesh, the daily food of those Indians. Father Thomas Falconer, who wandered over all the plains with his Indians to kill horse-flesh, having no plate of pewter or wood, always, in place thereof, made use of his hat, which grew at length so greasy, that it was devoured whilst he slept by the wild dogs with which the plains are over-run. Father Matthias Strobl's hut being set on fire by some villain or other, and the straw roof being already in flames, he would doubtless himself have perished, had he not been awakened from his deep sleep, by one who continued faithful to him, and rescued him from the conflagration. The town of Concepcion was situated in $322^{\circ} 20'$ longitude, and in latitude $36^{\circ} 20'$; that of Nuestra Señora del Pilar was distant from Concepcion seventy leagues to the south west; from Buenos-Ayres full an hundred and ten leagues; from the town of Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados only four.

Nor must you think that the care of taming and instructing the southern nations has been neglected till our time. This business was taken up by the Catholic kings, and us Jesuits, in the last century. Every method was vainly tried to unite them to Christ and the Catholic King. Omitting the rest, Fathers Nicholas Mascardi and Joseph Quilelmo, indefatigable

teachers of the holy religion in that place, were murdered by their cruel, unmanageable disciples. Nothing daunted by the ferocity thus manifested in the savages, our companions, both of Chili and of Paraguay, left no stone unturned to enlighten these uttermost corners of South America with the torch of the gospel; but the attempt was ever vain and unrewarded, save by the immortal glory which their apostolic magnanimity and fortitude gained them. In the year 1745, a ship was despatched by Philip the Fifth from Cadiz to Paraguay, for the purpose of inspecting the shores of Magellan, and the neighbouring land. If any post or commodious station offered itself, it was to be fortified against an enemy. If they discovered the quarters of any savages, a colony and religious instruction were to be awarded them. Three Jesuits, therefore, were destined by the King for this perilous expedition. Father Joseph Quiroga, Father Joseph Cardiel, and Father Matthias Strobl. From the military guard of the city of Monte-Video, twenty-five soldiers were chosen for the defence of the ship and the crew. They weighed anchor in the port of Monte-Video, on the 17th of December, 1745, and set out with prosperous gales and minds full of hope.

Whatever land or water came within his observation, was diligently explored, and carefully

noted in the journal of the voyage by Father Quiroga, who, in a boat, examined the harbour, the rivers, the lakes, the depth or shallowness of the water, the sandbanks, and the rocks between them; in short, every thing dangerous or favourable to the navigation of the Spaniards. Fathers Strobl and Cardiel, meantime, taking a divided route, on foot, in various directions, attended by a certain number of soldiers, traversed the plains remote from the shore, and accurately examined their nature, and whether any sign of human habitation, or convenience for the same appeared, often ascending the steepest mountains with this view. Not unfrequently they receded many leagues from the shores, in the hope of finding Indians. Father Strobl, after having proceeded four leagues without seeing a man, or any sign of man's habitation, abandoned all hope, and sent a soldier to tell Father Cardiel, who had travelled many leagues, and was quite spent with so much walking, that he thought it highly imprudent to prosecute the journey they had begun—that they might not probably fall in with a numerous troop of savage horse, by whom they, a few wearied footmen, would undoubtedly be all cut to pieces—that he had himself long wished to fall in the cause of religion, but that he neither could nor

would place the lives of others in such peril—and that even were they free from this danger, and were no enemy to meet them, yet, as their provisions were already consumed, if they prosecuted their journey, both themselves and their companions must perish of hunger. Father Cardiel however, always intrepid, dissuaded the return, urging that the habitations of the savages must be near, principally on this ground, that he saw a whitish dog barking at his men, but which soon after ran away, hastening, as might be believed, to his master. In spite of these arguments, both Fathers returned with their companions to the ship. There the matter being prudently discussed, and all the officers consulted, it was finally resolved that Father Cardiel, at his earnest desire, should be permitted to repeat the journey, on this condition, that he should set out with four and thirty men, soldiers as well as sailors, who were willing to follow him of their own accord, and with provisions sufficient to last them eight days. The journey was begun on the 20th of February, and each day they travelled about eight leagues. For the most part, they walked in a narrow and almost obliterated path of the Indians. Drinkable water was every where at hand. Except emus, and a few huanacos, no beasts were any where seen. On the fourth day of their jour-

ney, about evening, they perceived a high hill, from the top of which they beheld a plain, entirely destitute of grass and trees. They all thought the cold of the night air intolerable; for though shrubs were at hand to supply their fires, yet when the side nearest to it grew warm, the other, being exposed to the most piercing wind, seemed frozen. Amidst all this cold, the courage of the soldiers daily inflamed more and more, but their bodies were observed sensibly to fail and break down. Their shoes being worn by the roughness of the roads, many of them crept along with naked, and not a few with wounded feet. Father Cardiel too was first afflicted with nephritic pains, and afterwards with such a debility in his feet, that he could not advance a step without crutches. With all this, however, the ardent desire of discovering the habitations of the savages never cooled. But their provisions, which were destined for an eight days' journey, being now, after five days, in great measure consumed, they were obliged to hasten back again to the ship. One effect however was produced by this calamitous journey—it was now finally determined, by ocular demonstration, that the hordes of the savages were at a great distance from the sea; and that immense tracts of land bordering upon the shore were uninhabitable, as destitute either of

fresh water, grass, or trees, or of all together ; so much so at least, that, except a few emus and huanacos, you could find scarce any sort of beast. All things, therefore, having been considered, since there was no opportunity of erecting a colony for the Indians, or a fortress for the Spaniards, they unanimously resolved upon a return; to be conducted, however, in such a way, that they should repeatedly disembark and explore those places they were obliged to pass by in coming. At length, on the 4th day of April, about sun-set, they cast anchor in the port of Buenos-Ayres. The journal which Quiroga had made of the shore and harbours, soon after printed and published at Madrid, with plates of whatever seemed remarkable, will be of the highest use to Spaniards hereafter in navigating this turbulent sea. I may here add, that Father Joseph Cardiel, not having discovered the savages of the coast of Magellan, either in his naval or his pedestrian journey, set out on horseback in search of them, with a few companions. But their pains were as fruitless as before. After wandering much and long over these solitary plains, and consuming all the provisions he had brought with him, he was reduced to such straits as to be obliged to feed on grass, unless he preferred dying of emptiness, the extremity of which obliged him to return to

Buenos-Ayres, his business left unfinished, but himself, for his signal fortitude, his magnanimity, and apostolic ardour, truly deserving of honour and imitation.

In the year 1765, a large merchant-ship freighted to the value of some millions, destined to Callao, a harbour of Lima, was stranded and lost off the island of Terra del Fuego. The crew fortunately escaped, and reached the island in a boat, the ship gradually foundering. Part of the provision, the cannon, and other necessaries for supporting life, were providently got out of the leaking vessel. A hill, neighbouring to the sea, was occupied by the shipwrecked Spaniards, and fortified by I don't know how many cannon. These being discharged, a troop of the Indian inhabitants was seen advancing from afar. They were entirely naked, and each kept rubbing his belly with his hands. On a second explosion, they all fell on the ground, still continuing, however, to rub their bellies. This ridiculous action of the savages the Spaniards were in doubt whether to construe into a sign of friendship, or of hostility. As no one understood their language, they were invited by gentle tones, friendly nods, and little gifts displayed to them, till at length they approached the station of the Spaniards, still rubbing their bellies without intermission.

Which custom surprizing the Spaniards, they now call them *Rascabarrigas*, or the belly-rubbers. To conciliate the minds of the islanders, elegant weapons, food, and various other little gifts were offered them; except, however, some strings of glass beads, nothing was accepted by the savages, who feared some fraud from the strangers. They were, however, peaceable and quiet, so that the Spaniards mixed amongst them, without fear of injury or hostile designs, and solicitous only respecting the means and opportunity of sailing back to their friends. It was resolved to build a vessel after their own model, sufficient for the number of the shipwrecked. Trees adapted for ship-building abounded in this island, nor did they want workmen or carpenters' tools. The Indians themselves faithfully indicated the places which supplied the hardest and largest wood, and with more good-will than usefulness assisted the Spaniards in cutting and sawing the beams; but after three or four strokes of the axe, or lifts of the saw, they retired fatigued, being utterly unaccustomed to labour. The Spaniards, however, longing to revisit their native soil, made up for the deficiencies of the Indians, by their own sedulity. And now when every thing was ready and prepared, iron nails were wanted to fasten the joints of the

ship. But the sea, bringing up various chests from the foundered ship with the tide, one was found amongst them full of the requisite nails, a circumstance looked upon by all as a signal favour of Providence. Some of the tackling, which they had prudently taken from the lost ship, proved of great service. With these aids the finishing stroke was put to the little vessel, in which, after a prosperous voyage of about a thousand leagues, they arrived safe at the harbour of Monte-Video. All this which I have written on the shipwreck and navigation of the Spaniards was related to me in the city of Santa Fé, by an old Biscayan, builder of the foundered ship, companion of all their perils, and architect of the vessel constructed in the island. In the year 1788, when with my companions I was awaiting my passage to Europe, at Buenos-Ayres, a ship set sail from that port, for Terra del Fuego, with two priests, who being liberally provided with every thing from the royal treasury, were ordered to establish a settlement in that island, and to teach the natives religion. But not long after, they returned to Buenos-Ayres in the same ship, without effecting their business. What was done, or attempted, and what was the occasion of their hasty return, I know not: but I heard the groans of the noble Spaniards, who

earnestly desired the Jesuits for this momentous expedition : they, however, were recalled, God knows why, that same year to Europe. In succeeding years the Spaniards have wished to subdue and instruct that island, which lies near to the Maloine islands, in south lat. $51^{\circ} 30'$, and west long. $60^{\circ} 50'$ from the meridian of Paris. This isle, named from St. Maló, a town of Bretany, was taken possession of with the labour and expense of Louis Antoine de Bourgainville, then colonel of foot, and of Messieurs de Nerville and de Arboulin, his relatives, and in the year 1763, or more probably 1764, delivered to some loyal and industrious families of Nova Scotia, to be civilized. Three years after, to wit in 1767, it was sold for eighty thousand Spanish crowns to the Catholic King Charles, who thought that this colony of strangers, as neighbouring to the provinces of Peru and Chili, so rich in gold and silver, might prove dangerous to his monarchy, in case of war, and cause a disunion between the Spanish and French monarchies. The French families being transported to Europe, their places were supplied, for the most part, by Spanish convicts, scarce one of whom did not prefer a prison, or speedy death, to the constant and lasting calamities of this province. Philip Ruiz Puente, of the king's war ship *La Liebre*, who brought out

new settlers, warlike implements, and provisions, was appointed to the government. He was accompanied by another ship of war, *La Esmeralda*, commanded by Matteo Callao.— This captain, returning in the same, from the Maloine islands, to Monte-Video, transported me, with one hundred and fifty of my associates, back to Europe. We had with us the Frenchman Nerville, who had just discharged the government of that unhappy island ; from him, as well as from the Spaniards employed there, I learnt most of what I have written on this subject.

On sufficient grounds have I bestowed the epithet unhappy on an island, which is, nevertheless, by some Frenchmen pronounced equal to the Fortunate Islands: and no wonder, for do we not always cry up the goods we want to sell? Attend to what I have learnt on good authority, respecting the island of St. Maló. It was never habitable either by Indians, or beasts, so destitute is it of every thing pertaining to the support of life. Rushes instead of trees, moss instead of grass, marsh and mud for earth, cold always the most severe for air, and night almost perpetual, with darkness and clouds, instead of sun, are what it offers to the new inhabitants. The longest day lasts but a very few hours. From its propinquity to the antarctic pole, it generally rages with furious

south winds, whirlwinds, and tempests. The frost, joined to almost perpetual snow, is on this account the more intolerable, because throughout the whole island, which is far from extensive, there is not wood sufficient to make a fire, or build a hut, unless it be brought from Terra del Fuego, which cannot be done without danger. The goats which the French had brought, either from the want of pasture, or the noxious qualities thereof, soon perished. The corn, from the ooze of the soil, never attained maturity, the stalk being always stunted, and the ear seldom formed at all. Hence, the European supplies being now consumed, frequent famine was added to their other miseries. Provision was afforded them by the water-fowl called by the English, Penguins. In place of bread, powder and shot were given to the Spanish soldiers and others to shoot birds with. These, though at the coming of the French exceedingly numerous, yet partly from being constantly shot, partly from being scared away, were so diminished, that the succeeding Spaniards were deprived of this solitary benefit of that most sterile island. Nevertheless, it must be confessed, that this island, though calamitous to its inhabitants, is of service to the Spaniards, as affording a refuge to vessels in distress, an harbour capable of containing a moderate fleet, and con-

venience for procuring water. The places open to the attack and ascent of an enemy, were fortified by a mound and a tier of cannon. Antonio Catani, then colonel of foot, commanded the small garrison. But in discoursing on the devastated cities of Paraguay, I have suffered myself to be carried away into the lands of Magellan. Let me now return to the straight road.

To record every Indian town which has been overturned in Paraguay, and the causes and periods of the fall of each, were a task of infinite time and labour. It appears on record that upwards of four hundred towns, which formerly stood around Guadalcazar, a city of Tucuman now destroyed, utterly perished. Within the limits of the cities Cordoba, Rioja, St. Iago, St. Miguel of Tucuman, Corrientes, and Asumpcion, I might almost say that innumerable colonies have fallen to the ground. Those which remain are mere shadows of towns, consisting of a few miserable inhabitants—miserable, for they are slaves to Spanish individuals. Before I relate the devastation of many of our Guarany towns by the Mamalukes, inhabitants of Brazil, allow me to make a few premises. The soldiers, fresh arriving from Spain, subdued the lands and nations bordering on the Parana and Paraguay only: as for those more remote, they did not want courage to explore them, but means. Not

a few of the Guaranies were enlightened by the torch of the Gospel, chiefly by the Franciscan Fathers, and, if circumstances permitted, placed in colonies. St. Francisco Solano and Lewis Bolaños were famous for their apostolic expeditions in that age; but the want of associates like themselves, and of successors, rendered them unequal to the harvest which lay before them; and infinite was the number of Guaranies which lurked within the coverts of the woods and shores—a multitude hostile, on every opportunity, to the Spaniards, then few in number. In 1610, Ferdinand Arias, the governor both of Buenos-Ayres and Asumpcion, marched out with numerous forces against the Guaranies inhabiting the banks of the Uruguay, but alarmed by their numbers and ferocity, returned to the city. Not by the fire-vomiting arms of soldiers, but by the sweet eloquence of the Fathers, by love, not by fear, were the Guaranies vanquished. In the same year, Father Marcello Lorenzana, a Spaniard, and master of our college at Asumpcion, at length prevailed upon the Guaranies who wandered between the Paraguay and Parana, to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, in the large town which he had built for them, under the illustrious name of St. Ignatius Loyola. Near about the same time, Fathers Giuseppe Cataldino and Simone Maz-

zeta, Italians, Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, an American Spaniard, and their successors, in after years, Roque Gonzalez, a Spaniard of Paraguay, Pedro Romero, Diego Boroa, &c. all Jesuits, explored the province of Guayra, as also those forest and mountain coverts toward the river Uruguay, which had proved inaccessible to the Spanish soldiery, where they discovered many thousands of Guaranies, who were assembled in colonies, and brought over to God and the Catholic King.

These rapid progresses in the Christian cause have been miserably retarded by the Mamelukes from Brazil, a bordering country, and principally from St. Paulo. The Mamelukes are a set of people born of Portugueze, Dutch, French, Italians and Germans, and Brazilian women, celebrated for skill in shooting and robbing, ready for any daring enterprize, and thence distinguished by the foreign name of Mamalukes: for it was their constant custom to carry off the Indians, led by the Fathers into the freedom of the children of God, into the hardest slavery. By their incursions, repeated for a number of years, they overthrew the towns of Asumpcion in *Yeyuỹ*, of Todos Santos in Caarõ, of the holy Apostles in Caazapaguazù, of St. Christopher on the opposite side of the *Ygaỹ*, of St. Joachim in the same place, of Santa

Barbara, on the western bank of the Paraguay, and of St. Carlos in Caapi. The Guarany inhabitants of these colonies, with the exception of a few who escaped by flight, were led away to Brazil, chained and corded, in herds, like cattle, and there condemned to perpetual labour in the working of sugar, mandioc, cotton, mines, and tobacco. The sucking babes were torn from the bosoms of their mothers, and cruelly dashed upon the ground by the way. All whom disease or age had rendered imbecile were either cut down or shot, as being unequal to the daily march. Others, in sound health, were often thrown by night into trenches prepared for them, lest they should take advantage of the darkness, and flee. Many perished by the way, either from hunger or the hardships of a journey protracted for many leagues. In this hunting of the Indians, they sometimes employed open violence, sometimes craft, equally inhuman in both. They generally rushed into the town in a long file, when the people were assembled in the church at divine service, and, blocking up every street and corner, left the wretched inhabitants no way of escape. They frequently disguised themselves as Jesuits, wearing rosaries, crosses and a black gown, and collected companies of Indians in the woods. Many towns that were liable to the treacherous hostilities of the

Mamalukes, such as Loretto, St. Ignatius, &c. were removed to safer places, by a journey of many months, and with incredible labour, both of the Fathers and of the Indians. Nor did the Mamalukes spare our colonies of the Chiquitos and Moxos, nor others in the lands of the Spaniards, which were administered both by the secular and regular clergy. The Indian towns settled on the banks of the Yeyuỹ, in Curuquati, and many others, were entirely destroyed by the Mamalukes. The same fate attended Xerez, Guayra, (Ciudad real,) Villarica, &c. cities of the Spaniards. Who can describe all the devastation committed in Paraguay? Hear what is said on this subject in the collection of *Lettres Curieuses et Edifiantes*:—"It is asserted," say they, "that in the space of one hundred and thirty years, two millions of Indians were slain, or carried into captivity by the Mamalukes of Brazil; and that more than one thousand leagues of country, as far as the river Amazon, was stripped of inhabitants. It appears from authentic letters, (sent by the Catholic King — in the year 1639, 16th Sept.) that in five years three hundred thousand Paraguayrian Indians were carried away into Brazil." Pedro de Avila, Governour of Buenos-Ayres, declared that Indians were openly sold, in his sight, by the inhabitants of the town of St. Paulo, at Rio

Janeiro; and that six hundred thousand Indians were sold, in this town alone, from the year 1628 to the year 1630.

But this their rapacity did not always remain unpunished; for, after the Guaranies were permitted by the King to carry fire-arms, they were frequently repulsed, and chastised with bloody slaughters. Memorable above the rest, was that victory which four thousand Guarany neophytes obtained at the river Mborore over a numerous flotilla of Brazilian banditti. Four hundred of the inhabitants of St. Paulo were present, in three hundred barks, with two thousand seven hundred of their allies the Tupies, the most ferocious savages in Brazil. The Guaranies, headed by Ignacio Abiazù, a chief of their nation, went to meet the enemy in five ships, and firing the cannon upon them, overturned three of their boats, many of the Brazilians being either killed or wounded. Most of them, terrified at this unexpected salutation, leaped from their boats on to the shore, and despairing of success in a naval fight, assaulted the army of Guaranies in the rear by surprize; but were bravely repulsed on every side, and partly slain: and indeed they would all have been massacred, had not night put an end to the fight and the victory. Next day they pursued the remnant of the enemy through the wood with such

success, that the very few who remained alive, forsaking their camps and their boats, hastened home in great trepidation, and covered with wounds. Three only of the victorious Guaranies were slain about the beginning of the conflict, and forty wounded. This event rendered the men of St. Paulo afraid of the emboldened Guaranies. Peace and security were restored to their towns, and Christianity, which the perpetual incursions of the Mamalukes had not only disturbed, but almost banished, was every where greatly forwarded.

Nor should you imagine, that these things, relating to the Brazilians, are calumniously represented or exaggerated by Spanish writers. The Most Faithful King Joseph I. himself confesses, in a decree issued on the 6th of July, in the year 1755, and inserted into the new code of Portuguese laws, that many millions of Indians were destroyed, and that, at the present time, very few Brazilian towns remain, and equally few inhabitants. He adds, that this was occasioned by the depriving the Indians of their liberty, contrary to the laws of Portugal. He declares the Indians free, orders the captives to be set at liberty, &c. Likewise other pious kings of Spain and Portugal, his predecessors, prohibited all robbery, sale, oppression, and persecution of the Indians whatsoever, under **the**

severest penalties, by repeated laws. Many governours of provinces urged, but rarely brought about the observance of these decrees. For innumerable persons, who profit by the captivity and services of the Indians, care more about riches than about conscience and honour. The barbarity of these men towards the Indians was pourtrayed in lively and faithful colours by the Jesuit Father Antonio Vieyra, who preached on this subject at the Court of Lisbon, in the year 1662, when his persecutors had turned him out of the province of Maranham, on account of his defending the liberty of the Indians.

As the royal laws were disregarded in Brazil, in order to eradicate this abominable custom of enslaving and ill-treating the Indians, the King found it necessary to have recourse to the threats and penalties of the Pope. Paul III., Urban VIII. and Benedict XIV. threatened to excommunicate all who should presume, in the words of the Roman Court, to reduce the Indians to a state of servitude; to sell, buy, exchange, or give them away; to separate them from their wives and children, or in any way whatsoever to deprive them of their liberty, or retain them in servitude; or to do the aforesaid under any pretext whatsoever of lending them counsel, aid, favour, or service; or to declare, or teach it to be lawful so to do, or to effect it in any way whatsoever.

All this was prohibited, under pain of excommunication, in favour of all the Indians then dwelling in the provinces of Brazil and Paraguay, and at the river Plata, as well as in all other regions both of the western and southern Indies. The Pontifical and Royal letters against the oppression of the Indians were intended also to correct and intimidate the Spaniards, who, though they had formerly been less eager in captivating the Indians, were accustomed nevertheless to make use of them as slaves, in opposition to the commands of the king. It is incredible how wickedly they strove to disturb the colonies of the Chiquitos and other savages, because they feared that no Indians would be left in the woods for them to take and sell. For from this traffic of the Indians many thousands of crowns were yearly collected; but on account of it the savages were forcibly deterred from embracing religion, perceiving that, if they became Christians, and the friends of the Spaniards, they must be eternally enslaved and miserable.

The Spanish historians complain that the Indians were hardly treated and oppressed with labour by their masters, in many cities of Paraguay. The Indians, wearied with miseries, returned, whenever they could, to the ancient recesses of their forests. The Lules, who had formerly been baptized by St. Francisco So-

lano, and cruelly enslaved by the inhabitants of the city Esteco, fled to the woods which they had formerly inhabited; from whence the Jesuit Father Antonio Machoni, a Sardinian, brought them back, and with incredible labour civilized them in Valle Buena, and they have remained to this day in the town of St. Estevan. The warlike Calchaquis, deserting their Spanish masters, and scorning miserable servitude, returned to the caves of their native land, whence sallying forth, they afflicted Tucuman with frequent and bloody slaughters. The citizens of Concepcion, on the banks of the river Bermejo, were all destroyed by the Indians whom intolerable slavery had exasperated. The Jesuits, whilst, intent upon disseminating religion, they endeavoured to vindicate the liberty of the Indians, were often punished with exile, often with calumny and abuse, by those who had their own private interest more at heart than the augmentation of religion, or of the royal authority. The Indian towns, the inhabitants of which were subjected to private individuals, named Encomenderos, have long since been reduced, as I said, to such wretchedness, that they rather seemed shadows of towns, than the reality: whilst, on the other hand, the thirty-two towns of the Guaranies, ten of the Chiquitos, and smaller ones of other nations, the inhabitants of which were subject

only to the Catholic Monarch, continually increased in population, and always remained and flourished under our discipline. I do not pretend to say that Paraguay and Brazil were at all times utterly destitute of Portuguese and Spaniards who paid strict obedience to the laws, who execrated the avarice and cruelty of their countrymen in regard to the Indians, and left no stone unturned to restore and protect their liberty, and to aid the progress of religion. But alas! those few with grief beheld themselves unable to correct a multitude of barbarians. Ability, not inclination was wanting.

Some mention has been made of the rivers which flow through Chaco: yet much remains to be said of the Parana, the chief and receptacle of them all, which at Buenos-Ayres obtains the splendid but inappropriate title of La Plata. Historians have made many mistakes respecting the source of this river, and the origin of its name. For they think that La Plata takes its rise chiefly from the Paraguay, and that this latter comes from the lake Xarayes. But in both these conjectures they are wide of the mark. For the river La Plata is in reality the vast Parana, enriched in its course by the Paraguay, Uruguay, and innumerable other streams. From its distant source, as far as the Pacific Ocean, it is invariably distinguished by the

Guarany natives with the name of Parana, which word signifies something akin to, or resembling the sea.

In the year 1509, Juan Diaz de Solis, sailing from Europe, discovered the river Parana, and gave it his own name, Solis. In the year 1527, Sebastian Cabot and Diego Garcia called it the Silver River, Rio de la Plata, because they found among the Indians dwelling near it some plates of silver, brought from Peru by the Portugueze, and robbed from them, but suspected by the Spaniards to have been taken out of the bosom or shores of this river. But after nearly three centuries had elapsed, no silver had yet been discovered there. This river, which, though destitute of silver, is perhaps the greatest in the world, retains to this day the name of the Parana, which it received at its rise. It first bears the name of La Plata at the river Las Conchas, six leagues distant from Buenos-Ayres, where appears a remarkable rock, La Punta Gorda, a little beyond which place, on the western shore, it absorbs the Uruguay, which has already received the waters of the Rio Negro. By which means, the Parana is augmented to such a degree, that at Las Conchas it is ten leagues in width. Hence vessels that have sailed through the Paraguay and Parana rest here as in port, and are here unloaded, and

loaded afresh before their return. For those small vessels which are sent from the cities of Asumpcion and Corrientes and from the Guarany towns, could not safely proceed farther.

The source of the river Parana has afforded as much matter of controversy as the native city of Homer. The Spaniards who first went to subdue Paraguay, after travelling for the space of full five hundred leagues, either on the stream itself, or on its banks, are said never to have been able to arrive at its source. The Brazilian Indians think the Parana originates in an immense lake arising from the Peruvian mountains, perhaps that called Lauricocha, near the Guanuco, about the 11th degree of latitude. Others, with more appearance of probability, derive the river Amazon from the lake above-mentioned, though the Indians insist upon it that the Amazon and the Parana both proceed from the same source. But who would pay any attention to what the Indians say? Many rivers flowing from the Peruvian mountains vary their course every now and then, and are mingled one with another: now who, amid such a labyrinth of streams, could so exactly distinguish the Parana from the rest as to leave no room for doubt? It has been ascertained that this river, in its various turnings and windings, travels more than eight hundred leagues before it disgorges itself

into the sea, by a huge mouth. In this long journey it receives the waters of many rivers and innumerable brooks. Who can enumerate this crowd of confluent streams? I will mention the principal ones which occur to my memory, following its course from lands situate between north and south.

On the western shore the Parana receives the waters of the *Ygayrỹ*, the *Ymuncina*, the *Monicỹ*, the *Amambaỹ*, the *Ygatimỹ*, navigable to middle-sized vessels, the *Ygureỹ*, the *Yguairỹ*, the *Acaraỹ*, a noble river, as large as, perhaps larger than the Danube at Vienna. For on the shore itself I measured it to be full six fathoms deep, and that not during the time of inundation. It flows in a very wide channel, but so quietly that you can hardly hear it. It is joined on the way by thirty rivers of various sizes, and would certainly be navigable to large ships, were it not impeded by rocks, which might perhaps be removed could the Spaniards be brought to perceive the advantages of its navigation. For the herb of Paraguay, which abounds in the woods near its banks, might be transported along this river to the Parana, and thence to the city of Buenos-Ayres, with a great saving both of time and expense. But they are blind to these advantages. The *Mondaỹ*, which springs from the Tarumensian woods, near the

town of St. Joachim, and afterwards other moderate-sized rivers, such as the Yhu, the Tarumaỹ, the Yuguirỹ, the Guirahemguaỹ, the Cambay, &c. augment it to such a degree that it becomes navigable to larger kinds of skiffs and boats—the Caapivarỹ, the Aguapeỹ, which has a narrow but very deep channel, and is dangerous to swimmers by reason of its water monsters, (the Yaguaro, a kind of water tiger, often devours horses and mules as they are swimming in this river)—the Atingỹ. All these, which I have mentioned, are of lesser note; they are quite ignoble streams. But now listen attentively whilst I give you some description of the place where the city Corrientes is situated and which lies in lat. $27^{\circ} 43'$ and in long. $318^{\circ} 57'$. You must know that the great Paraguay, swelled by the waters of so many rivers which it has received in its progress, here becomes the prey of the greater Parana, and, at the same time, loses the name it has hitherto borne. For that vast body of water formed by the junction of both rivers is never called the Paraguay but always the Parana, because the former brings a far greater quantity of water than the latter. But though both rivers flow within the same banks and in the same channel, the limpid Parana, scorning the muddy waters of the Paraguay, for some time refuses to mix entirely

with it. It is certain that, about three miles apart, you may perceive the waters to be different both in colour and taste. The Parana, which, a little before, flowed westerly, following the Paraguay, changes its course, hastening towards the sea, the mother of streams. However you may despise this conjecture, it seems to me to possess some probability. In the country of St. Iago del Estero, the rivers Dulce and Salado have frequently changed their channel on this very account, and the same has been the case with regard to some other rivers. In the city of St. Iago, St. Francisco Solano built a dwelling-house, and a handsome church, for his companions, in such a manner that the door of it did not look toward the market-place of the city, but towards the plain. The brothers not approving of this plan, the architect Solano, who was famous for the gift of prophecy, bade them wait a little, saying, that what they now desired, in ignorance of the future, would some day really happen. Some years after, the river Dulce, which washes the city, changed its channel. The city was forced to be changed also, which being done, the door of the church fronted the market-place, as it does at this day. The event verified the prediction, which the native Spaniards related to me when I was there. But let us now return to the Parana.

The eastern shore of it is, in great measure, steep and stony; the western shore, on the contrary, is low, muddy, and subject to floods. All that part of this province which looks towards the west, beyond the Parana, abounds in immense trees of various kinds, (fit for building ships and waggons,) in fertile pastures and tracts of land, now sinking into plains, now rising into gentle hills; yet you can scarce ever meet with a situation fit for human habitations or fixed towns, either from the superfluity or deficiency of water, or, which comes to the same thing, the saltness and bitterness of it; for if you build a colony on the shores of the Parana, it will be inundated with water on the next flood, extending for two leagues beyond: if you remove it two or three leagues from the shore, both the inhabitants and the beasts will perish of thirst.

The rivers of lesser note, and more uncertain duration, which unite with the Parana, after its junction with the Paraguay, are the rivers Negro, Verde, Blanco, Rubeo, the Rio de Gomez, the Atopenra-lauatè, or the place of Capibaris, the Alcaray, the Cayman, the Embalzado, the Rio del Rey, called by the Abipones Ychimaye, the Malabrigo, called by the Abipones Neboquelatèl, the Eleya, the Saladillo, the Inespin, called by the Abipones, Narahaguem, the Rio de Martin, the Salado, the Carcaranal, the

Tortugas, or river of tortoises, the Matanza, the Rio de los Arrecifes, the Areco, the Lujan, the Rio de las Conchas. We have now reached the port where vessels, coming from the east or west of Paraguay, are in danger; for here the Parana, swelled by the accession of so many rivers; and by that of the vast Uruguay, and the equally vast Rio Negro, takes the appearance of a sea. But just as the Parana does really show itself akin to the sea, it suddenly receives the name of La Plata. What is the reason of this? Has it any silver in its bosom or on its shores? Nothing is to be found there but mud. However, as Scipio received the title of Africanus, from having devastated Africa, by the same right may the Parana be called La Plata from the Peruvian silver which it has often swallowed up, along with the ships that contained it. Here the river is ten leagues wide, yet, not content with its own magnitude, it joins with itself the other ignobler streams which flow towards the west. The most noted of them is that by the Spaniards called Riachuelo.

The more considerable rivers which join the Parana, on the eastern side, beginning at the north, are the Añembỹ, the Parana-panè, the Guitaỹ, the Iguazu, flowing from Brazil, by which the Mamalukes formerly came to plunder the Guaranies. This river is of no inconsiderable

size, and will bear tolerably large vessels. Four leagues from the bank of the Parana you meet with a cataract thirty ells high, from which the river falls headlong, with a frightful noise, and such a foam proceeds from it that the thick vapour, covering the place like a cloud, may be seen at four leagues distance. As this cataract is utterly impassable, navigators travel by land, for some time, and drag their boats along with their hands. Three leagues from the cataract the river is only one league in width. The Ybiraytỹ, the Yabebirỹ, which flows past the Guarany towns of St. Ignatius-miri, and Nuestra Señora de Loretto, is narrow but very deep, the St. Ambrose, the Rio de los Astores and the Rio de Sta. Lucia. Through these last-mentioned rivers we have often known those cruel pirates the Payaguas come to plunder the estates of the Spaniards, and slay the inhabitants. The Corrientes, a moderate-sized river, which rises from the neighbouring lake Yberà, formerly called Lago de los Caracaras, said to be about four miles in length, but of inconsiderable and varying breadth. Many islands which it contains, are chosen at this time by Indian run-aways, as places of concealment; and we learn that, in the last century, they were inhabited by the Caracara Indians who proved very formidable, and almost invincible, to the Spaniards.

However, at the command of the Governour of Buenos-Ayres, a party of our Guaranies, under Juan de Garay, happily attacked and conquered them, most of the enemies being either slain or taken captive after an obstinate defence of all the islands. These are the names of the other rivers which join the Parana. The Guanguilarò, the Espinosa, the Alcaràz, the Hernand Arias, the Pardia, the Rio de los Charruas and the Pacu. But all those streams are of lesser importance. *Jam paulò majora canamus.*

We have now arrived at the place where the Uruguay, a river of the first magnitude, submits to the Parana. It rises in the mountains of Brazil, between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth degrees of latitude, in the Captaincy of St. Vicente, (according to Bourgainville,) and flows for the space of full two hundred leagues; the rocks and cataracts with which it is here and there impeded render navigation extremely difficult, even to middle-sized skiffs. The largest of all the cataracts blocks up the whole river at the Guarany town Yapeyù, and denies a passage to skiffs coming from the port of Buenos-Ayres, so that the sailors are obliged to carry them on their shoulders by land, in order that they may proceed on their journey. It is proper in this place to describe that kind of vessel in use amongst the Uruguayan Indians,

and which in the Spanish language is called *balsa*. Two very large boats, sometimes seventy feet long, are firmly joined together with cross-planks, and over them they strew reeds carefully matted by way of a pavement. In the midst a little reed hut is erected, covered with bulls' hides to defend it from the inclemencies of the weather. Oars, not sails, are made use of, both in going up and down the stream, with more security than despatch. There is, moreover, need of many rowers; in all directions you meet with islands rich in palms, citrons, peaches and various other trees, but which abound likewise in tigers, serpents and other wild animals either dangerous, or fit for food. The immense rocks, of which these cataracts are composed, being blasted, were indeed hurled aloft into the air, but falling back again into the river, obstructed the passage of even the smallest vessels. Thus remedies are often worse than the disease itself.

The most considerable rivers which flow into the Uruguay on the western shore are the Yapuracà, the Piguirỹ, or Pepirỹ, the Guanumbacà, the Acaranà, the Mborore, much celebrated for the victory I related to you gained by the Guaranies over the Mamalukes, the Aguapeỹ, the Mirinaỹ, flowing from the lake Ybera, the Vaccaretâ, the Timboỹ, the Gualeguayỹ, the Rio de

los Topes, the Yaguarỹ-guazù. All these rivers are joined in their course by lesser streams. The Uruguay receives, on the east, the waters of the Uruguay-miri, the Uruguay-pità, or the little, and red Uruguay, the Yribobà, the Rio St. Juan, the Nũcorà, the Yaguarapè, the Yyuỹ, the Piritinỹ, the Ycabagua, the Mbutuy, the Toropỹ, after its junction with the Ybicuỹ, the Guaraỹ, the Tebiguarỹ, the Lechiguana, the Rio San Salvador. In this neighbourhood, the Rio Negro, famed for the excellence and abundance of its waters, enters the Uruguay a little before that river unites with the Parana, at La Punta Gorda. From such a number of uniting streams you may arrive at an idea of the magnitude of the Uruguay.

I must now discourse upon the Paraguay, from which the Parana receives its chief augmentation. The origin of this river has occasioned as great a dispute as that of the Parana. It is, however, now established beyond all doubt, that those persons who have written that this river comes out of the lake Xarayes are quite mistaken. This ancient and universal error, with good leave of Bourgainville be it spoken, did not originate in the Jesuit geographers, but was brought into Europe by the Spaniards who first subdued Paraguay, and has in the present age been detected: for it is

certain that the Spaniards their successors have sailed on the river Paraguay sixty leagues beyond that lake, which proves that we must seek for the source of it in the more distant mountains situated towards the north-east. Some have thought that it proceeds from the fabulous lake Del Dorado. Bourgainville asserts that the Paraguay takes its rise between the fifteenth and sixteenth degrees of north latitude, at almost an equal distance from the North and South Seas. This opinion of the Frenchman I willingly leave to be examined by the later Portuguese who have dwelt there. However this may be, it has been clearly ascertained that the Paraguay does not take its rise from the lake Xarayes, as such a lake exists no where but in geographical charts; for that collection of waters which is sometimes seen is not the parent of the river Paraguay, but the offspring of it. This I boldly affirm on the authority of Father Joseph Sanchez Labrador, a curious naturalist, who repeatedly traversed both banks of the Paraguay, and by them arrived at the towns of the Chiquitos. The Chiquito town dedicated to St. Xavier is situated more towards the north than the rest, lying, as the same Sanchez observed, in the 16th degree of latitude, and the 313th degree of longitude. The town of Corazon de Jesus, situated in the

16th degree of latitude, and the 319th degree of longitude, lies nearest the shores of the river Paraguay, one hundred and ninety leagues distant from the city of Asumpcion. Now let geographers hear what the oft commended Sanchez declares to be his opinion respecting that imaginary lake Xarayes, and the fabulous island De los Orejones.

“The Paraguay,” says he, “collected into one channel, for some time flows to the north, but presently separates into three branches, one of which the Indians call Paraguay-miñi, that is little Paraguay, and the other two Paraguay-guazù, or great Paraguay. These three branches of the river are swelled by the usual floods, and, overflowing their banks, inundate the plain country for the space of two hundred leagues. European strangers have mistaken this frequent inundation, this collection of waters, which generally lasts for some time, for a permanent lake. In the midst of this imaginary lake they placed an island called De los Orejones, to which they give thirty leagues of length and ten of breadth, such being the degree of space occupied by the Parana when it overflows. This was called the Island of Paradise by the Spaniards who first conquered Paraguay, for there they rested for a short time after their mighty labours. Neither the Portugueze, who inhabit Cuyaba and Matto

Grosso, neighbouring places, nor the more recent Spaniards, nor the native Indians, were acquainted with any such lake." These are the arguments made use of by Sanchez, who was better acquainted with the controverted territories than any other person, and consequently, in my opinion, most worthy of credit, to prove the non-existence of the lake Xarayes and its island. Europeans travelling in unknown America are frequently deceived; they mistake an assemblage of waters caused by many months' rain for a river, or a constant lake, whereas it only proceeds from an immense flood created by continual showers, or by the melting of the snow on the Peruvian mountains.

The principal rivers, with the waters of which the Paraguay is enriched, join it on the western shore: the Jaurù, which flows into the Paraguay in $16^{\circ} 29'$ of south latitude, and $320^{\circ} 10'$ of longitude from the island of Ferro; the Mandiỹ beneath the site of the feigned lake Xarayes; the Rio Verde; the Yabebirỹ; the Pilcomayo, which falls into the Paraguay in two branches some leagues apart; the Timbò, a very large river, formed of two other lesser streams in the place called La Herradura, and diametrically opposite to the river Tebiguary, which is at the other bank of the Paraguay. Here I founded the Abiponian colony of San Carlos. The Rio

Grande, or Vermejo, enters the Paraguay before its junction with the Parana. On the eastern shore, beginning at the north, the Paraguay is joined by the river De los Porrudos, which had before received the waters of the Cuyaba, the name of a Portugueze town, and to which also the rivers Cuchipò-guazù, Cuchipò-miri, and Manso had previously united themselves. Lower down the river Taguarỹ, augmented by the waters of the Camapuâ, enters the Paraguay by three mouths, which are formed by intervening lands. Through these and other rivers the Portugueze sail in boats to their colonies Cuyabà, and Matto Grosso, where they gather little bits of gold out of the sand, with no inconsiderable profit. In Camapuâ, an intermediate place, Andreas Alvarez, a Portugueze, took up his residence with a number of negro slaves, and supplied the Portugueze, who travelled backwards and forwards, with provisions, waggons, and other necessaries from the produce of his land. The following are the names of the rest of the rivers: the Mboteteỹ, in the land of the Guarany Ytatinguas, for whom the Jesuits formerly founded two colonies in this place; the Ygarỹpe, the Mboymboỹ, the Tareytỹ, the Guaycuruỹ, on the banks of which the Guaycurus settled, and where they remain to this day; the Corrientes, the

Mbaerỹ, the Ypane-guazù, formerly the Guarambarè, the Yeyuỹ, navigable to large boats, impeded by many rocks, and augmented by many rivers, the most important of which is the Caapivary, which mingles its waters with the Yeyuỹ, about twenty leagues before that river enters the Paraguay. The shores of the Yeyuỹ, and of the Caapivary, are surrounded by immense woods, nurseries of the herb of Paraguay, a vast quantity of which is carried from the town Curuguati to the city of Asumpcion, by the other Spanish inhabitants. But let us proceed. The Paraguay receives into itself the following streams: the Tobatỹ, the Caa-nabê, and the Tebiguarỹ, navigable to middle-sized vessels. By the accession of so many, and such considerable tributary streams, the Paraguay is increased to such a size, that the old Spaniards used to sail through it to the city of Asumpcion, and even more distant places, in the same ships which had borne them on the Ocean, from the port of Cadiz. At this time no one dares attempt that, for fear of being wrecked, for this river swells to such a breadth, that you often cannot see either bank, as on the sea. It is intersected by many islands, and abounds in rocks, shallows, and quicksands. It is dangerous to sail on it without a pilot, called Pratico, well acquainted

with the river, who must be hired to go before the ship in a boat, and sound the depth every now and then. At night you must rest in a safe situation, and anxiously seek port on an approaching storm. But alas! spite of every art that can be exerted, vessels often stick in shoals, and quicksands, out of which they must be taken on the shoulders of the sailors, or, with the assistance of a skiff, in great part unloaded. For many persons, through greediness of gain, load their vessels with so much merchandise, that you can scarce see two palms of wood above the water, in consequence of which, if the wind blows violently, they are swallowed up in the waves. This river is likewise rendered dangerous by two whirlpools—places where, even when there is no wind, the water twists into circles, and forms, in the centre, a whirlpool, which sucks up whatever comes near it; but it may be passed without danger, unless the sailors are extremely stupid. There is more danger in various other places, where the river hurries along like lightning, and dashes vessels upon rocks or shallows. In sailing against the stream, oars alone will not suffice; sails must be made use of likewise. From these things you may judge that the navigation of this river can never be effected without danger, and reasonable alarm.

I must now speak of the cataract of this river, which is called by the Spaniards *El Salto Grande*, and occurs about the 24th deg. of lat. and 325th of long., near the ruined city of *Guayrà*. I myself never saw it: I shall, therefore, describe this prodigy of nature in the words of Father *Diego Rançonier*, a Fleming, who gave a most accurate description of it in the name of the Jesuit Father *Nicolas Duran*, then Provincial of Paraguay, in his annals of Paraguay, dated Rome, in the year 1626. “Amongst all the things,” says he, “capable of exciting admiration in these provinces, this cataract easily obtains the first place; and indeed I know not whether the whole terraqueous globe contains any thing more wonderful. The river precipitates itself, with the utmost violence, down an immensely high rock, twelve leagues in descent, and dashes, in its downward course, against huge rocks of horrible form, from which the waters, being reverberated, leap up to a great height, and as the channel is in many places intersected, on account of the exceeding roughness of the rocks, the waters are separated into various paths, and then meet together again, causing stupendous whirlpools. In other places also, the waters, leaping down, rush into the rocks themselves, and are concealed from the view: then, after having remained hidden for

some time, again break forth, as if they had sprung from various fountains, and swallow up vast masses of rocks. Lastly, so great is the violence of the waters in the descent of the stream, that, during the whole course of twelve leagues, they are covered by a perpetual foam, which, reflecting the rays of the sun, dazzles the eyes of beholders with its brightness. Also the sound of the water, falling down and dashing against the rocks, may easily be heard at four leagues distance. This rough descent being ended, the water seems inclined to rest on the bottom, in smoother ground. For it often stagnates there by day, but almost every hour a loud noise arises, from some hidden cause, and the water leaps up to the height of many cubits. Fish of immense size are seen there: and Father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, then missionary of the Guarany nation, in Guayra, declares that he saw a fish, as big as an ox, swimming on the river, with only half his body above water. Nor is this incredible; for when I visited the Guarany Reductions," (he means the new colonies of Indians,) "they wrote me word that an Indian had been swallowed by a river-fish of this kind, and afterwards ejected whole on to the bank."

Between the Guarany town De la Candelaria, and the city Corrientes, the Parana throws in

the way of navigators another smaller rapid, full of projecting rocks. I have no doubt that in the long course of the Parana, there lurks many a hidden whirlpool; the credibility of which opinion I will endeavour to prove to you, by relating a recent event. In the year 1756, whilst I was residing in the town of Loretto, a number of Guaranies began to sail in boats up the river Parana, to gather the herb of Paraguay in distant woods. When they had got a very few leagues beyond the town of Cuerpo de Cristo, all perished, except one man, the announcer of this unfortunate catastrophe. "About noon," said he, "they briskly rowed the boat to the sound of pipes and drums. The sky was serene, the air tranquil, the river placid, when suddenly the prow of the ship was lifted straight upright, like a pillar, and the poop proportionably lowered; but it fell back into its former situation, and put an end to the sudden terror excited, but not to the danger. For soon after the prow was again elevated by some hidden impulse, and the ship and all the sailors were swallowed up in a moment." One alone escaped, as I told you, by swimming, and announced the sad fate of his companions. We know the fact, but are ignorant of the cause. Almost every body agreed with me in attributing it to a hidden whirlpool, which had re-

mained till then undiscovered in this frequented river. Often in vast rivers, and still oftener in the wide ocean, places destructive to ships are discovered, which had, for many ages, escaped the observation of skilful navigators.

The Parana abounds in innumerable islands of various sizes. It often demolishes the old, and creates new ones. For the annual floods heap up the sands, which are liberally supplied with seeds of willows wafted thither by the wind; these soon take root and quickly grow up with the aid of abundant moisture. Wait a little, and you will see the island covered with willows, other trees, and turf, and haunted by birds, wild beasts, and amphibious animals. Other islands are gradually destroyed by the violence of the waves; we have seen some of them sunk under water, others rocked like a ship by the wind and the waves, and borne up and down till they are dissolved and swallowed up. The most considerable islands are Martin Garzia, Las dos Hermanas, the Island of St. Gabriel, La Isla de Flores, and La Isla de Lobos. The Parana overflows twice every year. The greater flood generally commences in the summer month December, continues during the whole of January, and sometimes does not subside till the end of February. The lesser begins about the middle of June, and lasts thirty

days. In both floods all the islands, some of which are three leagues in extent, are so entirely covered that the tops of the very highest trees are alone visible.

Tigers and stags like those of our country, which are very numerous, come out upon the shores. When the river is not contained within its very high banks, it spreads to the space of many leagues. I remember sailing near the town of St. Ferdinand, in a ship, amid palm trees, on the plain which, at other times, I used to gallop over on horseback. The waters of the Parana are muddy; but if suffered to settle in a pitcher, not unwholesome for the natives of the town; though in strangers, they occasion diarrhœa, which proved fatal to fourteen of my companions, whilst we were awaiting an opportunity of sailing to Europe, in the city of Buenos-Ayres, whither we had assembled from different parts of the province. I, also, was confined to my bed, and placed in extreme danger by it. The tide of the sea spreads full a hundred leagues up the Parana, especially when the south wind blows violently; but its waters are fresh about six leagues from the mouth of the sea.

The Parana, now distinguished by the unmerited appellation of La Plata, has five havens for sea-vessels; but perfect security is to be

found in neither of them. Ships rest in the port of Buenos-Ayres, three leagues from land, exposed to all winds and storms. The south wind, which rages most in those parts, threatens immediate destruction, unless the anchors and cables be very strong and firm. Long, light ships, called Lanchas, which are much used in this river, draw to land by the river Riachuelo, when it is augmented by the tide; for when the sea ebbs, it is too shallow to bear those vessels. Colonia do Sacramento, which lies on the eastern shore, opposite to the city Buenos-Ayres, and almost fifteen leagues distant from it, (for such the width of the river is reckoned to be,) affords a safer station for vessels, and one nearer to land, being somewhat defended against the wind by high banks on one side, and on the other by the neighbouring island of St. Gabriel, though this very circumstance of the island's being so near, as well as the hidden rocks, are great causes for apprehension, because mournfully signalized by not a few shipwrecks. The best, and, to say truth, the only port on the same shore, is that of Monte-Video, which is situated thirty leagues distant from the colony, and as many from the sea, and is commodiously defended by artillery, and by a castle which contains five hundred guards. This bay, which is about one league

and a half long from the port, and almost circular, is protected against all winds, except the south, which is very formidable here, by high shores, and by a lofty mountain visible at eight leagues distance. It is also navigable to ships of war. The little island of rabbits, La Isla de los Conejos, occupies the port. The castle of the place is so small, considering the immense sums expended upon it by the court of Madrid, that it rather deserves the name of a castlet. The island Maldonado, about nine leagues distant from the mouth of the sea, and about as many from Monte-Video, betwixt La Isla dos Lobos, and La Isla de Flores, affords a convenient situation to ships of every size, and a defence against the S. E. wind. The Governour, Pedro Ceballos, fortified this bay as well as he could with new works. Men skilled in these matters have declared it as their opinion that this post is excellently well situated, and might be made very important to the security of the province, if nature were assisted by art. On the opposite shore, towards the west, the bay Barragan, twelve leagues distant from Buenos-Ayres, affords an opportunity for repairing ships, but little security for them. For it is every where surrounded by low banks, and lies exposed to all winds. The entrance itself is not devoid of danger. The harbour is indeed

of wide extent, but, being rather shallow, the larger ships remain two leagues from land. The place has no fortifications of any kind, consisting of a very few wretched huts of hides and rushes.

As the river La Plata has but a few ports, and those not very safe ones, it consequently threatens navigators with an hundred dangers, on account of the sand-banks, and shoals which occur here and there. The most remarkable of these are two named El Banco Ingles, and El Banco Ortiz; both of which are many leagues both in length and in breadth. The danger is increased by some hidden rocks near La Isla dos Lobos, and La Isla de Flores, and still more by huge crags in the neighbourhood of the port of Monte-Video, called Las Carretas de Monte-Video, which are the more dangerous on account of their being less easy to be seen. If the pilot is not thoroughly acquainted with the river, or if he neglects to make frequent use of the sounding-line, a shipwreck is inevitable. The vessel will either be buried amid high heaps of sand, or will spring a leak from being dashed against the rocks. This may the more certainly be expected, if the river be so much disturbed by a strong south wind, as to render it impossible to make any use of the rudder; for during a tempest the waves rise

mountains high, and the violence of them is incredible. Three or four anchors will scarce hold a ship at such times. Matteo Callao, an experienced man, captain of a war-ship named *La Esmeralda*, when he brought us back to Spain from *Monte-Video*, was often heard to exclaim in the river *Plata*, "Let me only get clear of this devil, and I shall think myself already at the port of *Cadiz*." Who would not have been terror-struck at the remembrance of so many vessels which had recently perished there? That very ship in which we sailed from *Lisbon* had nearly been added to the number of those unfortunate ones. I will relate the affair as briefly as possible.

In Portugal, a Brazilian mulatto was hired at a great price by *Feliciano Velho*, the captain of the ship, because he professed himself well acquainted with the river *La Plata*, though he was, in reality, extremely ignorant. At the entrance of the river the captain, *Joseph Carvalho de Pereira*, according to custom, committed the entire management of the ship to this man; but more ignorant than a brute, he made a dangerous error at the very threshold. He took the ship to such a distance from the east shore, which it ought to have kept in sight, that nothing but water and sky was to be seen. On perceiving which, "Holloa!" exclaimed the

captain, “ you will lose my ship before the sun sets !” This sudden speech proved prophetic : for leaning over the side of the vessel at about two o’clock in the afternoon, I observed that the water in a certain place was unusually disturbed, and suspecting the truth of the matter, disclosed the circumstance to the captain, who, ascending a mast as quick as possible, perceived that we were steering directly towards the English Shoal, and immediately ordered the prow of the ship to be turned towards the east : for that repercussion of the waters arose, as I suspected, from the neighbouring quicksands. About evening we cast anchor in very shallow water, so that the ship hardly floated at all. After sun-set there came on a furious tempest. While the sky bellowed with thunder, a violent south wind raised huge billows in the river, and created much alarm lest the ship, which was fastened to a muddy bottom with a very bad anchor, should be either dashed upon the rocks of La Isla de Flores on one side, or upon the English Shoal on the other ; for the former were on our left, and the latter on our right, at no great distance. Consequently, the sailors were forced to toil day and night in pulling away the anchors and strengthening the cables. This formidable storm lasted two days. On St. Stephen’s day, about noon, the captain thought fit to remove from this dangerous neighbour-

hood. But after a few moments sail we were suddenly forced to cast anchor, for, by the sounding-line, sands were discovered to be close at hand.

We learnt from the Spaniards, who came by night in a skiff from Monte-Video to spy us, that we were in a dangerous situation, and near to the rocks named Las Carretas de Monte-Video. We all vainly wished for some one from the port, well acquainted with the river, to show us the way. They said there was no skiff for such a person to make use of, but that a Portugueze captain was going next day to the port of Colonia, and that this man might go before us in a skiff and conduct our ship. Him we expected next day to show us the way; but as he did not make his appearance, being probably afraid of the stormy wind, we pursued our journey, blindly wandering up and down. Thinking that we had now left behind us the shoal named El Ortiz, we sailed, even at night, without suspicion of danger. But, alas! the greatest danger is in security. About day-break the ship stuck so fast upon those very shoals from which we thought ourselves long since escaped, that for two days no industry or nautical skill was sufficient to remove it from that place. On the second night there arose a most violent tempest. The poop remained im-

moveable, being thrust into the sand, whilst the other parts of the ship were tost about with such violence, that it seemed every moment as if the joints of the planks would be loosened. About the same time a strong south wind, accompanied with continual thunder, drove such a force of water from the sea into the river Plata, that early in the morning the ship was extricated from that abyss of sands, and floated once again. Carried by the same wind, now favourable to us, we entered the port of Colonia, in safety, next day about noon. After remaining there for two days, and being much tossed about, we were removed to the city of Buenos-Ayres. In crossing this river, which is about fifteen leagues wide, many of us endured more apprehension, and felt more sickness, than in the whole ocean. For want of a better, we went in a skiff, which age had rendered rotten, worm-eaten, and ruinous. Scarcely did one part adhere to the other. The fury of the raging wind increased our fear and our danger, for as it blew against us, our sails were too much bent, and one whole side of the skiff lay under water. But all this was nothing. We gave ourselves up for lost when the rudder was thrust into the sand, and we stuck for some time with the prow lifted up in the air. But who can describe the joy we felt on beholding

the shore, and entering the port which we had vainly sought for three whole months ?

I have spoken the more fully on this subject, in order to show you that successful navigation in this river depends not upon skill alone, but upon great good-fortune. Should a violent south wind arise, skill, knowledge, and experience all of no avail, the ship will be driven into places where it will either perish, or at least undergo much danger. In the year 1766, the very best skiff in the port of Buenos-Ayres, commanded by the most excellent captains in that city, being dashed against a shoal by the force of a stormy south wind, had its keel split like a nut, was divided into two parts, and utterly perished, ten Jesuits destined for the province of Chili, many Spanish grenadiers, and all the rest of the crew being drowned, except one captain of the grenadiers, who, with a boy of ten years old, seized hold, by chance, of a little boat, and arrived in safety at the opposite shore, at full ten miles distance from the place of the shipwreck. Not a single person offered to accuse the pilot of stupidity, or want of skill. Every one was aware that the foul tempest which had arisen in the night alone occasioned the shipwreck. For it appears from nautical tables and documents, that the north channel of the river is narrower and

deeper, and the south channel, on the contrary, wider but of a shallower bottom. All knew whereabouts El Banco Inglez and El Banco Ortiz, with the other well-known rocks, lay concealed. But who could even guess at these new shoals, fresh heaps of sand, which either the river with its inundations, or the sea rushing impetuously into the river, were wont to heap up? By continually making use of the sounding-line, these later shoals are indeed discovered, but often when it is too late, the waves baffling all art and industry. Wherefore the wider this river extends on each side, and the nearer it approaches to the sea, so much the more is it to be dreaded. In this one channel the river La Plata flows between the promontories of Sta. Maria and S. Antonio, which latter is also called Cabo Blanco. The priest Cyriaco Morelli speaks thus concerning the mouth of the river La Plata, in his work intituled *Fasti Novi Orbis*, "What we call the river La Plata, is in reality an immense bay of the sea, into which the waters of the Parana, the Paraguay, and the Uruguay flow." Different authors give different accounts of the width of this river where it enters the sea. Many Spaniards at this day give it sixty leagues, others fewer, and some say it is seventy leagues across. But Egidio Gonzalez de Avila, in the "*Ecclesiastical*

Theatre of the Indies," vol. ii. affirms that the river La Plata enters the sea by mouths eighty leagues in width. I leave you to form your own opinion on the subject.

I have crossed this channel twice, but must own I never measured it. It is certain, that incautious or too credulous captains are often deceived by the wideness of this vast river, which prevents them from seeing both shores of it. Trusting too much to their own fallacious calculations, they think themselves sailing on the ocean, and boldly proceed with spread sails, and without consulting the sounding-line, but at length when the ship strikes upon shoals, perceive too late that they are in the river Plata, and frequently perish. I write this on my own experience. On St. Thomas's day the ship proceeded full sail, and with a wind as favourable as could be desired. We observed little birds, never at other times seen on the ocean, flying about, bits of grass floating, and the colour of the water changed, from all which it was easy to conclude that we were near land. We represented these circumstances over and over again to the captain, a Portugueze, who, though in other respects a worthy and prudent man, relied too much on his own observations, and was somewhat pertinacious and opiniated. He insisted upon it that we were far from land,

and openly declared that he should pursue his present course, full sail, till seven o'clock at night. We should have perished had he acted according to his word. For about sun-set, a short-lived but violent gust of wind sprung up. All sails were lowered as usual. We perceived that the ship was surrounded on all sides by seals, which were the means of saving our lives by proving that we were in the perilous river La Plata, or at least in the entrance of it. For you will never see these amphibious animals in the main sea, it being their daily custom to quit the water and go upon shore. The testimony of the seals was also confirmed by the sounding-line, by which we discovered that the bottom was but a very few cubits deep. The captain, convinced of his former error, thought fit to put in practice the maxim *festina lente!* We stuck between the hammer and the anvil, when that first squall was succeeded by a tempest accompanied with thunder and a furious south wind. Lest the ship should be driven to the neighbouring promontory of Sta. Maria, or on to the shoals, the sails were placed in such a manner that the wind when it falls into one is repelled by the other, by which means the ship, floating in the same place, is prevented from proceeding. About the middle of the night, the wind abating a little, we proceeded very slowly with but one

sail. At dusk in the evening unknown tracts of land presented themselves to our eyes. At length the sun being fully risen, it was not without terror that we beheld ourselves scarce a gun-shot from the lofty rocks of the promontory of Sta. Maria. Our alarm was increased when, after repeatedly casting the sounding-line, the sailors discovered that, to the imminent danger of the ship, the bottom was but six fathoms deep. For the sea being at ebb, and the waters momentarily decreasing more and more, we should have been becalmed, and consequently disenabled from receding from the neighbouring rocks, where, if the south wind returned, we should be dashed to pieces, but if the calm lasted we must stick fast in the shallows. We derived safety and incredible consolation from the sun, then at the meridian, from observation of which we at length discovered whereabouts we were. Two hours after noon a gentle gale arose, which enabled us to quit the shallows and that threatening shore, and to re-enter the main sea. The wind becoming more favourable after sun-set, we stole into the very channel of the river, and about dawning got sight of La Isla de Lobos. But this short-lived joy was saddened the same day with all those wanderings and perils which I have just related. From all this you may conclude how

formidable the width of the river La Plata is to captains of ever so long experience.

The name of the river Plata being spread throughout Europe in former times, many of the Spaniards flew to Paraguay, and after all found nothing but poverty, where they expected riches. Paraguay is surrounded by the provinces of Chili, Peru, and Quito, which abound in gold, silver, gems, and precious stones, neither of which is to be found in Paraguay. Some of them might perhaps be discovered, you will say, if properly searched for, but this I do not believe, knowing how sagacious and quick-sighted the Spaniards are in seeking for treasures concealed in the bosom of the earth; as, therefore, they have never hitherto endeavoured to dig for gold and silver, or have been unsuccessful in the attempt, I am firmly persuaded that there are none to be found; and the longer I remained in this country, the more was my opinion on that head strengthened by convincing proofs and experiments. In many places signs of hidden metal were sometimes discovered, but they served rather to drain the purses of the more credulous Spaniards than to enrich them. I will fairly relate whatever occurs to my memory relative to the attempts that were made to discover metals, and the ridiculous ideas that were entertained on this

head. I was intimately acquainted with a merchant in the city of St. Iago del Estero, who had formerly been opulent, but was at that time reduced to ruin. Hoping to become as rich as Cræsus, he directed his whole thoughts and faculties towards discovering mines. Emissaries were hired to search in those places which were thought to contain metals. At much expense he undertook a journey to the Governour of Tucuman, who lived at a great distance, to obtain from him a right to dig for gold. He spent immense sums upon workmen, mules, provision, and other instruments necessary for searching the bowels of the earth, with no reward for his pains, except spending the riches that he already possessed, without obtaining those which he promised himself under ground, and remained ever afterwards indigent and derided by all. Yet deluded by his hopes, he had still to learn wisdom. He knew that about eighty leagues distant from the city of St. Iago, was a place named Hierro, which runs out into an extensive plain covered with rich grass. Not a stone or even a pebble is to be seen in the whole vicinity. Here and there appears out of the turf a plank, or the trunk of a tree, having the appearance of iron, except that by its shining it bears some sort of resemblance to silver. The good man now thought he had

reached the summit of his wishes, for he swore that silver mixed with iron lay concealed in this place, to the great amusement of all that heard him. He gave a little piece of this metal, which he had eagerly snatched up, to a smith to be melted in the city. The Spaniards who were present privily slipped some pieces of silver money into the furnace. When, therefore, he beheld the melted mass, consisting of silver and that kind of iron flowing from the furnace, he thought himself the happiest of mankind. But understanding that he had been cheated, and cajoled, he flew into a rage, and threatened the authors of the deceit with every thing that was dreadful. An European smith, after carefully trying that exotic metal with fire, informed me that it was a sort of iron, but so hard and so brittle, that no art would be sufficient to bend or reduce it to any kind of form, and consequently that it was of no use whatever. I will tell you another anecdote of the same kind.

A certain merchant of Cordoba was involved in very great pecuniary difficulties, to extricate himself from which he forsook his old calling, and took up that of a physician, in which he was never properly instructed;—a metamorphosis by no means uncommon amongst the Europeans who reside in America. Deserters from the army and navy, if they exercise any

handicraft trade, will never find a wife in Paraguay. To obviate this objection they apply themselves to merchandise. Whoever has his shop filled with tallow-candles, cheese, knives, needles, scissors, linen or woollen neck-handkerchiefs, and some flagons of brandy, is styled a merchant, immediately becomes noble, is esteemed superior to the vulgar, and fit to make any marriage connection, or hold any magistracy. Reduced to ruin, from merchants they suddenly become physicians. These ignorant quacks, who in Europe hardly know how to shave a beard, breathe a vein, cut the nails, apply cupping-glasses to the skin, administer an injection, or spread a plaster, give themselves out for Galens in Paraguay, and slay the rich with impunity at all hours of the day. Such an one was Bartholomew. Finding his purse no way filled by the diseases and deaths of others, and being universally dreaded, he at length changed his mind, forsook his gallipots, and turned his thoughts towards metals, the last anchor of his hopes. A vague report had been spread that in the mountains near Cordoba, signs of hidden gold had manifested themselves. Having consulted those persons who were best informed on this subject, obtained leave of the royal Governours, hired men to dig, and purchased cattle to maintain them, solely on the

promise of reward, he explored, for some time, the bowels of the earth, but with no success, with great loss, and terrible expense, as it was necessary to convey both wood and water many leagues on the backs of mules. Overwhelmed with debts, which his hopes of discovering gold had led him to contract, this wretched man served to teach others that it is safer to seek for gold on the surface of the earth, than in the subterranean caverns of the Cordoban mountains. And indeed no one, that I know of, from that time forward ever thought of seeking there for mines of gold. A report was spread amongst the common people, that the Indians, before the coming of the Spaniards, had dug gold out of the mountains which surround the city Rioja. But every attempt of the Spaniards to find this noble metal in those mountains was uniformly unsuccessful. That small pieces of gold had been discovered in our times in the mountains near the city of Monte-Video, I was informed by Andonaegui, Governour of Buenos-Ayres. Though the Catholic King was made acquainted with this circumstance, no pains were ever taken to examine and excavate those mountains, it being thought that there was little hope, and perhaps no reality in the matter. Some one reported that amethysts had been found in the river Rosario, near the city of

Monte-Video; but I thought that they either were not genuine, or had been brought thither from some other place, as no one was known to have taken the pains to seek for more in the same river.

The first Spanish inhabitants entertained a thorough belief that the province of Guayra was rich in metals; and there too, they promised themselves to find abundance of precious stones. They had not yet learnt that all that glitters is not gold nor diamonds either. On the shores of the Parana, they found some stones which they called *cocos de mina*. These stones in shape are sometimes round, sometimes oval; their surface is rough and hard, and of a dark colour. In size they are equal to a pomegranate, and sometimes to a man's head. Within the outer shell they contain little stones of various colours, and great value in the eyes of ignorant persons, who take them for crystal, amethysts, rubies, emeralds, &c. But they are deceived. Jewellers rate them about as high as Bohemian stones. They say that the *cocos de mina*, pregnant with these kinds of pebbles, burst with a noise as loud as that of a gun, when what they consider the noble burden which their womb contains is mature. This appearance and these properties are attributed to them by the vulgar, with what

truth I know not, for though I have travelled over the greatest part of Paraguay, particularly the shores of the Parana, with eyes attentive to nature, I never saw a stone of this kind. I do not pretend to say that the *coco de mina* may not have its value in the other provinces of America, which produce genuine jewels, but I boldly deny that any inhabitant of Paraguay was ever enriched with one. The foolish credulity of certain persons, who, from this fallacious resemblance of jewels, hoped to gain riches, was punished with extreme poverty, as we all know. Xerez, Ciudad Real, and Villa Rica, cities formerly accounted fountains of metals and of riches, have all proved seminaries of indigence and misery. What was called Villa Rica, or the Rich City, was never opulent in reality, but only so in name, and the hopes it held out of discovering metals.

Finding no gold and silver in those parts of Paraguay which their feet had traversed and their eyes beheld, they persuaded themselves and others that these metals were concealed in the native soil of the Guaranies, whom the Jesuits had undertaken to instruct in religion. From this false conjecture, how many lies have been coined, how many calumnies launched against us! By the royal authority and at the desire of the Jesuits, there were sent men com-

missioned to search diligently if any metal existed in the Guarany territories. These explorers were attended, in the capacity of guide, by a Guarany deserter, a man of bad character. This rogue had been induced, by the gifts and liberal promises of some enemy of the Jesuits, to declare that he had seen gold mines at the banks of the Uruguay, in the land belonging to Concepcion, a town of the Guaranies, and that this place was strengthened like a fort with strong holds, warlike machines, and a numerous garrison. Thither they directly hastened, and when they were a very few leagues distant from that *golden* spot, the knavish Indian, fearing the punishment of his falsehood, which must be discovered next day, fled away in the night; but being taken in the town of Yapeyù, by the missionary himself, was sent back, chained and guarded, to the Spaniards from whom he had deserted. The cheat respecting those gold mines and fortifications was thus brought to light, and the phantoms raised by falsehood and calumny disappeared. The Spaniards examined every corner far and near; after which they unanimously and publicly declared that no mines existed in that place, nor indeed that any one, who considered the nature of the situation, could rationally expect them to be pro-

duced there. The Indian was punished for his perfidy. Certain Spaniards, who had thus falsely accused the Jesuits, were declared calumniators, punished with confiscation of their goods and public infamy, and pronounced incapable of holding any office in the state. By these royal fulminations calumny was for a little while repressed; yet the ridiculous suspicion that mines were buried amongst the Guaranies was not yet extinct; it was even propagated amongst the more credulous Europeans.

I have often laughed at beholding the eagerness and solicitude with which the Spaniards, who visited the Guarany towns, gathered up all the little worthless stones they met with on the way, and which, on account of their various colours, they thought to be emeralds, amethysts, or rubies. Every thing that was found on the Guarany soil they took for gold and jewels. Diamonds, which nature has denied to every part of Paraguay, were reported to abound in the land of the Guaranies. In the *Gazeta de Madrid*, I read this article, dated London. "They write from Brazil that the Jesuits of Paraguay have brought their diamond mines to such a degree of perfection, that it is greatly to be apprehended the diamonds of Brazil will decrease in value." I submitted this paragraph to the perusal of Charles Murphy,

Governour of Paraguay, and I cannot tell whether it excited his laughter or his indignation the most. I would have bought the smallest particle of a diamond at any price, to cut the glass for the various uses of the church, but could never meet with any one who possessed such a thing, and was, consequently, always obliged to make use of a flint instead. If the savages at the straits of Magellan have any metal, they must have got it from the mountains where every one knows that metals are found. But the province of Chili differs as much from Paraguay, as Austria does from its neighbour Hungary. The one abounds in gold and silver, the other is absolutely destitute of both. The Portugueze in Cuyaba, in Matto Grosso, and in the fortlet of Sta. Rosa, collect sands from various rivers, out of which they pick very small particles of gold, formerly with the connivance of the Spaniards, and since the last declaration of peace with their open consent. For the Portugueze always contended that the above-mentioned territories were comprehended within the limits of Brazil, whilst the Spaniards annexed them to Paraguay, or their own Peru. That you may perceive the truth of what I say, I will fairly describe the liberality of nature towards Paraguay. You shall see and laugh at its treasures.

At the close of the last century, Father Antony Sepp found out a method of extracting a small quantity of iron from stones named *ytacurù*, by dint of a very hot fire kept up for twenty-four hours. But he had scarcely any imitators, for the quantity of iron obtained was so inconsiderable, in proportion to the labour and firewood spent upon it, that it was not thought worth the trouble. These stones, which are composed of a number of very small pebbles, are of a dusky colour, mottled with black spots. In our times, somewhat more iron has been brought in the Spanish ships, but even now it is sold at a price incredible to Europeans. All the Guarany youths, on their marriage-day, and the married people at the beginning of January, receive from the Jesuit, the priest of the town, a common knife to use at table. This donation is more expensive than Europeans may imagine, as some of the towns contain four thousand inhabitants, some six or seven. Yet, notwithstanding the dearness of iron, none of us ever thought of procuring a trifling quantity of it, with immense labour, from the stones named *ytacurù*.

Out of the Cordoban mountains, they sometimes dig *talc*, a sort of softish white stone, very light, and of no firmness. It consists of slender laminae, so that it may be divided with a knife into small plates, and is sometimes dipped in

water. When slightly burnt, it assumes the softness of paper and the colour of silver, and is used to make little images and other figures to adorn poor churches. Out of the numerous leaves of which this stone is composed, you will find few entirely white and transparent, for most of them are darkened with black or yellow spots. The better ones supply the place of glass in windows and lanterns; for that article was extremely scarce and dear, in 1748, when I arrived in Paraguay. I could not see one glass window in the chief colleges of the province, nor in the towns of the Guaranies. Every one made his own window of the stone talc, (which is difficult to procure,) of paper, or linen cloth; and as these substitutes were torn away by every shower or boisterous wind, was continually under the necessity of making repairs. But in the last years of my residence in Paraguay, a quantity of glass was brought thither in the Spanish ships, and the price being reduced, the houses and churches shone with glass windows. In the churches, where they look towards the south, instead of a glass window, they place a hard, white, and transparent stone, which is a kind of alabaster, and is brought at a great expense from Peru, its native soil. For the south wind, which is excessively violent in South America, at the first gust breaks all the glass that

opposes its fury, often levelling whole houses, breaking enormous masts of large ships, and tearing up lofty cedars by the roots. Stones fit for making lime are to be met with in almost any part of Paraguay, but they are not found in the territories of the Abipones and Guaranies. The shores of the Paraguay and other rivers afford gypsum. The Guaranies, who dwell at a distance from these shores, make use of burnt snails' shells, or of a chalk like fuller's earth, which they call *tobaty*, in whitening their houses. At the banks of the greater Tebiguary, I sometimes saw marble of a black colour, spotted with green, but of very small dimensions. I know not whether any other marbles or remarkable stones are concealed in the bosom of the earth elsewhere. Red and black flints, containing plenty of fire, and extremely fit for muskets, may be seen in many places, especially at the banks of the Uruguay; but instruments to cut them, and fit them for the use of muskets, are wanting. Whether Paraguay produces alum, sulphur, and mercury, I do not know.

Many have committed mistakes who have written concerning Paraguay, in that country itself. They have liberally bestowed treasures upon it, not because it really possesses them, but because they have dreamt of them in a country utterly destitute of all metals. The blind man dreamt that he saw, as the Spanish

proverb goes, and he dreamt of what he desired. *El ciego soñaba que veía, y soñaba lo que quería.* To this number belongs Martin del Barco, Archdeacon in the city of Buenos-Ayres, who, in his poem intituled *Argentina, y Conquista del Rio de la Plata*, affirms that pearls are formed in some lake, near which the Abipones inhabit. The oldest of the Indians, the most distinguished for experience and veracity, who were born in that neighbourhood, and had dwelt there for many years, all answered, with one accord, that they had never seen any pearls, nor heard any thing about them from their ancestors. Would not these savages, who continually adorn their necks, arms, and legs, with glass beads brought from Europe, with little round globes made of cockle-shells, with the seeds and kernels of various fruit and the claws of birds, would not they have grasped eagerly at pearls, which are naturally so bright, had they ever met with any? We may therefore safely pronounce this lake, said to produce pearls, a mere fable, long since expunged from history by all sensible persons.

Silver vessels are seen in the houses of the Spaniards, and silver utensils in the churches of the cities. In the Guarany colonies, not only the altars, but sometimes the very ceilings are gilded. This I do not deny. But all that gold and silver was not created in the bowels of Pa-

Paraguay, but brought from the provinces of Chili or Peru. The Guaranies make very large brass bells for their own churches, or for those of the Spaniards; but the people of Chili supply them with brass. No money is coined in any part of Paraguay in the name of the King, or of any other person.

Excepting a few cities, which carry on commerce with European ships, or with the neighbouring people of Peru, and Chili, and the Portuguese, money is used very rarely, if at all, its place being supplied by the exchange of commodities, as amongst the ancients. Horses, mules, oxen, sheep, tobacco, cotton, the herb of Paraguáy, sugar, salt, various kinds of grain, fruits, vegetables, the skins of animals, &c. are used instead of money in Paraguay; with these all necessaries are purchased, and the usual stipends and taxes paid to the bishops, priests and governours, especially in the district of Asumpcion. The prices of all natural productions are regulated by the magistrates, and are diligently learnt and observed both by the seller, and the purchaser. In a very few towns, where money is used, we find only three kinds of silver coins, namely, the *peso fuerte*, *peso de plata*, or *patacon*, which is equal in value to a Spanish crown, or to two German florens: the *real de plata*, and the *medio real de plata*; the first of which is equiva-

lent to five German *groschen*, the other to seven *cruitzers* and a half. You never see any gold or copper money. The Indians in the towns entrusted to our charge are entirely unprovided with money, and the Jesuits likewise, except that we had fourteen silver pieces, or as many rials, or *medios reales de plata*, in every town. For these pieces of money, according to the custom of the Spanish church, in public weddings, are given by the parish priest to the bridegroom, and by him to the bride, as a dowry, but are afterwards returned again to the priest, that the same money, and the same nuptial rings, may serve over and over again. I think that you may aptly apply to Paraguay what was said of Germany by Tacitus, *De Moribus Germanorum: Argentum et aurum propitii, an irati Dii negaverint, dubito*. If liberal nature had there created gold and silver, if art and industry had discovered those metals, the Spaniards would long since have left off breeding cattle, and cultivating the celebrated herb, both irksome employments. The Indians, who must then have been occupied in digging metals, would have shunned both the religion and friendship of the Spaniards, since they found them coupled with slavery; and we Jesuits should never have induced so many savages to embrace our religion; so that the want or ignorance of metals

may be reckoned amongst the divine blessings and advantages of Paraguay.

Though Paraguay is entirely destitute of metals, yet it can by no means be called a poor country. It abounds in things necessary for human subsistence, and especially in all kinds of cattle. The whole world does not contain a country more numerously supplied with oxen, horses, mules, and sheep; which were formerly brought to Paraguay, and in the course of two hundred years increased marvellously, both on account of the richness of the pastures, and the unbounded liberty they possessed of wandering up and down the plains, both by day and night, at every time of the year. The quantity of kine which exists there is scarce credible to a European. Fifty years ago, when all the plains were covered with wild oxen, travellers were obliged to send horsemen before them to clear the way, by driving away the beasts which stood threatening them with their horns. It is, therefore, no wonder that at that time a full grown ox was sold for five *groschen*, (*a real de plata*,) as appears from the old books of valuations. Every Spaniard who intended to enlarge his estate hired a troop of horse, who brought him eight, ten, or more, thousands of cows and bulls from the country, within a few weeks. Do you desire to be made ac-

quainted with the shape of the Paraguayrian oxen? In height they equal those of Hungary, and generally surpass them in the size of their bodies, though not of the same, but of various colours. With a sort of ferocious arrogance they imitate stags in the manner of holding their lofty heads, and almost equal them in swiftness. Unless a long drought have impoverished the pastures, every ox yields such a weight of fat, that two robust men are sometimes scarce able to carry it. The fat of oxen is always used instead of butter in culinary preparations; for the cows are very seldom milked, on account of their ferocity; the taming of them is a long and laborious process, and consequently odious to the slothful Spaniards and Indians. When tamed, they will not suffer themselves to be milked, unless their feet are tied and their calf is standing beside them. Sometimes the mothers are sent with their calves to the pastures, return home at evening of their own accord, and are separated at night, unless their milk has been exhausted by the calves—on which account milk and cheese are very seldom used in Paraguay, butter scarcely ever. A butcher and shambles are words unknown to the Paraguayrians. Every one slays his oxen at his pleasure. The poorer sort do not buy pounds of meat, as is customary in Europe, but

a part of a slaughtered ox, which they generally owe to the liberality of the rich. Two or three young men are sufficient to kill the most furious bull. One throws a noose of leather over his neck, another casts one round his hind legs, and cuts the nerve of one of them, then, leaping on his back, fixes a knife in his neck; thus the ox falls, despatched at one blow.

An ox-hide, which measures three ells from the head to the tail, and is called by the Spaniards a legal hide, is bought by merchants at six German florens, though a whole live ox is sold for only two florens amongst the Guaranies, and for four amongst the Spaniards; for the labour employed on hides, even before they are dressed, increases their price. They are carefully fastened to the ground, to be dried, with wooden pegs, under shelter, in a place where the fresh air is admitted; and lest moths should gnaw or strip them of their hairs, for thirteen or, at least, eight days, the dust which ingenders these insects must be diligently beaten from them with a stick. This labour, which was often continued for many months, whilst some thousands of them were disposed of, is rated very high by the Spaniards who sell them. It is incredible what art and industry are employed in stretching hides, which come a little short of three ells, to the usual size, though when made as thin as

paper they are totally useless to European curriers, on account of whose complaints this stretching of hides has long since been prohibited. The Spaniards, finding that the trade in hides was by far the most profitable to them of any, were possessed with a blind rage for killing all the oxen they could lay hands on. For this purpose, troops of horse were perpetually traversing those plains which abounded most in wild cattle. The horsemen employed have each separate tasks assigned them. Some furnished with swift horses attack a herd of oxen, and with a long spear, to which is added a sharp semicircular scythe, disable the older bulls by cutting the nerve of the hinder foot; others throw the halter on them whilst they are staggering, and others follow behind to knock down and slay the captive bulls. The rest are employed in stripping the hides off the slaughtered animals, conveying them to an appointed place, fixing them to the ground with pegs, and taking out and carrying away the tongues, suet, and fat. The rest of the flesh, which would suffice to feed a numerous army in Europe, is left on the plain to be devoured by tigers, wild dogs and ravens; and indeed one might almost fear lest the air should be corrupted by such a quantity of dead bodies. In an expedition of this kind, lasting several weeks, the person at whose

expense it is undertaken is supplied with some thousands of hides. This custom of hunting and slaughtering oxen, being continued for a whole century, exhausted almost all the plains of wild cattle. You no longer saw those public and immense herds of innumerable oxen, which belonged to no one in particular, but might be appropriated to the use of any. It must be attributed to the extensiveness of the plains, and the fertility of the soil, that in the Paraguayrian estates the number of oxen is still so great that Europe may envy, but cannot hope to equal them. At this day a fat ox may be bought for four florens amongst the Spaniards, and two amongst the Guaranies. In the first years that I spent there one floren was the universal price, but as the number of herds was daily decreasing, the price increased in proportion. I have known Spaniards who possessed about an hundred thousand oxen in their estates. The town Yapeyù, which was dedicated to the three kings, contained fifty thousand; that of S. Miguel many more, but not one superfluous. At least forty oxen were daily slaughtered to satisfy the appetites of seven thousand Guaranies. Add to these the oxen which are privily slain by the Indians, either in the town or the estate, and those which are daily consumed by hostile savages, by tigers, wild dogs, and worms which are

bred in the navels of calves. Every merchant's ship transports thirty, and sometimes forty, ox-hides into Europe. Who can reckon the number of hides daily employed in manufacturing ropes, building hedges and houses, and making trunks, saddles, and wrappers for the herb of Paraguay, tobacco, sugar, wheat, cotton and other things? The common people amongst the Spaniards have no other bed than an ox-hide stretched upon the ground, which is also the case with an innumerable crowd of negro slaves. Beef is the principal, daily, and almost only food of the lower orders in Paraguay. Moreover that quantity of meat which would overload the stomach of a European is scarce sufficient to satisfy the appetite of an American. A Guarany, after fasting but a very few hours, will devour a young calf. An Indian, before he lies down to sleep, places a piece of meat to roast at the fire, that he may eat immediately when he wakes. Place food before him, and the rising and the setting sun will behold him with his jaws at work and his mouth full, but with an appetite still unsatisfied. Such being the voracity of the inhabitants, and so continual the slaughters of innumerable oxen, you will agree with me that Paraguay may be called the devouring grave, as well as the seminary of cattle.

Besides this incredible multitude of oxen, Paraguay breeds an infinite number of horses, all sprung from seven mares which the Spaniards brought with them. The whole of that plain country, extending from the river Plata full two hundred leagues in every direction, is covered with droves of wandering horses, of which any person may catch as many as he likes, and make them his own property. Some horsemen, within a few days, bring home more than a thousand horses from the plain. A hunt of this kind is performed in various ways. Some catch every horse they come near with a leathern cord. Others construct a hedge with a wide entrance like the sleeve of a garment, through which they drive a herd of horses, separated from the rest, into the inclosed space, where, after they have been confined for some time, hunger and thirst render them gentle, and they are easily led away wherever the owner chooses, in company with other tame horses. Sometimes a part of the plain is burnt. The horses crowding eagerly to crop the new grass, are surrounded on all sides, and forced away by the hunters. There were some who secured the mares that were taken in this manner, by slightly cutting the nerve of the hinder foot, to prevent their running away. A horse of this kind of either sex, when brought from

the country, and before it is accustomed to the saddle and bridle, is sometimes bought for ten or thirteen cruizers. The colts of the mares are given gratis to the purchasers.

Horses in Paraguay are valued, or the contrary, not according to their colour, or the conformation of their bodies, but chiefly according to their natural method of going, which is of four different kinds. The most esteemed are those which have not the common trot, but move very gently, and when spurred begin to amble, so that the rider might hold a cup full of liquor in his hand, and not spill a drop. They are either born with this kind of pace, or are taught it by art. If the mother be an ambler, though the father may not have been so, the colt will generally prove an ambler also; but more certainly if both parents have been of that kind. The young horses that are most remarkable for beauty of form, and for strength, are selected from the rest, and taught that easy and swift manner of moving. Their fore feet are fastened to their hinder ones in such a manner, that, though still able to walk, they cannot practise their natural method of leaping, which is so unpleasant to the rider. Others tie to the feet of the young horse a round stone, wrapped up in a skin, which strikes his legs when he attempts to trot, and makes him endea-

vous, through fear of the pain, to walk gently: This method of teaching is practised in all the Guarany towns. An ambling nag goes two leagues in the space of an hour, unless impeded by the roughness of the road; nor can a common horse keep up with him, unless spurred by the rider to a gallop. But the natural pace of those horses which the Spaniards call *trotones*, the Abipones *nichilicheranetà*, and the Germans *trabganger*, is very unpleasant to the rider; for they lift up their feet like pestles, violently shaking the rider's body: yet as they tread firmly, and lift up their feet at every step, they stumble seldomer than the amblers, which, scarce raising their feet from the ground, and uniting the greatest swiftness to gentleness, by striking their hoofs against stones, roots of trees, and hard clods, more frequently fall and throw their rider, especially when there is no beaten path. In long journeys, especially through rugged places, it is best to make use of those horses between the amblers and the trotters, which, as they approach more nearly to the human method of walking, fatigue the rider less, are not so soon fatigued themselves, and are not so apt to stumble.

Much are those historians mistaken, who have persuaded the celebrated Robertson that the American horses have small bodies, and no

spirit, and that they are mere dwarfs and spectres in comparison with those of Europe. I boldly affirm that the Paraguayan horses differ nothing from those of our own country in size, shape, and good qualities. You meet everywhere with horses of lofty, or of middling stature; some well fitted for a vaulter, and others for a man armed cap-a-pié. Pygmies, like Corsican horses, are as rare in Paraguay as comets in the sky. I allow that Paraguay is as yet unacquainted with horses like the natives of the Styrian mountains, which almost resemble elephants in their immense back, huge limbs, and broad hoofs: this country produces slenderer horses, better adapted for riding and racing than for chariots and waggons. But were they fed like those of Europe on oats and barley, and defended in a stable against the inclemencies of the weather, they would very probably grow to the same size. The horses of Paraguay are born out of doors, and remain there, night and day, the whole year round; are fed upon any grass they can find, (which is not always either very good, or very plentiful,) and upon leaves of trees, or dry wood; they often seek in vain for water to quench their thirst, and find it neither good, nor in sufficient quantities. Being constantly in the open air, they are exposed at one time to the scorching sun;

at another to continual showers; sometimes to hoar frosts; when a south wind is up, to bitter cold; and at all times and places to the stings of flies, gad-flies, and gnats, infinite swarms of which flit up and down. I attribute it to these causes that the horses of Paraguay never attain to the size of the Styrian, Holsatian, Danish, and Neapolitan horses. During the winter months, the former grow lean from feeding upon poor grass, and their hair becomes darker, but at the return of fine weather, they regain their strength and natural colour. They fatten so much in fertile pastures, abounding in grass and nitre, that you might count money upon their back, as on a table—a common saying in regard to very fat horses amongst the Spaniards. But though the richness of the grass greatly fattens the Paraguayan horses, it never gives them that strength which European horses derive from food composed of oats, barley, straw, and hay, which enables them to bear a rider, and to draw a cart, every day, and all day.

All the different colours, by which horses are distinguished in Europe, are to be found in those of Paraguay. They are oftener, however, white, and chesnut-coloured, than black or bay; a circumstance which gave me much surprize, as men born in the same climate, whether of European or American parents, are almost always

distinguished by very black, coarse hair. White and chesnut-coloured horses are indeed very pleasing to the eyes, and possess great gentleness and docility; but experience has taught me that they are much sooner fatigued, and seldom possess that strength which we see in horses of a black or reddish colour, especially those in which the red resembles the colour of toasted bread: the patience with which these horses endure labour, and travelling, is expressed in an old Spanish proverb, importing that they will die before they are fatigued: *Alazan tostado antes muerto, que cansado*. We have, however, frequently found white horses sprinkled with black, with black manes and tails, to possess a great deal of strength. The same may be said with regard to the darker bays, which have manes and tails of a blackish colour. Pybald horses in Paraguay are thought crafty and dangerous; nor are they slandered in this respect, as I have frequently found to my cost, although I may truly say that I never bestrode a Paraguayrian horse, of whatever colour it might be, with that confidence and security which I feel in mounting an European one; for many of them are apt to wince, and be stubborn, to stumble and throw their rider, and almost all are startlish and fearful, being terrified at any sudden noise, or the sight of any

strange object ; whereupon, if the bridle be neglected they will stand with their head lifted up to the breast of their rider, or rear, and throw him off, or fling him to a distance, if he be not very firmly seated.

In such a vast multitude of horses, there is necessarily great variety. You will see some handsomer, stronger, and swifter than others, as in Europe. Those which have a broad breast, a small head, large and black eyes, short and pricking ears, wide nostrils, a bushy mane, a large and long tail, hairy feet, a small belly, a wide round back, straight slender legs and hard hoofs, not indented, like a comb ; those which, with playful alacrity, provoke the rest to fight in the plain, leap ditches without the least hesitation, cross marshes quickly, and, as soon as they are released from the saddle and bridle, joyfully roll themselves on the ground, are esteemed superior to all others in Paraguay. Those born in rough, stony situations are preferred to the natives of a soft, clayey soil ; for this reason, that if you remove a horse accustomed to such places, to soft, marshy plains, you will find him slacken his pace, and walk slowly and timidly for a long time. This fear is occasioned by the earth's yielding to their hoofs. But a horse bred on a soft soil, when brought to stony places, and gravelly roads, will often stumble

and get lame—his hoofs being bruised, and even made bloody by the roughness of the stones. Horseshoes are never used in Paraguay, though that country abounds in rocks and stones. A horseshoe would cost more than any horse, on account of the dearness of iron, and moreover because blacksmiths are not even known here by name. The experience of many years has taught me that horses, wherever they are born, in a few months grow accustomed to any soil. Mares kept for the purpose of breeding have their manes and tails shorn by the Spaniards, that they may fatten sooner, for I know of no other reason. But horses kept for riding are adorned with a long bushy tail, which increases their beauty and value. Even the meanest negro slave would think it an indignity and a punishment were he ordered to ride on a horse that was deprived of its tail. The Indians think we are jesting when they hear us say that in Europe there exist men who cut off the tails of their horses, and reckon it an improvement; for they think that a handsome tail is not only a great ornament to a horse, but likewise his instrument of defence, with which he drives away the swarms of flies and gnats. A Spanish priest, of an advanced age, who had long been in a bad state of health, had in his possession a horse of an extremely gentle disposition, as

well as of a quick and easy pace. This horse the old man made use of, in preference to innumerable others that he possessed, in all his necessary journeys. A certain Spaniard had long wished for the horse, and vainly offered to give for it whatever price the owner chose. Impatient of repulse, he dared to threaten that, unless the old man would sell the horse of his own accord, he should steal it from him. The owner, fearing that he would have very little difficulty in accomplishing his threat, said to his servant, "Go, and cut off the tail of that horse of mine: it is better to lose a part of him than the whole. When deprived of his tail he will be laughed at by all who see him, but he will at least be secured from thieves. I would rather be derided myself for using a horse without a tail, than have all my bones and limbs jolted to pieces, like pepper in a mortar, by any other trotting beast." To mutilate the tail of another person's horse, is a bitter and not uncommon kind of revenge amongst the lower orders of Spaniards; it is also thought an insufferable insult for one man to call another *unrabon*, a horse without a tail.

To keep horses in good condition, or make them so, it is of much importance that they be kept extremely clean; for if their skin is covered with dust, their mane uncombed, their

tail full of scurf, and their hair matted together, the perspiration is obstructed by the pores being stopped up, and consequently they, by degrees, grow lean and scraggy, or get the mange. On this account, the Spaniards and Abipones, who are most careful of their property, though less solicitous than Europeans about combing, washing, and rubbing down their horses, and unprovided with instruments for those purposes, take great care to prevent their growing dirty, though they have no other stable than the open plain, day and night, during every part of the year. If thistles, thorns, and other prickly plants of that kind stick to their tails, they carefully extricate them by anointing their hair with tallow. After performing a journey, when the harness is taken off, they wash and wipe the back of the horse, which is bathed in perspiration, and lest the coldness of the air should cause it to swell, keep it covered, for some time, with a horsecloth. Moreover the health and liveliness of horses are best preserved by taking care that their pastures be not situated very far either from clear lakes or limpid rivers, where the horses may drink and bathe at their pleasure; for in the winter months the cold air makes them lean and mangy, and the frequent droughts produce the same effect

in the summer season, unless they have an opportunity of laving and swimming.

In the plains of Paraguay, which abound in cattle, not only are numerous snakes concealed in the grass, but even many herbs, more noxious than the most deadly snake, present themselves to their hungry jaws. The commonest of these is that which the natives call *nio*. It has a tall stalk with a yellow blossom, but contains a deadly poison. Horses after feeding upon it are seized with a feverish trembling, which terminates in death. Horses born in places which produce this poisonous herb, devour it with impunity, but are always contemned as feeble and incapable of enduring the fatigues of a journey. The Spaniards use the following method to prevent their horses from tasting this deadly food. When marching against the enemy, they daily send forward some of their companions to explore the whole country round about where the horses are to feed. Whenever they find any of those poisonous herbs they pluck a few, tie them into a bundle, and set fire to them, so that the smoke arising from thence is conveyed by a contrary wind to the troop, and the smell of it inspires them with a horror of the pestilent herb. For though they eagerly crop the rest of the grass, they leave that untouched. But alas! there

are many other instruments of death, tigers, serpents and worms, by which an incredible number of horses are yearly destroyed. The worms which gnaw the horses are occasioned by the saddles made use of in Paraguay. Those that are made of dressed leather are stuffed with two bundles of rushes, which lie upon the ribs of the horse in such a manner, that the saddles do not touch the spine of the back. They are quite unprovided with cushions, in the place of which, the back of the horse is covered with four ells of woollen cloth, folded up together, and on this, by way of harness, they place the horsecloth of softish leather, variously embossed and adorned with figures. All this is placed beneath the saddle, that it may not hurt the horse's back, on which, that the rider may sit the easier, is placed a sheep's skin, or an ornamented horsecloth of sheep's wool, died of various colours. The saddles are fastened on the horse's back, not with a hempen girth, but with a thong of cow's leather, so that there is no need of buckles. The wooden stirrups, curiously carved, and plated with silver, in use amongst the better sort of people, are called by the Spaniards *baules*, baskets; for they really are little baskets, entirely inclosing the rider's feet, and covering, and defending them against the injuries of the weather and the road. But

if the horse fall suddenly, and throw his rider, stirrups of this kind are very dangerous, as it is more difficult to extricate the foot quickly from them than from those of Europe. The stirrups which the Spanish peasants, who never wear shoes, make use of, are likewise made of wood, but the opening is so small that nothing but the great toe can be inserted into it. The savages, according to the custom of their ancestors, do not use stirrups, and most of them are unfurnished with saddles even. The Paraguayan bridles, also, differ from those of our country in size and shape. The Indians make use of a bridle composed of transverse spikes of cow's horn, like a hurdle, which fills the whole mouth of the horse. The spurs of the Spaniards are very large, and furnished with pegs, with which they rather bruise, than prick, the sides of the horse. They abhor the small sharp European spurs, with which they think that horses are easily wounded and infuriated. This is the whole furniture used for horses, in Paraguay. I will now give you some account of their diseases, and the remedies for them.

It frequently happens that the friction of a rough horsecloth, or the hardness or compression of the saddle galls the back of the horse; and if, after long fatigue, his horsecloth be taken off, whilst he is still smoking with sweat,

it is swelled by the sudden admission of the cold air, or of rain, till the tumour by degrees grows into a wound. The ulcerated and bloody flesh is quickly infested by swarms of flies, the eggs and filth of which ingender white worms. Delay is dangerous; for the worms increase rapidly every hour, and creep to the interior parts of the animal. If you wish to save your horse, you must immediately dig the worms out of his flesh with a small stick, and stop up the cavities where those insects lay with chewed tobacco leaves, the bitterness of which kills the worms, drives away the flies which breed them, and prevents the progress of corruption. The scar must be anointed with tallow every day, that fresh hair may grow there. The Indians smear their horses' backs either with the root *guaycuru*, well masticated with their teeth, or with melted tiger's fat, or with the shell of the *armadillo* burnt to ashes; but these remedies seldom effect a complete cure. From a book of Father Martin Szentivan, a Hungarian, on the treatment of animals, I learnt a remedy much superior to any of those American ones, and which has been successfully adopted by many Paraguayrians. Salt, well ground, and mixed with vinegar and yolk of egg, is applied to the horse's back once a day, as it cleans away the blood, keeps off worms, and in a few days

removes the swelling, and renews the skin and hair. The same author advises the application of a white onion, pretty well roasted. We ourselves have seen many horses preserved by both remedies. Certain large birds, of various colours, carnivorous, and of the vulture kind, may aptly be called horses' physicians; for they perch upon their ulcerated backs, and are deterred by no kicking from taking away the blood and the worms; though with their sharp beaks they very often enlarge the wound. Bats, also, greatly exceeding those of Europe in number and size, not only molest, but even injure the horses. Vast numbers of them fly up and down the plain. They sit upon the horse, and whilst they wound his back with their bills, create a gentle breeze by the continual motion of their wings, lulled by which the horse makes no resistance, and suffers his blood to be sucked by the bat. The wound that remains, unless it be sprinkled with hot ashes, soon swells, and by degrees becomes ulcerated, which clearly proves that bats are in some measure venomous. Showers continuing day and night, for many weeks, necessarily deluge the whole plain country with water, and the horses can find no dry land whereon to place their feet. Hence, from feeding so long, immersed in water, their hoofs are softened to

such a degree, that being unable to stand on their feet, and to seek pasture, they perish, though perfectly healthy in other respects. Sometimes horses labour under strangury, or dysury. A Spaniard saddles a horse afflicted with such a disease, instead of physicking him, and spurs him to a full gallop, till he is covered with sweat. Nor is there any occasion to repeat the operation. A horse, which was in a dying condition a little before, soon recovered, for he inundated the plain. Sometimes horses are seized with convulsion of the nerves, or with rheumatism, so that they cannot stand on their legs; on such occasions the Spanish soldiers tie their feet with a rope, and lay them on the ground, then throw plenty of urine on their legs, and kick them several times with their heels; when untied they mount and compel them, however unwilling, to run. This violent, but speedy method of healing, I found, to my surprize, attended by the desired effect. As Paraguay swarms with horses, in as great number as insects, she cares very little about curing them when they are sick. In Europe, where horses are scarcer and more valuable, we cannot wonder at their having many physicians and many medicines. What if I should say that, in Paraguay, both are unnecessary? For there it is plain that horses are afflicted with

less frequent and less heavy complaints; because they generally enjoy their full liberty, wander up and down the plains at will, breathe the pure air of Heaven, feed on the fresh grass, drink and bathe at pleasure in running streams, are never employed in bearing burdens and drawing carts, and are consequently more healthy and spirited than European horses, which, during the greatest part of their lives, are chained, like thieves, in dark stables, which resemble dungeons, are obliged to fill rather than refresh their stomachs, with hay dryer than a stone and straw harder than a board, taste oats seldomer and more sparingly than country people do cakes, and endure frequent and long hunger and thirst, sometimes through the dishonesty or laziness of servants, sometimes through the avarice of their masters, who are more anxious about employing than about feeding their beasts; not to mention the continual annoyance they undergo from the putting on and taking off of their iron shoes; and even the pain frequently inflicted on them in this operation from the awkwardness of blacksmiths. All these circumstances considered, instead of wondering that the horses of our country are subject to so many diseases, I rather feel surprized that one remains alive.

Mules in company with horses fill the plains

of Paraguay, nor shall they be separated in my relation. You will see many of them equal in height to horses, but, on the other hand, the major part are less than those which Italy or Spain produces. You may judge of the multitude of them from this circumstance, that Paraguay yearly sends about eighty thousand to Peru, in return for which she receives all the silver to be seen in her churches and houses, with no inconsiderable advantage. For unbroken mules, two years of age, valued, generally speaking, at three Spanish crowns in Paraguay, fetch ten and often fourteen in Peru. Who can reckon the number of mules, employed either in bearing burdens or in carrying a rider, in the cities and estates of Paraguay? Many thousands of them are constantly occupied in conveying the herb of Paraguay from the woods to the cities, and numbers are yearly sacrificed both to the roughness of the road and the cruelty of their drivers. I have known estates which contained four thousand mules, and many more thousand mares kept for breeding mules.

The young mules, at two years old, are taught to carry burdens or to bear a rider; but being extremely wild, occasion their instructors continual trouble and danger. However docile and obedient they may have appeared in times past, you never can entirely trust to them. For as

the Spanish proverb goes, a mule will serve his master seventy years, that he may kick him to death at last. Broken legs, bodies dragged along the ground, cut hands, heads dashed against trees or stones, and other accidents of the same nature, mournfully confirm the truth of this adage. For mules, though stronger than any horse, though accustomed to traverse woods, rocky places, and trackless plains, with both a firmer and gentler pace, and though less liable to hurt their feet, are much more to be dreaded by their riders, on account of their being constantly suspicious of danger. All of a sudden they halt on the road astonished, smell the grass, prick up their ears to listen, and with eyes wandering in every direction descry the most distant objects. The uncommon colour of a plant, a strange smell, the piping of birds, the rustling of trees, or an unusual agitation of the leaves occasioned by the wind, fills them with suspicions of the approach of a tiger, especially at dusk, or at dark night. Presently, seized with sudden terror, they run away with their rider, and unless he be possessed of great presence of mind, either throw him on the ground or drag him along with his feet sticking in the stirrup. The kicking of mules is very dangerous, on account of its being so quickly and frequently repeated. These animals, there-

fore, are never more to be dreaded than when they are themselves afraid, for at such times they become unmanageable, and seem as if they had lost their senses. As the trade in mules is lucrative in Paraguay, it is also dangerous to the merchants, on account of the exceeding timidity of these animals. Ten thousand mules, entirely free and without bridles, are often driven, by a few Spanish guards, in one drove. At the slightest alarm they all take to flight, hurry over the plain, and hide themselves in interminable deserts, whilst no industry in the horsemen, nor swiftness in the horses, is sufficient to bring them back again. Many have been ruined by mules running away and being lost in this manner.

I have been acquainted with men, in other respects brave and intrepid, who, warned by the danger of others, resolved never in their lives to ride on a mule. I have known many more, who, scorning the most excellent horses, would never travel on any other animal. Neither is this preference to be condemned, for mules, though fearful and treacherous, possess many good qualities which do not belong to horses. Their pace, especially that of the amblers, is easy and firm, by which means they always tread with safety, whether they have to ascend rocks or to creep over marshy places, though horses are better for

crossing deep marshes and rivers, on account of their height. One mule is sufficient in a long and difficult journey which would fatigue four horses. Mules are contented with the readiest and coarsest food, though generally fat and sleek. Many of them surpass the swiftest horses in speed, as I have often observed in the races of the soldiers. They are longer lived than most other beasts. In the town of S. Joachim I had mules more than thirty years old, which would bear a rider, and sometimes contrive to kick him off too. Moreover they are possessed of athletic strength, for they are accustomed to carry almost four hundred weight, in journies of many months, through very rough roads, when laden with the herb of Paraguay. In a word, I am unable to determine whether the virtues or vices of mules preponderate.

By the right of relationship asses should be spoken of between horses and mules. They wander by crowds in the plains of Paraguay, and with their braying prevent the neighbouring inhabitants from the enjoyment of sleep. In Italy and Portugal the ass is a very much employed animal, and used both for the pannier and the saddle. In Paraguay they enjoy a perpetual exemption from labour. In the larger estates great numbers of asses are maintained for the purpose of breeding mules. The female

asses are less prolific than you would imagine, but we were never able to discover the cause of their sterility. Asses continually fall a prey to tigers, especially those kept to breed mules, which they prefer to the common sort. No American ever accused asses of pusillanimity, for they bravely repel any tiger, whom they see approaching, with their heels, and defend themselves more pertinaciously than horses; but being here, as every where else, stupid and dilatory, are generally vanquished by the swiftness or cunning of tigers. The Spaniards also kill a great number every year for the sake of the fat which they have in their necks, and which is used, by tanners, to dress and soften stags' skins, and for other purposes. In this vast abundance of horses and mules which Paraguay rears, would not the most needy of the Spaniards or negroes be ashamed to ride upon an ass? But in the territories belonging to Rioja and Catamarca, where horses are not so abundant, the lower orders of Spaniards do not disdain to saddle asses. By a useful edict we took care to prevent the Guaranies from possessing horses, to deprive them of the dangerous opportunity of wandering. Persons of both sexes made use of their own asses to carry home the produce of the neighbouring fields. But those charged with guarding cattle and

other offices in the town, always had horses and mules prepared and in readiness.

Paraguay also abounds in numerous flocks of sheep, no ways differing from those of our country. Some of the Guarany colonies have counted thirty thousand, others fewer, according to the number of inhabitants and the size of the pastures. The wool was used chiefly for the clothing of the male Indians, for the women covered themselves with a piece of white cloth made of cotton. An Indian is never content unless he has his belly well filled, and his body well covered; so that a number of sheep and oxen seemed requisite to the preservation of these colonies, the latter supplying meat for food, and the former wool for clothing. Sheep, on account of their tenderness, demand greater care than the larger cattle. Hence we were extremely solicitous to supply them with diligent and faithful shepherds, whom we frequently admonished to bring the flock at stated hours to the folds, which being furnished with a roof, though not with walls, commodiously defended them against the night dew, the heat of the sun, and the attacks of lions and tigers; not to send the sheep into the plain till the sun and wind had dried up the dew; carefully to keep them from marshy places, from the dewy grass, and from thistles and thorns; for too

much moisture affects sheep with a mortal cough, and thorns tear their wool; and, lastly, to look about anxiously for pastures abounding in nitre, wholesome grass, and plenty of water. Shepherds should take great care to collect the young lambs, as soon as they are yeaned, and remove them to a safe place, where they may be suckled and licked by their mothers. Should this precaution be neglected, they will certainly be crushed under foot by the old sheep. It is also proper to see whether they are afflicted with worms, which are often bred in the wool. It conduces much to the enriching an estate to distribute the whole flock, consisting of ten or thirteen thousand sheep, into lesser companies, and to assign to each separate folds, pastures, and shepherds, that the care being divided amongst many, each may perform his own office more easily and completely. By these arts the estates of the Guaranies daily gained such accessions of sheep as an European will hardly credit.

Something must now be said of the climate of Paraguay. The temperature of the air varies in different places. Those which are nearest to the south are colder. In the Magellanic region, which is included in Paraguay, the cold is generally intense, the neighbouring mountains are constantly covered with snow, the south

winds are extremely violent, and dreadfully agitate that sea, which is dreaded by all sailors. The territory of Buenos-Ayres itself, situated in the 34th degree of lat. is too cold for tobacco, cotton, the sugar-cane, the herb of Paraguay, apes, and various kinds of parrots, to subsist there, though it produces plenty of wheat, as well as citrons, peaches, quinces, pomegranates, figs, &c. if the diligence of the agriculturist answer to the fertility of the soil. I never saw any snow beyond the mountains near the province of Chili. The year is divided into four seasons as in Europe, but in different order:—whilst the Europeans enjoy summer it is winter there; whilst it is spring in Europe, it is autumn with the Paraguayrians. For with them November, December, and January, are summer; February, March, and April, autumn; May, June, and July, winter; August, September, and October, spring. In the month of August the trees bud, the birds build their nests, the swallows return from their places of retirement. In the winter there is no snow and very seldom frost, so that melons and vegetables will grow up, and not be hurt by the asperity of the air. But in the mountains of Taruma, three frosts succeed one after another. The third, which is much severer than the other two, is always followed, about noon the same

day, by a tempest, accompanied with thunder, lightning, and torrents of rain, which causes the herbs, killed by the frosts, to revive, or fresh ones to spring up. The temperature of the air varies according to the wind. The south wind is cold, the north, hot: hence we often had winter and summer in the same day, whenever one wind succeeded to the other. Nor is the difference of winter fixed and certain. For some countries, Brazil for instance, are afflicted with continual rain at that season, whilst others are distressed by long droughts, lasting many months, as is the case with the territory of St. Iago del Estero. Thunderstorms are not peculiar, as in Europe, to the summer season, but are common to every part of the year: nor can it ever be said that this or that month, though a winter one, will be free from thunder, lightning, and hail. The heat of the sun is excessively painful to horses in travelling, but often more endurable to them when resting in the shade, than in Austria during the hottest part of the summer. That the cold in winter is not very intense you may collect from this circumstance, that the Indians of both sexes and of every age are accustomed to endure it, without danger of any bad consequence, with naked feet, uncovered heads, and no other clothing than a thin piece of linen, and

that the animals remain out of doors day and night. I do not deny that the Indians sometimes use cloaks made of otters' skins to defend them against the cold air. The shortest day with the Paraguayrians is in the month of June, the summer solstice in Europe. The sun rises at the sixth hour and fifty-second minute, and sets at the fifth hour and seventh minute. Their longest day is in the month of December, our winter solstice. The sun rises at the fifth hour and seventh minute, and sets at the sixth hour and fifty-second minute. I speak of that part of the sky under which lie the Guarany colonies situated in the 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th degrees of latitude. From which it appears that there is no day in Paraguay so long or so short as in our Germany. The air of so extensive a province is necessarily various, but for the most part extremely healthful, and calculated to induce longevity.

A history may justly be called defective, if it do not slightly touch upon what is most worthy of note in the wild beasts, amphibious animals, birds, fishes, plants, trees, and their fruit. We will begin with quadrupeds. The tiger appears first on the scene.

THE TIGER.

Paraguay abounds in tigers from the number of its cattle, which are the food of these beasts. They are all marked with black spots, but the skin of some is white, that of others yellow. As the African lions far exceed those of Paraguay in size and ferocity, the African tigers yield in like proportion to the Paraguayrians in the size of their bodies. In the estate of St. Ignatius, which belongs to the Cordoban college, we found the skin of a tiger, that had been killed the day before, fastened to the ground with wooden pegs: it measured three ells and two inches in length, which is no smaller than the dimensions of the hide of a full grown ox. But the largest tiger is much slenderer than any ox.

Tigers, whether springing out like cats or in the act of flight, run extremely quick, but not for a long time together; for as they soon tire, an active horseman may overtake and kill them. In the woods they defend themselves amongst the trees and rocky places, and pertinaciously repulse assailants. It is incredible what slaughters they daily commit in the estates. Oxen, sheep, horses, mules, asses, they kill without difficulty, but never eat till putrid. They devour stinking flesh in preference to sweet, as the following facts will clearly prove. Should a Spaniard, an Indian, and a Negro sleep toge-

ther near the same fire and in the same place, the tiger will reject the Spaniard and Indian without hesitation, and rush to devour the Negro; for Negroes' flesh they reckon a dainty, because it is most stinking. Tigers will devour, to the last morsel, horses' carcasses streaming with liquid putrefaction, though living horses be at hand. Both Spaniards and Indians conspire against these destructive beasts. They construct a very large chest, like a mousetrap, composed of immense pieces of wood, and supported upon four wheels, and drag it with four oxen into that place where they have discovered traces of tigers. In the farthest corner of the chest, a very stinking piece of flesh is placed, by way of bait, which is no sooner laid hold of by the tiger, than the door of the chest falls and shuts him in, and he is killed by a musket or a spear put through the interstices of the planks. In the town of the Rosary we spied a tiger not yet full grown, but menacing and formidable to all he met, in a wood, a gun's shot distant from my house. Myself and three armed Spaniards flew to kill him; on seeing us, by flying here and there amongst the trees and brambles, he contrived to get out of sight. Following his footsteps we found him lurking in an aged, very large, and almost hollow tree, which, to deprive the tiger of all egress or means of escape, we strewed about with pieces of wood, making

a hole in the side of it, that the lurking beast might be put to death with arms, which I at last effected without the least danger to myself. You cannot conceive how the tiger leapt up and down in the hollow of the tree after receiving a few wounds. The skin, which was pierced with shot and the sword till it was like a sieve, could be made no use of, though the flesh afforded the Abipones a sumptuous supper. But as tigers are possessed of singular strength, swiftness, and cunning, it is scarcely safe for one person to pursue them in the open plain. I do not deny that a tiger may be sometimes pierced or strangled, by a Spaniard or Indian alone. But a Spaniard or Indian is often torn to pieces by a tiger from the spear's thrust missing, or failing to inflict a mortal blow; for unless the interior of the head, the heart, or the spine of the back be wounded, this powerful beast does not fall, but gets infuriated, and attacks the aggressor with rage proportioned to the pain of the wound.

On this account, whenever any of those beasts are to be destroyed, many men armed with spears unite together; the use of the musket alone is almost always dangerous; for unless the tiger is knocked down by the first ball, he leaps furiously to the place whence the fire proceeded, and tears the man that inflicted the

wound. He, therefore, that does not choose to run the risk of his life, goes accompanied on each side by two spearmen, who pierce the tiger as it advances to attack him, after he has fired his musket. Taught by the danger of others, I found that bullets must not be rashly used against tigers. Travelling with six Mocobios, from the city of Santa Fè to the town of St. Xavier, I passed the night on the banks of the round lake, in the open air, as usual; the earth was our bed, the sky our covering. The fire, our nightly defence against tigers, shone for a while in the midst of us as we slept, but at length grew very low. In the middle of the night a tiger crept towards us. My Indian companions, that they might not appear distrustful of the friendship of the Spaniards, had begun the journey unarmed. Anticipating no danger, I had neglected to load my musket. At my direction, firebrands were dexterously hurled at the approaching tiger. At each throw he leapt back roaring, but resumed courage, and returned again and again, more threatening than before. Meantime I loaded my musket. But as the darkness deprived me of all hope of killing the tiger, and left me only the desire to escape, I loaded my musket with plenty of shot, and fired it off without a ball. The beast, alarmed at the horrid thundering, instantly fled, and we lay down to sleep

again, rejoicing in our success. Next day, at noon, in a narrow path, bounded on one side by a lake, and on the other by a wood, we met two tigers, which would have been caught with a noose by the pursuing Mocabios, had they not fled and hidden themselves in the wood.

Innumerable tigers are yearly caught with leathern thongs by the Spaniards and Indians, on horseback, and are strangled, after being swiftly dragged for some time along the ground. The Pampas wound the tiger's back with a slender arrow, and kill him instantly. At other times, for the same purpose, they use very strong arrows, or three round stones suspended from thongs, which they hurl at the tiger. How great their strength must be you may judge from this, that if they meet two horses in the pastures tied together with a thong to prevent their escaping, they will attack and slay the one, and drag him, along with the other live one, to their den. I should not have believed this, had I not myself witnessed it, when travelling in company with the soldiers of St. Iago. Their cunning is equal to their strength. If the wood and the plain deny them food, they will procure it by fishing in the water. As they are excellent swimmers, they plunge up to their neck in some lake or river, and spout from their mouths the white froth, which, swimming on the surface of the

water, the hungry fishes eagerly devour as food, and are quickly tossed on to the shore by the claws of the tigers. They also catch tortoises, and tear them from their shells by wondrous artifice, in order to devour them. Sometimes a tiger, lurking unseen under the high grass or in a bramble bush, quietly watches a troop of horse passing by, and rushes with impetuosity on the horseman that closes the company. On rainy and stormy nights they creep into human habitations, not in search of prey or food, but to shelter themselves from the rain and from the cold wind.

Though the very shadow of this beast is enough to create alarm, yet those are most to be dreaded which have already tasted human flesh. Tigers of this description have an intense craving after men, and continually lie in wait for them. They will follow a man's footstep for many leagues till they come up with the traveller.

It will be proper in this place to give account of some methods of defence against tigers. If you climb a tree to avoid falling into the clutches of a tiger, he will ascend it also. In this case urine must be your instrument of defence. If you cast this into the eyes of the tiger, when he is threatening you at the foot of the tree, you are safe—the beast will immediately take to flight. In the night a blazing fire

affords great security against tigers. Dogs also are dreaded by them, though these they sometimes cruelly flay and tear to pieces. The Spaniards have mastiffs which are very formidable to tigers. In the town of St. Ferdinand a tiger often stole by night into the sheepfolds, killed the sheep, sucked their blood, and leaving their bodies, carried away their heads. This audacity at length appearing to us no longer endurable, at sun-set twenty Abipones armed themselves with spears to kill the mischievous beast, and placed themselves in ambush. Another, armed with pistols, lay down in the midst of the flock. Though the men were silently concealed in the court-yard close by, yet the tiger, aware of the circumstance, either from the smell or hearing, durst not approach the sheepfold. At length, despairing of his arrival, the watchers, about night-fall, returned to their huts. Scarcely had they turned their backs, when the tiger returned and tore to pieces ten sheep. To search him out, all the Abipones that were at home set off on foot, armed on both sides with spears, ready to strike whenever the beast appeared. At the request of the Indians, I closed the company, armed with a gun and bayonet and some pistols. After diligently exploring the vicinity, as no tiger appeared, we returned home without

effecting our business, and saluted by the hisses of the women. But the very same tiger at sunset daily approached the town, to tear away part of the carcass of a dead horse, without ever being caught by the Indians who lay in wait for him. The Abipones have continual contests with tigers, and unless the spear misses, are uniformly victorious. Hence an Abipon is very rarely devoured by a tiger, but innumerable tigers are devoured by the Abipones. Their flesh, though horridly ill-savoured even when quite fresh, is eagerly craved after by the equestrian savages, who also drink melted tiger's fat, esteeming it nectar, and even believing it a means of producing valour. They all detest the thought of eating hens, eggs, sheep, fish, and tortoises, imagining that those tender kinds of food engender sloth and languor in their bodies, and cowardice in their minds. On the other hand, they eagerly devour the flesh of the tiger, bull, stag, boar, anta, and tamandua, having an idea that, from continually feeding on these animals, their strength, boldness, and courage are increased. In repeated battles with tigers many persons are wounded by their claws. The scars, after the wounds are healed, occasion excessive pain and burning, which no time nor medicine can ever relieve. The tigers themselves are tormented with the heat of their own

claws, and in order to relieve the pain, they rub them against the tree *scibo*, and leave the mark of their nails in the bark.

The tiger spares no living creature; all it attacks, but with various fortune and success: for horses and mules, unless they save their lives by speedy flight, are generally overcome; asses, when they can gain a place where they may defend their backs, repel the assailant, by going round and round, and kicking very quickly for a long time; but in the open plain they seldom obtain a victory. Cows, trusting to their horns, defend themselves and their calves with the utmost intrepidity. Mares, on the contrary, at the approach of a tiger, desert their foals and take to flight. Antas lie down on their backs, await the advancing foe with expanded arms, and immediately on his assault squeeze him to death, if we may credit the testimony of the natives. Tigers' skins are used by the Abipones for breastplates, for horsecloths, for carpets, and for wrappers. In Spain, every skin is sold for four, and sometimes six German florens. In the hope of gain, a number of Spaniards join together in Paraguay, and go out to hunt tigers. A vast quantity of tigers' skins are yearly sent to Spain. In the city of Sta. Fè, I knew a Spaniard at first indigent, who, from this trade in skins,

within a few years excited the envy of others by his opulence.

To the tiger kind belong two other wild beasts, but smaller, and not so ferocious. One of them is called by the Spaniards *onza*, the other by the Guaranies *mbaracaya*. These, though seldom offensive to other animals, often depopulate a whole henroost by night, but are seldom seen by day.

THE LION.

The Paraguayrian lions seem unworthy of so great a name; for they are quite unlike those of Africa in form, size, and disposition. They never attempt any thing against horses, oxen, and men, and are dreaded only by calves, foals, and sheep. The Paraguayrian lions suit well with the old Spanish saying, *No es tan bravo el leon, como se pinta*, the lion is not so fierce as his picture. You can scarce distinguish their flesh from veal, so that the Spaniards and Indians devour it with avidity. Their skin is tawny and spotted with white. Their head is large and round, their eyes sparkling, and nose flat. Their whiskers are composed of long hard hairs, like bristles, for I have handled them myself; but hear on what occasion. The guards of the estates, both Spaniards and Indians, had a custom of preserving the heads of the lions and

tigers which they slew, fastened with stakes to the folds of the cattle, as testimonies of their vigilance and courage, in the same manner as the heads and hands of criminals are seen fixed to a pole in the place appointed for their punishment. In a certain estate I got up upon the hedges, examined the heads of the lions and tigers, of which there was an immense number, observed their eyes, ears, and teeth, and tore some hair out of the whiskers of the tigers, which resembled wire, were thick at the root, and endued with a kind of elastic property. I cannot understand why the Abipones do not rear the whelps of lions, as they reckon tigers' whelps a dainty, though they are never procured without danger. Before they are full grown they give proofs of their native ferocity, and with their little tender claws and teeth fly upon all they meet, especially in the heat of the sun. One man deprived a tiger's whelp of its teeth and claws, to prevent it from doing any mischief, but though destitute of its arms, it used to rush upon children and calves, and would certainly have crushed and strangled them, had they not been instantly rescued. That the danger might not increase as he grew up, he was forced to be shot.

THE WILD CAT.

In most of the woods you may see wild cats,

differing from the domestic ones in our country in no other respect except that the extremity of the tail is flatter and more compressed, and that they are superior in size. They are also of various colours. The Indians eat them roasted, but being extremely swift and shy, they are not killed without difficulty. We had a young cat in the town of Conception, born of a tame mother and a wild father, than which I never saw a larger or handsomer, or one more ferocious and fugitive.

THE ANTA, OR THE GREAT BEAST.

The more secluded woods towards the north are the haunts of this animal, which the Spaniards call the Anta, or *La gran bestia*. In size it resembles a full grown ass: in shape, if you except its eyes, head, and feet, a pig. It has rather short ears, inclining towards the forehead, very sharp teeth and lips, like those of a calf, the upper part of which somewhat resembles a proboscis, and is thrust forward by the animal when he is angry. The fore feet are cloven into two hollow nails, the hind feet into three. A smooth unhairly appendage supplies the place of a tail. The skin is of a tawny colour and extremely thick, on which account it is dried in the air by the Spaniards and Abipones, and used for a breast-plate to ward off the blows of swords and

arrows, but is penetrable to shot and to spears. This beast flies the sight of man, though possessed of such extraordinary strength as, when caught with a rope, to drag along with him in his flight both horse and rider. It generally sleeps in the day-time, and by night, wandering up and down the recesses of the woods, feeds upon herbs; it frequently betrays itself by the rustling noise it makes in breaking the branches of shrubs and trees as it walks about the woods. The Indians who inhabit the woods lay traps, made of stakes, to catch the antas, or concealing themselves in some thicket, imitate the sound of their voices, and pierce the beasts on their arrival with arrows; for their flesh, either fresh or hardened by the air, is continually eaten by the savages, though its toughness renders it rather unpalatable. In the stomach of the anta lies a pouch, which is often found to contain a number of bezoar stones, scarce bigger than a hazelnut, not oblong nor oval, but polygonous, and of the colour of ashes or lead. These are thought by physicians superior to the bezoar stones supplied by other beasts, and more efficacious as medicine. Arapotiyu, the young Indian whom I brought from the woods of Mbaeverà, which the savages call the country of the antas, gave me a heap of these bezoar stones:—"Take, father," said he, "these most salutary little stones,

which I have collected from the antas I have killed." On my inquiring what virtue they attributed to them, and how they were used in the woods, he replied—"Whenever we are seized with a malignant heat, we rub our limbs with these antas' stones, after warming them at the fire, and receive immediate relief." This use of the bezoar stone I submit to the judgment of physicians, for it must be confessed I never made trial of its virtues. The nails of antas are much esteemed by the Spaniards, as remedies for ill-health, and worn by them as amulets, to defend them from noxious airs: they are said to be sold in the druggists' shops in Europe, for various medicinal purposes, especially for persons afflicted with epilepsy, small-pox, and measles, as is related by Woytz in his Medico-physical Thesaurus, where he affirms that antas are often afflicted with epilepsy or the falling-sickness, and that, to relieve the pain, they rub the left ear with the nail of the fore foot. The truth of the fact must be looked to by those who have affirmed it, and have hazarded the assertion that the anta is called by the Germans *elendthier*, the miserable beast, because it is subject to epilepsy. But in reality it was called by the old Germans *elck*, by the Greeks *ἀλκή*, and by the Latins *alx* or *alce*. As it appears from all writers, that elks are horned in the

northern countries of Europe, and as I myself saw, that those in Paraguay have no horns, I began to doubt whether they were not a different animal altogether, and only bore the same name on account of some similitude.

I do not agree with those who call elks *equicervi*, mongrel creatures born of a stag and a mare. This cannot be imagined for a moment of the Paraguayrian antas, which inhabit the roughest and most rugged forests, not only unknown but almost inaccessible both to horses and stags. The antas choose plains full one hundred leagues distant, where they can never meet with either of those animals. However this may be, I advise giving credit to those who, in the present age, have written more fully on natural history from authority.

THE HUANACO.

This animal, which the Spaniards call Guanáco, and the Abipones Hakahátak, as it has no name in Latin, may be called *ἐλαφοκαμηλον*, a camelopard, as the ostrich is called a camel. For whilst it resembles a stag in other particulars, its head, neck, the bunch on its back, the fissure of the upper lip, and the tail a span long, are like those of a camel. Its feet are cloven, and its skin shaggy, and for the most part of a reddish colour. The hair of this beast serves to

make hats with. Its flesh is eaten both by Spaniards and Indians. Its swiftness stands it in the stead of arms. It never attempts to kick or bite, but when offended by any one, spits at him in a rage; this saliva is commonly said first to create a red pustule, and afterwards to bring on the mange. Like goats, these animals inhabit rocks and high mountains, but come down in flocks, at pleasure, for the sake of the pasture in the plains below the mountains; mean time one of the males occupies a high place, whence, like a watchman from a tower, he sees if any danger is near, and surveys every part of the neighbourhood. The whole flock hurries away upon any alarm, the females going before, and the males closing the company. This is seldom a panic terror, for the huanacos, whilst occupying the pastures in the plain, are often caught by the Spanish horsemen; but very swift horses are necessary for this business, as they run extremely quick. I have often seen flocks of these animals, when travelling in Tucuman, on the Cordoban mountains. Hearing the sound of approaching horses, they crowd to the highest summits of the rocks, whence, ranged like soldiers in a long file, they look down upon the horses as they pass underneath, neigh for some time in a manner strongly resembling human laughter, and presently,

struck with sudden terror, for they are extremely timorous, scour off in all directions. This spectacle frequently amused and delighted us Europeans. Huanacos, though very wild and shy, may be easily tamed in the towns, when young. Besides the skin and flesh of the huanacos, the bezoar stone, which is often found in their insides, is of value. It sometimes weighs more than a pound, is always oval, scarce smaller than a hen's egg, and painted, like marble, with most exquisite colours. Most probably it derives this medicinal property from the animal's feeding upon wholesome herbs, which grow in the mountains: its virtues, however, are thought little of by the physicians of these times, who despise old prescriptions.

THE PERUVIAN SHEEP LLAMÁS.

Peru, the neighbour of Paraguay, produces wild animals, in which the bezoar of various colours, forms, and sizes, is found: namely, the native sheep, which the Indians call Llamás, the Spaniards Carneros de la Tierra, and which are used, like beasts of burden, for carrying weights, not exceeding one hundred pounds.

THE VICUÑA.

This country likewise produces Vicuñas, ani-

mals equal in size to a goat in our country, but not horned, and clothed with wool of a darkish yellow colour, softer than silk, and much esteemed by Europeans. A garment made of this wool cools the body when the sun is oppressively hot. It is said to cure pains in the kidneys, and to assuage the torture of the gout. The flesh of the vicuña, though unsavoury to the palate, is eaten by the Indians; it is also used as medicine. A man who had got a disorder in his eyes, from walking for a long time amidst snow in Peru, was presently relieved of the pain by a piece of vicuña's flesh, applied to the part affected, by an Indian woman.

THE PACO, MACOMORO, & TARÙGA.

Peru also boasts of pacos, macomoros, and tarùgas, which are almost of the same use and appearance as the former, and in like manner produce the bezoar stone.

THE TAMANDUA, OR ANT-EATER.

The tamandua obtains its name from the ants upon which it feeds. But it does not eat every kind of ant, but only those which the Guaranies call *cupis*, and their eggs. When these are not to be had, it takes up with little worms, winged insects, honey, and meat cut into very small particles. In bulk it is

equal to a very large pig, but superior in length and height. Its head does not correspond to the size of its body. A very small fissure, which is seen in its long snout, serves it for a mouth, under which is concealed a blackish, smooth tongue, slenderer than the goose's quill I am writing with, but twenty-five inches long. This he dips into a hill of ants, scraped together with his nails, and when covered with those insects, or their little eggs, draws back again into his mouth, and swallows them instantly. This animal has small black eyes, middle-sized, and almost round ears, and a blackish skin, interspersed here and there with white, and for the most part hairy. From the extremity of the fore-feet project four curved nails, of which the two middle are very strong, and three inches in length; they are quite necessary arms to the tamandua, for with them he digs up, and removes the turf under which the ants' nests lie. The hind feet have five fingers, furnished with as many nails, and in walking make the same footsteps as a boy. The tail, which is covered with stiff bristles, longer than the hairs in a horse's mane, is as long as his whole body, and so wide that, bent towards the neck, with the hairs expanded on each side like a fan, or fly-flap, it covers his whole body when he sleeps, and defends him not only

against cold, but even against rain. This beast is not able to keep running for any length of time, and may be easily caught by a person on horseback, or even on foot. Its flesh is eaten by the Indians, but not reckoned a dainty. When young it is very soon tamed in the colonies of the Indians, but seldom brought up by them, because it must be chiefly fed upon ants, which are very troublesome to procure.

THE WILD BOAR.

Four different species of boars abound in Paraguay. The most remarkable are those which have upon their backs a spongy, glandulous little piece of flesh, swelled with a white liquor resembling milk, and scented like musk. This boss is immediately amputated after the animal's death, before the intolerable odour of musk has infected the flesh, and rendered it unfit for use. In woods, near marshes, and marshy fields, wander herds of boars, which are killed, either with a stake, or with arrows, by the Indians. Herds of boars sometimes rushed into the colony of St. Ferdinand, perhaps from the hope of finding food there, perhaps from some other motive. But the Abipones, assembling together, killed a great number of them, and feasted sumptuously upon their flesh for some days. I was told that boars entered the

towns of the Uruguay in the same manner. The Abiponian women make themselves travelling dresses of the skins of this animal, and its bristles are collected into small bundles, and used as combs.

VARIOUS KINDS OF LITTLE FOXES.

THE ZORRINO.

There are three sorts of foxes here, different from those of our country. The Abipones call the larger ones Kaalk, the lesser Licheran, and the least Lichera, which last is named Zorrino by the Spaniards, and by the French Canadians Bête Puante, the stinking beast, or *Enfant du Diable*, child of the devil; appellations which it justly deserves. This animal, which is equal in size to a small rabbit, of a chesnut colour, and marked on each side by two white lines, though it pleases the eyes by its elegant form, offends the nostrils by its excessive stink. It may be commended for beauty, but not for politeness; for at every passer-by it squirts, with certain aim, a liquor so pestilent, that dogs, if sprinkled with it, will howl dreadfully, and roll themselves for some time on the ground, as if scalded with boiling water. If it touch the eyes, blindness is the certain consequence. If a woollen or linen garment, a stick, or any

thing else, be sprinkled with it, no farther use can be made of the article on account of the stink, which no art will ever take away. If one of these animals shed his urine in the open plain, the stench is carried by the wind the space of a league. That white liquor shines in the night like phosphorus, and wherever it passes, looks like a ray of fire. If a skunk creep into a house, and scatter any of that terrible liquor, the inhabitants, one and all, rush out, as if the house was on fire, and fly into the street or open plain, to breathe freely, that they may not be stifled with the stench. Therefore, although this animal is very little and weak, it is dreaded extremely by tigers, mastiffs, and all mortals. Its unequalled stink is its means of defence. Whoever desires to possess its most beautiful skin, in order to catch it, without injury to himself, must take it by the tail, and hold it with its head towards the ground; for, by this means, it loses the use of its pestiferous syringe, and cannot squirt out that horrible liquid. Some assert that the fat in the kidneys of the skunk is either the cause, or the receptacle of the stink, and that if this be taken away, the flesh may be eaten, and is not of an unpleasant savour: I envy no one such a dainty.

Many have written of the skunk, but gene-

rally from the accounts of others : I, alas ! from my own experience. I feel both shame and grief in refreshing the sad remembrance of my disaster ; but will, nevertheless, relate it, to show you my candour. When, with some fifty companions, we journeyed from the port of Buenos-Ayres, where we first landed, through an immense plain of an hundred and forty leagues, to Cordoba, we were all conveyed in waggons, drawn by four oxen ; for a waggon in those deserts serves both for house and bed. Reclining, day and night, upon a mattrass, we pursued our journey according to the season, the roads, and the weather. The jolting of this rude vehicle creates nausea, and fatigues the whole frame, so that quitting it at evening, to enjoy the fresh air, was quite a relief. As I was walking with two Spaniards, I spied a skunk gently approaching us : “ Look,” cried I, “ what a beautiful animal is that !” We trusted too much to external appearance. Not one of us perceived what a pest was concealed under this elegant skin. Hastening our steps we all emulously ran to catch the animal, and my ill stars directed that I should outstrip both the Spaniards. The cunning skunk, spying me near him, feigned submission, stood still, and, as it were, offered himself my captive. Distrusting the blandishments of an animal that was unknown to me,

I gently touched it with a stick. In a moment it lifted up its leg, and discharged at me that Stygian pest. It sprinkled my left cheek all over, and then victorious, took to flight immediately. That my eyes were spared may be accounted a blessing. I stood thunderstruck, become, in an instant, intolerable to myself; for the horrid stench had diffused itself from my cheek into every part of my body, to my very inner garments; and spreading in a moment through the plain, far and wide, announced what had happened to my companions. Some on foot, some on horseback, they all hastened to look at me, amidst peals of laughter; but, smelling me from a distance, returned a long way back, with greater speed than they had come. Like an excommunicated person, I was shunned by all, and was forbidden to enter the very tent where I used to sup with the rest. I, therefore, betook myself to my own waggon. On asking the Spanish driver if he smelt any thing amiss, he replied that he had been deprived of the power of smell for four years. "Oh! fortunate circumstance!" cried I, for if the driver had been in possession of this faculty, I should have been banished from my own waggon also. Throwing off all my clothes, I washed, wiped, and rubbed my face over and over again. But this was washing the black-

amoor white. That night I wished I could have been separated from my body, so entirely had that liquid exhalation penetrated my very fibres, especially my cheek, which it burnt like fire. My clothes, all of which I had entirely thrown off, though daily exposed to wind, rain, sun, and dust, for more than a month, on the top of the waggon, always retained the vile scent, and could be made no possible use of. Had I a hundred tongues I should think them all insufficient to convey an adequate idea of the stench of this ill-scented beast. Whether it be urine which it discharges, or any other liquid, I am at a loss to determine. This is indubitable,—that if Theophrastus, Paracelsus, and any other chemist, had conspired together, in all their furnaces and shops, and with all their arts, they could never have composed a stink more intolerable than that which the skunk exhales by nature. Spirit of hartshorn, or any more powerful odour, if there be such, will be called aromatic scents, frankincense, balm of Gilead, and the most fragrant carnations and roses, by him that has once smelt the skunk. Europe may be congratulated upon her good fortune in being unacquainted with this cursed beast.

THE BISCACHA.

Let this fetid animal be succeeded by the

ridiculous biscacha, which closely resembles a hare, has a tail like that of a fox, and is marked with black and white spots. Its hair is exceedingly soft. In the plains, particularly in the more elevated situations, these animals dig themselves burrows so artfully, that no part of them is exposed to the rain. They are divided into separate apartments, as several families usually inhabit the same place. On the surface of the earth many doors are opened into the cave, at which crowds of them sit at sunset, and carefully listen if any one be approaching; but if all is quiet they go out to pasture on moonlight nights, and make deplorable havoc in the neighbouring plains; for they are extremely fond of wheat and maize, and if either of these is to be had, will not feed on grass. At the doors of their burrows they heap up dry bones, bits of wood, and any other rubbish they can light upon, but for what purpose, no one hitherto has been able even to conjecture. The Spanish rustics sometimes amuse themselves with hunting these animals. They pour many pitchers of water into their subterranean dwellings, so that, to avoid drowning, the creatures leap out into the plain, and, no opportunity of escape being allowed them, are killed with stakes. Their flesh, unless they be very old, is not despised, even by the Spaniards.

THE HARE.

Hares, differing from those of Europe, in size alone, do exist in Paraguay; but I imagine there must be very few, because, though I have often traversed the whole province, and have lived chiefly amongst the Indians, who spare no kinds of animals, I never saw but one. In Tucuman, where it looks towards Peru, I understand that hares are not so scarce.

VARIOUS KINDS OF RABBITS.

As rabbits are extremely numerous in every part of this country, there is likewise great variety amongst them. Some, of various colours, like those of our country, live under ground. Others, which hide themselves under shrubs and bushes, are less than hares, larger than our rabbits, and of a bay, or rather a chesnut colour. Their flesh, which is extremely well tasted, may be seen at the tables even of the more wealthy. Several pairs of these rabbits are said to have been brought from Spain by some person who, in travelling through Paraguay into Peru, took rabbits of each sex out of their coop, and set them loose on the plain to feed, at which time some of them escaped and ran away. Their posterity is, at this day, extremely numerous in Tucuman, especially in the land of

St. Iago. Other kinds of rabbits, scarce bigger than dormice, conceal themselves sometimes in the hedges of fields, sometimes in holes under ground, and, being innumerable, are extremely pernicious to wheat. The Abipones, who undertake most of their journeys without provisions, when they wish to dine or sup, set fire to the tall dry grass in the plain, in order to kill and roast the animals concealed underneath it, which leap out for fear of the fire. Were tigers, deer, stags, and emus, not to be had, there would never be a deficiency of rabbits, a hundred of which they easily take, and hang upon a string, after a chase of this kind. I was told by Barreda, the old General of the St. Iagans, that in hasty marches in search of the enemy, when there was no time for hunting, rabbits, dried in the air, served the Abipones for victuals.

THE STAG.

The shores of the Parana and Paraguay, and the larger islands of these rivers, abound in stags, which, in no respect, differ from those of Europe. Not one is to be seen in any other part of Paraguay. The Abipones pursue the stags on swift horses, and laying hold of their horns, kill them either with a knife or a spear; they also pierce them with thick arrows, when

hunting in a wood impervious to horses. Formerly, before the savages were acquainted with iron, they prefixed a stag's horn to their spears, instead of an iron point, and this weapon inflicted very deep wounds. Whilst I dwelt amongst them, some of the elder Abipones still used spears pointed with stags' horn, and were the more dreaded on that account. Stags' skins, which are used for various purposes, the Spaniards soften and polish with the melted fat of mares. They also entertain an idea that the smallest piece of stag's skin, worn close to the body, is a powerful preservative against the bites of serpents, as it is well known that stags and deer have frequent conflicts with these animals.

ROEBUCKS.

On entering the plain, wherever you turn your eyes you will see nothing but roebucks, exactly like European ones. Those which inhabit the plains are of a chesnut colour, but brighter; those which live in the woods, of a darker chesnut, but both are marked with white spots. When young they are easily tamed at home. I once nourished a little fawn, only a few days old, brought me by an Indian, on cow's milk, and reared it in my own apartment. When grown older, it went daily into the plain

to pasture along with the cows, which are milked in the court-yard, but returned to my room of its own accord. When he found it shut he signified his arrival by knocking against the door with his feet, often in the middle of the night. He followed me, whether walking or riding, like a dog. He beheld a crowd of dogs running after him without alarm, and often put them to flight by stamping on the ground with his feet. By tinkling a collar of bells which I placed round his neck, he frightened all the dogs, and deceived them into thinking him some strange and formidable animal. He fed upon meat, bread, roots, and grass, but a sheet of paper was quite a treat to him, and sweeter than honey to his taste. The collar, which many months before I had fitted to his neck, beginning to squeeze him as he grew older, I endeavoured to loosen it; when the little animal, imagining that I did it with the intent of causing his death, and believing me to be his enemy, took to flight, and wandered up and down the more distant plains, without revisiting me for a month. He was often seen by the Indians. At length I directed my attention towards recalling and reconciling him. Allured by a sheet of paper, which I showed him from a distance, he approached me, though with a trembling foot, and being presented at intervals with fresh

sheets of paper, followed me to the house, unmindful of his terror and offence, and ever after remained, as long as he lived, with the utmost fidelity in my house. He would often fight with mules for half an hour together, affording a spectacle worthy to be seen and applauded by the assembled Indians; for resting on his fore-feet, he kicked the head of the mule every now and then with his hinder ones, and whilst his antagonist with bites and kicks endeavoured to render like for like, the fawn, by leaping backwards and forwards with incredible celerity, eluded the threats and anger of the enraged beast. After obtaining so many victories, to the astonishment and applause of the whole town, engaging in the plain with an untamed mule, his back was broken by the kicks of his adversary, which occasioned his death, at two years of age, when, being a male, he had very large horns. You will scarce believe how we grieved for his death. I still have in my possession a music-book bound with his skin.

THE YKIPARÀ.

The ykiparà, a species of mole lurking in holes under ground, makes a horrid noise, like the sound of a great drum beat at a distance, which is scarce heard without alarm by strangers. I cannot describe the appearance of this

little animal, never having seen, though frequently heard it. I imagine that its voice must sound the louder from being re-echoed by the hollow corners and windings of the earth.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF APES.

Were I individually to describe the names, forms, and properties of all the apes which inhabit the North of Paraguay, this subject alone would fill a volume. Those called caraya are the most numerous and the ugliest species. Their hair is tawny, they are full of melancholy, always querulous, always morose, always snappish. As they howl incessantly day and night no one chooses to take them home and tame them. They sit by crowds on trees, and wander about in search of food. When they howl with most pertinacity it is a sign of rain or storms; the sound they utter resembles the creaking of waggons with ungreased wheels, and as hundreds howl in concert, may be heard many leagues off. They are of a middle size.

THE CÀYÍ.

The little apes called càyí are scarce a span long, when full grown; they are merry, playful, and, if tamed young, extremely docile. But they can seldom be allowed to walk up and down the house at large, for, wanting to touch

and taste every thing, they throw down ink-stands and other vessels, spill liquors, tear books, and break every thing made of glass. They put their fingers into boxes, lamps, and jugs, smell them, and dirt the table and people's clothes. They steal every thing fit to eat that they can lay hands on. They are, therefore, tied with a long slender cord in such a manner that they may be able to go up and down. We had a little ape of this kind in the town of St. Joachim, which readily unclasped the men's spurs when they returned from riding. I have seen others take a journey seated on the back of a dog, and by mimicking the actions of men, like buffoons, excite both anger and ridicule. It is, therefore, no wonder that apes of this kind should be prized both by Indians and Europeans, and bought at a high price. Potatoes are their daily fare, but they also feed sometimes on flesh, bread, or any thing made of flour. Great care must be taken not to give them too large a portion, otherwise they will eat till they burst. In the woods, when quite young, they are carried about on the backs of their mothers, round whose necks they put their arms, like infants, and in this manner are borne along the boughs of trees, wherever there is any chance of finding food. An Indian, therefore, who wants a live ape, kills the mother with an

arrow, and the little one never suffers itself to be torn from her without howling. I will tell you something still more surprizing, and which seems almost incredible. The Guaranies sometimes remain in the woods four days together, employed in hunting wild beasts. Having killed a number of apes, they consume part of them on the journey, and roasting the rest to prevent their growing putrid from the heat of the sun, carry them to the town to be eaten at home. The little apes, which are kept alive for diversion, know their mothers when roasted and blacker than a coal, and adhere so tenaciously to their shoulders, that their running away is not the least to be apprehended. Who does not admire the filial affection of these animals, which, though imitators of mankind in other respects, may certainly be their instructors in this ?

BARBUDOS.

The Spanish Paraguayrians employed in collecting the herb of Paraguay in the thick northern woods, often see very large and melancholy apes, with extremely long beards, on account of which circumstance they have given them a ridiculous name which I prudently forbear to mention. They love dark recesses, flying mankind and the light, but are universally dreaded, on account of the arms they make use

of: for at every passer-by they throw some of their stinking dung, which is always ready. But in comparison to that of the skunk, this stink may be accounted rose and saffron. No one has hitherto ever thought of catching and taming them.

THE CARUGUÀ.

In the more secret recesses of the woods wander apes, which the Guaranies call *caruguà*, and the Spaniards *diablos del monte*, devils of the woods. They are hairy, and taller than other apes; in walking they generally stand on their hind-feet. Their footsteps are like those of a boy of fourteen years old. They love solitude, and do not lie in wait for man, but if they spy one near them in the narrow parts of the forests, they tear him to pieces with the utmost ferocity. I knew of a Guarany belonging to the new colony of St. Stanislaus, who died of a dreadful wound he received from a *caruguà*. An Indian belonging to the same colony killed one of these apes in a distant wood. Fearing that the trouble of a long journey, under a burning sun, would prove insufferable, he left the carcass of the beast, but cut off his horrid nails, more formidable than any dagger, and showed them to Father Pietro Paulo Danesi, a Roman, to whom the care of the town was at

that time entrusted; they were carried about the other Guarany towns, that all who beheld might thereby judge of the beast to whom they belonged, and learn to know and dread the terrific arms of the caruguà, whenever they had to traverse rugged forests. I was once very near becoming the prey of one of these ferocious beasts. Passing the night in the woods of Mbaeverà, whilst the Indians and my companion Paschali Vilalba were sound asleep, I heard the noise of boughs breaking, together with a little singing sound resembling a human voice. As the voice and the noise approached nearer to me, and I was at a great distance from the fire of the Indians, I cried out and inquired of my comrades, who were at length awakened by my clamour, what bird or beast uttered those sounds? After listening awhile, they all exclaimed that the caruguà, the devil of the woods, was approaching. A number of them ran to encounter him, armed with spears and firebrands. The beast, alarmed at their approach, hastened back; and thus delivered from peril, I breathed once again.

THE QUATÌ.

The quatì appears to be of a mongrel breed, for its snout is like that of a barrow-pig, its head like that of a fox, while the rest of its

body resembles a middle-sized ape, with a yellow skin, and a tail longer than all the rest of its body, divided into little rings of various colours. Like apes, these animals leap up and down the boughs of trees, on the fruit of which they subsist, though you sometimes meet a numerous herd of them jumping about upon the ground. Even when full grown, they are completely tamed by the Indians, within a few days, but are always destructive to hens, and their eggs, which they delight in.

THE AY.

The last of the different tribes of apes is an animal which, from the slothfulness of its nature, and the slowness of its motions, is called by the Guaranies, ay, and by the Spaniards, *la perezosa*, the sloth. It is about the size of a fox, and has a small head, a narrow face, smooth nose, little black eyes, and long hair, of the colour of ashes, which spreads over its neck like a mane. It has a dusky streak in the middle of its back, long nails, bent backwards on each foot, a wide mouth, a thick tail, weak teeth, no ears; its appearance, in short, is ridiculous and disagreeable in every point of view. It lives upon the tops of trees, and feeds upon their leaves, and sometimes upon the smaller kinds of ants. It never gets up upon its feet,

nor is it ever seen to drink, perhaps content with dew. Slower than any tortoise, it so dreads the slightest motion, that it spends a whole day in creeping up or down a tree. It detests the least drop of rain. Every now and then it pronounces the letter I, like a person groaning. It has a remarkably firm skin; but its flesh is nauseated even by the Indians. From what I have said, you may perceive that this most slothful animal is extremely dissimilar to apes, which spend the whole day in running, leaping, and playing, as if impatient of the shortest respite. The Indians, in travelling, take great delight in the flesh of apes, which, in various countries of America, is the chief and most esteemed food of the Indians. Moreover, many of the Americans have believed apes to possess the power of speech, and to feign themselves dumb, that they may not be obliged to labour by the Spaniards. Whenever an ape is wounded by a bullet, he puts his hand to the wound, as if to prevent his life from being shed with his blood; and when the body is quite lifeless, stiff, and cold, the hand remains in the same situation. I have found, from experience, that their teeth are hurtful and dangerous; for my companion, after being bitten by a mad she ape, was seized with an erysipelas, which spread from the arm to the head, induced a great heat and swelling,

and caused terrible, and almost mortal agonies. In European towns I have seen many apes which are not found in any part of Paraguay; for in various countries there is a great variety of apes; their names are also various on account of the diversity of tongues.

THE ARMADILLO, OR TATÙ.

This little animal, which is scarce larger than a common tortoise, is called by the Spaniards armadillo. Its whole body is armed with horny scales, elegantly varied with red and white. Its head, which resembles that of a young pig, it discovers in walking, but on the approach of danger entirely conceals under this coat of mail. It has rather a long neck. Its scales are clothed here and there with white hairs, especially under the belly. The feet are like those of a tortoise, with five unequal fingers, armed with very sharp nails with which it digs holes under ground to hide itself in, or clings so firmly to the surface of the earth that the strongest man can hardly make it loosen its hold. It has a long scaly tail, of which, prefixed to a reed, the Abipones make military trumpets. Its little ears are destitute both of hairs and scales. It is furnished with two joints near the neck, so that it can bend its throat here and there. It runs very fast, and makes many doubles to

escape the pursuit of dogs and men. It feeds upon herbs and roots, drinks plentifully and grows very fat. Dogs discover its subterranean retreats by the scent. This animal does not lay eggs, like a tortoise, but brings forth a numerous living progeny. Paraguay produces three species of armadillos, all different in form, size and name. To the first kind belong armadillos full two spans long, and larger than a barrow-pig, with very long nails, and some with yellow, others with red hairs. The scales of the red ones, half burnt and pulverized, are very efficacious in healing horses' backs, which are either ulcerated, or stripped of their hair. These larger armadillos, on account of their feeding on the carcasses of mules and horses, are loathed by most people; but their great shells, or coats of mail, are used by the lower order of Spaniards for dishes and plates. Armadillos of the second species, which are much smaller than the others, abstain from carcasses, and yield flesh and fat of a very pleasant savour. The smallest of the three kinds roll themselves up at will, like a hedgehog. Such is the strength of their globose coat of mail, that no force is sufficient to make it expand, except you pour water with violence upon it; for when wetted they open themselves voluntarily. Their flesh is very white, full of excellent gravy, and even by an European

would be esteemed superior to capon, pheasant, or chicken. Their fat is also used for medicinal purposes. The plains of Paraguay swarm with these mailed animals.

So far concerning the wild quadrupeds indigenous to Paraguay. Let us now proceed to amphibious animals.

THE CROCODILE, OR CAYMAN.

At the head of the amphibious animals stands the crocodile, which exceeds all the rest in the slowness of its motions, and the size of its body. The young creature, when it breaks its shell, resembles a small lizard, such as is commonly seen in European gardens, scarce more than half a span in length. In the course of years it grows by degrees to an enormous size. Crocodiles ten feet long are very common in Paraguay. When a two years' drought had exhausted many of the lakes and rivers in Paraguay, among other aquatic beasts we found numbers of crocodiles roaming about the plain, which died of thirst from being unable to get a sufficiency of water. I am of opinion that most crocodiles reach to extreme old age from the advantage of a singular nature, by which they are so effectually fortified, that it is exceedingly difficult to kill them. I will give you a description of this animal. It has a large, flat head, a very wide mouth, armed

on each side with extremely sharp, but unequal teeth, and large, round grey eyes, with a black pupil. It has no tongue, but the place of one is supplied by a little immoveable membrane. Its feet, which are furnished like birds' claws with four fingers, and nails, it uses, sometimes in walking slowly on the shore, sometimes in swimming. Its body, which resembles a huge trunk, terminates in a long tail, like the point of a weapon, at the extremity of which lies a small black ball, closed on every side, the distinguishing mark of the female sex, for the males are not furnished with this ball. Its rough skin, covered with very hard scales, which are elegantly variegated with black and white, like shells, forms a mail which renders its head, back and tail impenetrable to all weapons. Softer scales adorn rather than arm its belly, sides and feet, where circular or square figures, distinguished at intervals by a colour partly yellow, partly dusky, project, like shells, from the surface of the skin. The tail is composed of blackish rings, and a little denticulated fin which it moves in swimming. The skin of the neck is softer, and very easily wounded. Crocodiles on being attacked by tigers, kill them by a stroke of their tail. They are themselves killed if their neck or belly, both which are covered with softer skin, is wounded by the

horns or claws of beasts, by a bullet, a spear, or an arrow; on these occasions they take to swimming, but the Indians generally swim after them, and bring them back to shore. During a pretty violent south wind crocodiles are rendered torpid by the cold at night, from being immersed in pools; but when the sun is risen, they lie, like logs of wood, on the sunny shore to warm themselves, and their limbs being stiffened, and their senses almost gone, are pierced with spears by the Abipones, without danger or trouble. Leaving their bodies, they carry away nothing but the teeth, and the little bones of the spine, which, being as hard as iron, as sharp as awls, and at the same time elastic, are used by them for the purpose of pricking their limbs, at drinking parties. Crocodiles' teeth, which are thought by the Indians extremely efficacious in curing or preventing the bites of serpents, they wear themselves, or sell to the Spaniards. The flesh of crocodiles is tender, and so white that it can hardly be distinguished from that of sturgeon. Many American nations, especially those which inhabit the islands of the Orinoco, and others, are said to feed on it. But in Paraguay, excepting the Payaguas, who live near rivers, scarce any other nation eats them, because that country abounds in cattle, and wild animals, as well as in vegetables and fruits.

But I think that no European would dislike the flesh of the crocodile, unless it were on account of the musk which it has both in its jaws and testicles. Provident priests hang up a small particle of the glans, to which that musk adheres, wrapped in a piece of gold, or silk stuff, in the sacred coffer of the great altar, where the Eucharist is kept, in order to keep off worms, which, in so moist and hot a climate, are otherwise bred in the sacred wafer.

When you hear it said that crocodiles abound in venom, pray account it an old wife's fable; for it is very certain that they are eaten by the Indians, and would be eagerly sought by all Europeans also, were it not for their musk. Crocodiles' teeth grow very deep in the head, are hollow at the root, but where they terminate in a point, extremely solid, and capable of tearing the hardest substance. It is a terrible circumstance that whatever this beast gets within its teeth it never lets loose of. In the new kingdom of Granada, if a crocodile catches hold of the arm of a swimming Indian with his jaws, those who come to his assistance immediately cut it off, to preserve the rest of the body, as the man would otherwise lose his life. I will now describe to you their manner of breeding. The females, almost every day, lay about thirty eggs, cylinder-shaped, and as large as

those of ducks; these eggs are buried under the sand, and when heated by the sun, bring forth creatures like our lizards. As crocodiles have short feet, and sweep the ground with their vast bellies, they crush a number of eggs whenever they move: for if Providence had not ordered it thus, there would be no room left either for beasts or fishes in America. Crocodiles' eggs are in high esteem amongst the Indians. In the town of Concepcion two crocodiles, a male and a female, newly hatched, were brought by an Abipon to my companion, at whose request I undertook the care of rearing them. To prevent them from escaping, I shut them both up in a very wide and deep wooden mortar, frequently poured fresh water on them, and threw in mud, little fishes, and very small pieces of meat for them to feed upon. This was their habitation, this their food, during seven months. I sometimes took them out of the water, and allowed them to walk up and down the court-yard of the house. The Abipones were delighted to see the little creatures playing on the grass, or striving together with gaping mouths and erected bodies. I had a young dog, which, as was natural to his age, was extremely playful. He imprudently rushed barking upon the crocodiles, when one of them laid hold of his nostrils with its very sharp

teeth. Unable by any means to get rid of this disagreeable appendage, he at length came to me and implored my assistance, when by the hands of the by-standing Abipones, who were laughing heartily at the adventure, the pertinacious crocodile was torn from his nose. It was evident that these beasts were extremely quick of hearing, for they heard the slightest noises, such as would escape human ears—perceived thunder from a cloud at a great distance below the horizon, and acquainted me with the circumstance by repeatedly murmuring *ù ù ù ù*. At seven months of age, when scarce a span long, they were killed by the cold, in a journey of one and twenty days, taken with the Spanish soldiers, to change the situation of the colony. A sharp frost, for it was the winter season, killed these pupils of mine. Had they enjoyed their natural liberty and food, I have no doubt they would have grown more in so many months.

Much has been written concerning the ferocity of crocodiles towards mankind. I contradict no one. But it would be wronging the Paraguayrian crocodiles to complain of them, for during the two and twenty years of my residence in that country, I never heard of a single creature's being killed or hurt by a crocodile. Almost all the Abipones, men, women,

boys and girls, daily cooled themselves during the heat of the sun, by bathing in rivers, pools, streams and lakes, all which are frequented by crocodiles; yet no one ever received any injury from these animals, no one suspecting the danger of such a thing. They are generally scared away by the noise which the Indians make in swimming, especially the black ones; for the red are considered more bold and more dangerous by the Abipones. But I myself have found that crocodiles of any colour, whether in the water or on dry land, are perfectly harmless. Crossing rivers in a bull's hide, or low boat, I have often seen crocodiles swimming past, with erected heads, sparkling eyes, and gaping mouths; but knowing them to be harmless, I beheld them with the utmost unconcern. In the town of the Rosary, scarce a gun-shot from my house, there was a pool swarming with crocodiles. The town of St. Joachim was surrounded with lakes. About sun-set we often went out to breathe the fresh air, and in our walk always met with crocodiles of every age and species, but never received any injury from them, though unarmed, and perhaps on that account more safe: for it is my opinion that crocodiles have been injurious chiefly to those by whom they have been themselves injured. They spare those that spare them. I do not in the least

wonder that in the territories of Quito, and Nuevo Reyno, and in certain parts of Asia and Africa, crocodiles have shown the utmost fury towards men, when they are daily tormented, taken, and slain, by the inhabitants, who feed regularly upon their flesh.

Different nations make use of different artifices in hunting and killing crocodiles. Some go upon the river in boats, and throw into the water a piece of wood, to which flesh or fish is fastened with a long rope. The crocodiles swallow the wood along with the flesh, but as it is crossed in their jaws, are unable to throw it up, and being dragged to the bank by means of the rope, are presently killed. Others take a long, sharp, pointed piece of timber, and when the crocodile approaches thrust it deep into the animal's jaws, by which means it is killed without danger. The Abipones generally pierce those crocodiles with a spear which they find lying basking in the sun quite stiffened with cold. An arrow, though extremely strong, unless it touch the neck of the crocodile, where the skin is softer, always proves a weak and precarious instrument of death. The same may be said of bullets. Though crocodiles are perfectly harmless to mankind in Paraguay, they are in like proportion destructive to fishes, which are either consumed or put to flight by

them. They are useful in medicine. Wounds inflicted by a crocodile are happily cured by being smeared with the fat of the same animal. One of their intestines, when dried and reduced to powder, is a remedy for the pain of the stone. Little stones, like common flint, found in the stomach of the crocodile, are said to be very efficacious in curing quartan agues, and stone in the kidneys, if reduced to powder and drunk. I have observed elsewhere that envenomed wounds of snakes are both healed and prevented by crocodiles' teeth, and shall tell you many things relative to the use of this remedy, in their proper place.

If I have been too prolix in my remarks on this prince of amphibious animals, the reader will excuse it, for I shall aim at brevity in treating of more ignoble creatures.

THE AGUARÀ, OR WATER-DOG.

In lakes and rivers dwells the water-dog, called by the Guaranies *aguarà*, and I have often seen it in plains near the shore. Though larger than a mastiff it is afraid of every thing, takes to flight on espying a man at a distance, and is an object of fear to no one. Its ears resemble those of an ass, its head that of a dog. It has plenty of strong and sharp teeth. By night it roars very loud, and lies in wait

for lesser animals. The Abipones hunt it for the sake of its skin alone, which is shaggy, of a dark yellow colour, and marked along the back with a black line like an ass. Its hair is extremely soft and much valued by the Spaniards on account of its efficacy in assuaging sciatica, gout, and pains in the bowels. Some lay it upon saddles, finding its warmth extremely salutary. On returning from Paraguay I brought some of it home, but it was stolen from me, a loss which I regret to this day.

THE YGUARÒ, OR WATER-TIGER.

This beast, which is larger than a mastiff, is generally concealed under deep water. It is shaggy, with a long tail, ending in a point, and is armed with very strong nails. It lays hold of horses and mules, as they are swimming across rivers, and drags them to the bottom. Shortly after, the bowels of the animal, which it has torn to pieces, are seen floating on the surface of the water. The yaguarò generally dwells in deep gulphs of rivers, but digs large caverns in the higher banks, where it can hide both itself and its offspring. On the high shores of the Paraguay, we often heard a tremendous noise in our nightly navigation, and the sailors and soldiers informed me that it proceeded from those caves, which were hollowed

by the continual dashing of the water, and had at length begun to gape.

THE AÒ.

This dreadful beast, which has a head and claws like those of a tiger, which resembles a mastiff in size, has no tail, and possesses singular ferocity, and equal swiftness, is called by the Guaranies aò, a word signifying clothing, but given to this beast because, from its wool, the Guaranies formerly wove themselves garments. They wander gregariously in pools, marshy places, or woods far from the noise of men. But if one of them chance to meet an Indian hunting, his life is as good as gone, unless he can avoid its cruel fangs, by a very swift flight, or by ascending a tree; though when seated on the very highest boughs he cannot be perfectly secure, for as these ferocious animals are incapable of climbing a tree, they will tear it up by the roots with their claws, and when it falls seize hold of their prey. These things the Indians and Spaniards all agree in relating and believing. For my part, after so many journeys on foot, and on horseback, after traversing so many of the woods, plains and marshes of Paraguay, I never saw even the shadow of such a beast. From which I infer that they cannot be very numerous, nor com-

mon to the whole province. Would that they were banished from every part of Paraguay! That ferocious animal which writers call *famacosio*, most of us think to differ from the *aò* in name only.

THE CAPIGUÁRA, OR WATER-PIG.

The water-pig inhabits the larger rivers and streams, but not the very largest, although, as it feeds upon grass, it comes out to pasture in the neighbouring plains, not without committing great depredations in the fields. When full grown it resembles a pig of two years old in size, and almost in appearance, except in its vast round head, and the whiskers on its upper lip, which are similar to those of a cat. It has short ears, large, black eyes, a very wide mouth, but rather narrow lips, dusky and very short hair, and no tail. Besides two long, curved tusks, which project from its mouth, it is armed with forty-eight teeth, plain at the top, but hollow beneath. Its feet are like those of a pig; the front ones have four nails, the hind only three. These beasts swim or walk in company, and cross rivers with surprizing expedition. By night they bray like asses, and sometimes alarm travellers unacquainted with America. Their flesh is very like pork, but as it has a fishy taste, is eaten by none but the

Indians; though when young they are reckoned a dainty by Europeans even. Capiiguáras may be wounded without difficulty, either with a spear, an arrow, or a ball, but it requires great good fortune to catch them; for on receiving a wound, as they are excellent swimmers and divers, they immediately hide themselves under water, and extract the arrow or spear which is sticking in their flesh. The Abipones, who frequently employ themselves in hunting these animals, after wounding a pig, swim after it and overtake it in the water. The skin of the capiiguára is very thick, and were it properly dressed, would be useful in various ways.

THE OTTER.

Otters swarm in the lakes and rivers of Paraguay. If I mistake not, they differ from those of Europe in no other respect than in being somewhat smaller. They are most numerous in the Abiponian territories, and those adjacent to the cities of Sta. Fè, Cordoba, and Corrientes. In the distant hordes of the Mocobios and Abipones, towards the north, there are no otters, or very few at least. The savages make use of them in various ways. They feed upon their flesh, and make cloaks of their skins.

When the lakes and rivers are almost exhausted by a long drought, the Abipones go

out to hunt otters. If the water is shallow enough to ford, hounds are sent forwards, and many hundreds killed with stakes in one day, though they are extremely apt to bite, and have very sharp teeth, on which account, in killing them, both the Indians and their dogs often receive wounds which are not cured in a few days.

THE YGUANÀ.

The yguanà, an animal of the lizard kind, closely resembles the dragon which St. George is represented overthrowing. It is sometimes more than an ell long. Its belly is large, its skin clothed with green, white, and yellow scales, elegantly varied with red. From the head to the extremity of the tail, the spine of the back is surmounted by a denticulated fin. Its thick and very long tail is marked with kinds of black rings, intermixed with red ones, and ends in a very slender point. It is furnished with large black eyes, a nose spreading as wide as the lips, short teeth, a cloven tongue, which, when irritated, it moves very quickly, four feet, and lower down five nails, wide like the sole of the foot, and covered with a thin web, which assists it in swimming; for it sometimes swims in the water, sometimes climbs trees, and sometimes lurks for a long time in corners of houses, being very patient of hunger. It never does harm to any one.

It feeds upon honey, little birds' eggs, oranges, sweet citrons, and other fruits. It is incredibly tenacious of life, for after being stripped of its skin, and having received frequent wounds on the head, it will not die, till its head be severed from its body. Though the horrible form of the yguanà inspires all beholders with terror, yet its extremely white flesh delights the palates of many. Deceived by my companion, I ate it for fish, and at another time for chicken, and pronounced it exceedingly savoury. But I never could prevail upon myself knowingly to taste the yguanà, so great was the horror which I conceived of its external appearance. The yguanà lays about forty eggs in as many days; they are round, about the size of a walnut, and of a white or yellowish hue, like hens' eggs. Some people eat them fried. As they abound in their own native fat, water is poured on them instead of oil or butter. They say that little stones are sometimes found in the head of the yguanà, which, when ground to powder, and drunk with a wholesome potion, or simply applied to the body, diminish or remove stone in the kidneys. Others affirm that a stone, an ounce in weight, is found in some other part of this animal's body, which, when reduced to powder, and drunk in tepid water, removes obstructions of the bladder. I never saw any

stones of this kind—never tried their efficacy. Besides this, other kinds of lizards, of different forms and colours, are seen in Paraguay, but I have nothing remarkable to relate of them. The chameleon is very seldom seen here. I once saw one jump hastily out of a boat which lay on the ground near the shore, but had not time to examine it closely.

RIVER-WOLVES.

Many rivers, and even lesser streams, produce two kinds of wolves, a larger, and a smaller. Sometimes the Abiponian women tame the whelps at home, suckling them like their own children. They also do the same kind office for puppies, although no wife can suckle another person's child without greatly offending her husband, and running the risk of being divorced. These wolves are killed with various weapons by the Abipones, who, though their flesh is not fit for food, make use of their skins, which are of a dusky colour, but yellow at intervals, with extremely soft hair.

SEALS.

Seals are remarkable for the size of their bodies, and are very numerous in the river Plata, especially at the mouth by which it enters the sea. They have more fat than flesh, so that

hunger alone could induce me to taste them. But their skin, of an elegant yellow colour, marked with a black line on the back, and covered with very soft hair, is much prized by Europeans. Our companions, who, at the command of King Philip the Fifth, sailed to the shores of Magellan, record that seals in that place often exceed a bullock two years old in size; that they often strive with one another on the sandy shore, lifting up their bodies as straight as a pillar, and that many geographers have erred in saying that these seals have a mane, and in giving them the name of sea-lions. This is no affair of mine; let others decide the point. I think the dispute is all about a name.

FROGS AND TOADS.

At the end of the amphibious crew come frogs and toads, which swarm in all the rivers, lakes, and marshes, and even the very plains of Paraguay. But what is their use, what their occupation? They go on singing their old complaint in the mud, though in Paraguay they have nothing to complain of; for not being reckoned amongst the number of eatables, and being entirely excluded from the kitchen, they are neither desired nor attacked, and consequently live in the completest security. To destroy the

race of frogs, I had long wished that the voracious Indians would take it into their heads to eat them, for whenever we slept in the open air by the side of a river or lake, we were exceedingly annoyed by their croaking. Their voice, as well as colour, is extremely various, for some utter a gentle, clear, sharp sound, others, perhaps the more aged ones, a rough, hoarse, disagreeable croaking. Of toads, horse-leeches, and other insects of that description, we shall speak in another place.

BIRDS.

Paraguay has scarcely any European bird, except the swallow, but it abounds in native ones, foreign to Europe. The former excel in the sweetness of their voice, the latter in the elegance of their plumage. Out of many I will describe a few.

THE HUMMING BIRD.

The most curious is a bird, which is the smallest, and at the same time the most beautiful of all the winged tribe. The Spaniards have with justice named it *picaflor*, for it plucks the flowers out of which it sucks juice like a bee. It charms the eye with the exquisite beauty of its colour and plumage. The whole of its little body is scarce bigger than an olive or a nutmeg.

Its bill is very long, but slenderer than a needle, its eyes extremely lively, and its tongue broad, but thinner than a silken thread. It sometimes utters a shrill whistle which can hardly be heard. In the country, in a chapel that had long been deserted, I found the nest of one of these birds; scarce bigger than a common walnut, it hung suspended by a horse-hair from two corners of the wall, and in it the mother was then sitting upon two little eggs. Its feathers are sometimes of a bright green, sometimes (for there are nine different species of them in Paraguay) of a blue, sometimes of a fiery red colour; but all seem clothed with most refulgent gold. That brilliant hue which shines in the expanded tail of a peacock, or in a drake's neck, is dull in comparison with the golden resplendence of this little bird. In sucking juice from flowers it does not stand upon its feet, but seems to hang in the air, and is always borne swiftly along, with its feathers suspended and tremulous. Some have caught birds of this kind and brought them home, but though carefully fed upon melted sugar, they never lived more than four days, being always used to the nectar of flowers. With their feathers, which nature has painted with the most exquisite colours, and tinged with gold, the Peruvian Indians are said to have adorned such

elegant little images, that you would have sworn them to be formed by the pencil of an artist, and gilded.

THE CONDÒR VULTURE.

From the least of birds, let us proceed to the largest. The condòr, a bird of the hawk species, frequently inhabits the very highest summits of the Tucuman and other mountains, whence it flies down to the vallies beneath to prey upon cattle. It is of an almost incredible magnitude; when its wings are expanded, it measures ten feet, (or, according to some, sixteen,) from the extremity of one wing to that of the other. The hollow part of the quill is equal to a man's finger in width. This bird is furnished with talons like those of a cock, and its beak is so strong and pointed, that it can pierce a bull's hide. It is black, sprinkled here and there with white feathers. On its head it has a little crest, like that of a cock, but not so denticulated. It is possessed of amazing strength, and is formidable to all animals, but particularly to new-born calves and foals; for it tears out their eyes with its beak, and then kills and eats them. It is said to carry away lambs in the air. The devastation these birds daily commit amongst the herds and flocks exceeds belief. Several of them always fly together to rapine, and being

rendered formidable by their numbers, do not scruple to attack even full grown beasts. When satiated and loaded with meat they are unable to fly back again, and try to relieve their stomachs by vomiting, that they may be lighter and more expeditious in flying. The Spaniards who guarded the estates, having frequently observed this circumstance, place in the way of the condòrs beef sprinkled with plenty of salt, which they eagerly devour, but not being able to vomit, are rendered incapable of flying, and slain with sticks and stones whilst coursing up and down the plain. At other times the condòrs, crowding together, make a tremendous noise by clapping their enormous wings, to the terror of all that hear them. They soar so high in the air as to seem from below no bigger than sparrows.

THE EMU.*

The emu, a bird extremely common in Paraguay, is so well known in Europe as to render a description of its figure unnecessary. I will however briefly relate its peculiarities, which no one will dislike to be made acquainted with.

The emu is ranked amongst birds, because it is winged, though it makes use of its wings, which are too weak for the weight of so large a

* The American ostrich differs a little from the African.

body, not to fly with, but to assist itself in walking, like sails and oars, especially when the wind blows in a favourable direction, for when it is contrary they retard its course. To pursue this bird is extremely difficult, for it not only runs with the utmost swiftness, but escapes by turning and winding about. Emus, which fly the very shadow of a man, are seldom caught by persons on foot, unless they be in such numbers as to surround these birds, and take them as it were in the toils. When standing upright, they reach to the head of the tallest man, which is owing to the length of their legs and neck, for their head is very small. They have little eyes overshadowed with large eyebrows. Their body is equal to that of a lamb in weight. Their flesh is much sought and praised by the Indians, and is generally very fat. The Spaniards, neglecting the rest of the flesh, eagerly devour the wings, and think them the best part of the emu. I have eaten them myself sometimes, but a nausea which they created in my stomach gave me a disgust to that food.

The Abipones make themselves bags, purses, and cushions of emus' skins. The skin which covers the rump they use for little hats. Great and various are the uses of their feathers: for of them are made fly-flaps, fans, and skreens, which both the better sort of Spaniards, and the

Abiponian women, in riding, place before the sun, that their faces may not be tanned with the heat. To the hinder part of their saddles, the Indians of every nation fasten the longer emu feathers, which, moving as the horse moves, serve to drive away gad-flies, hornets, and gnats. All the female emus of one neighbourhood deposit their eggs in one place, and the chickens are hatched by the sun's heat, without any other care. The young ones are fed by the males, who break the eggs that are still full, and employ them in feeding the chickens already hatched—thus brothers unborn are devoured by those that have but just seen the light. Sometimes more than sixty or a hundred eggs are found in the same nest, and are eaten both by Spaniards and Indians, either fried or boiled, but are digested slowly and with difficulty if wine be not added to the repast. They often afforded me a sumptuous banquet in travelling through deserts. One egg is enough to satisfy many persons, for the contents of thirty hens' eggs may be poured into the shell of one emu's egg. The shell of the emu's egg is strong, and may be used for various purposes as a potter's vessel. Emus feed on grass, wheat, fruits, or any trash they meet with ; but if they imprudently swallow iron or bone, they afterward void it quite undigested, and in no way altered. When

taken young they are easily tamed, and walk up and down the streets or yards, like dogs and hens, suffer children to play with them without fear, and never run away, though the plain be close by, and in sight. There is scarcely any Indian town in which you do not see tame emus of this kind. You must know, moreover, that emus differ in size and habits, in different tracts of land: for those that inhabit the plains of Buenos-Ayres and Tucuman, are larger, and have black, white, and grey feathers: those near to the straits of Magellan are smaller and more beautiful; for their white feathers are tipped with black at the extremity, and their black ones, in like manner, terminate in white, and make excellent ornaments for the hats and helmets of Europeans. The higher orders amongst the Spaniards, also, greatly prize skreens made of these feathers.

THE TUNCÀ.

The tuncà is remarkable on account of its bill, which is as long as its whole body, is as light as paper, of a citron colour, marked at the extremity with a red line, and a black spot, and denticulated at the edges. It has a very long tongue, and rather large eyes, surrounded by a circle of green, and another larger one of yellow. Its feathers are, for the most part, black, ex-

cept on the neck, which is white, and the tail, which is beautifully red at the extremity; but some are blue instead of black. It is about the size of a pigeon. The tuncà is called by some, the preacher bird, I believe on account of the loudness of its voice. You will scarce ever see this bird in company with any other. It feeds on the ripe seeds of the tree caà, but as those seeds are too glutinous to be digested, it voids them whole, and they produce new trees, and in time woods, to the great profit of the inhabitants. I knew a Yaaucaniga Abipon, who, when going to fight, always tied the huge beak of a tuncà to his nose, in order to render himself more terrible to the enemy.

THE CARDINAL.

Cardinals are remarkable for the extreme sweetness of their song, and, in my opinion, would far exceed the canary birds of our country, were they able to trill like them. From the shining purple of their feathers they have obtained the name of cardinals. The top of the head alone is adorned with a small black crest, like a little hat. They are about the size of a linnet. They fly in crowds to the most barren fields, where there are more thistles than grass, and are easily caught by boys, who

will give you four or five cardinals in exchange for a single needle, in the city of Corrientes. I have seen cardinals resembling the rest in other respects, but much larger, being equal in size to a starling.

THE CHOPÌ.

The chopì, which is about the size of a swallow, and has dusky feathers, but if shone upon by the sun, of a blue colour, goes in flocks like European sparrows, flies up and down houses, and wheat fields, and delights the ear with its pleasing song. Some very small birds, the names of which I am unacquainted with, sing sweetly in gardens, but when taken they cannot long bear the confinement of a cage.

THE QUÏRAPÙ.

The quïrapù, a Guarany word, signifying the tinkling bird, so called because its voice is like the sound of a little bell, resembles a pigeon. It is of a grey colour, has very beautiful eyes, a large head, and a green throat, which is inflated when the bird cries. It never stays long in one place, but passes quickly from tree to tree; on which account it is very seldom, and with great difficulty, caught. Other birds of the same name, (quïrapù miri,) but smaller, and

of a white colour mixed with dusky, fly in companies, and whilst one utters loud sounds, all the rest are silent.

THE TIÑINI.

The bird tiñini imitates the human voice, particularly at night, and not unfrequently alarms strangers sleeping in a wood, who take it for some enemy or spy.

THE TIJERAS.

This bird, which is smaller than our sparrow, and entirely white, is called by the Spaniards tijeras, the scissars, because it sometimes opens and shuts its tail, which consists of two long and very white feathers, like a pair of scissars.

VARIOUS KINDS OF WILD DOVES.

The apicazù, yeruti, and other kinds of wild doves, wander about in flocks, doing great mischief to fields and gardens, especially to grapes. From their wonderful variety of colours they are pleasing to the eye, but still more so to the palate, when boiled or roasted.

THE IÑAMBÙ.

This bird inhabits every part of the plain country. In some respects it resembles a part-

ridge, in others a quail. Its flesh is extremely white and well tasted, but very dry. You will seldom see a stupider bird, or one more easily and more frequently caught. A man on horse-back sometimes goes round and round it, and whilst the bird goes round in like manner, knocks it down with the long piece of leather, which they use for a bridle, or with a slender reed. Numbers are daily brought to the city of Buenos-Ayres, and sold at a very low price.

MARTINETES AND GALLINETAS.

There are other birds also, thought to be of the partridge kind, which are larger than a common hen, adorned with a variety of colours, and a beautiful crest, and of an agreeable savour.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF PHEASANTS.

Birds are found in Paraguay which, in some respects, resemble European pheasants. The commonest species is the yacù. This bird is equal in size to a full grown hen; its feathers are of a very black colour, and its flesh extremely well tasted. It mostly frequents woods near a river or lake. At sun-set or sun-rise, you may find a number of them on one tree. When one is brought down by a gun, the rest do not fly away, but only recede a little farther on the

bough which they are sitting upon, and there remain till they are all killed by repeated firings. This I have often witnessed, and wondered much that the birds were neither scared by the report of the gun, nor impelled to flight by the deaths of their companions.

THE MBITUÛ.

In the larger class of pheasants, we may with justice place the mbituù, a bird which almost resembles a turkey-cock. Its very black feathers are white at the extremity, but the belly is varied with a colour peculiar to partridges. On the top of its head it has a crest composed of black and white feathers, as soft as silk, which it erects when angry. It is armed with a long, hooked, and blackish beak. Its tail is long and generally expanded. Its beautiful head is adorned with large bright black eyes. Its very long legs are supported on four claws like those of a hen. Its tender flesh is universally commended, and as it is so desirable for the table, I wish it were more commonly met with in the woods by the Indian huntsmen.

VARIOUS KINDS OF PARROTS.

The variety and multitude of parrots I might almost call innumerable. Every different spe-

cies differs distinctly in form, voice, and plumage. Those with which I am best acquainted are the paracauteè, the paracaubaỹ, the iribaya, the aruaỹ, the tuî, the mbaracana, the quaà, or quacamayo, the caninde, the catita, or kikilk; and others whose names have slipped my memory. I will relate what is most remarkable respecting those which I know most of. The paracauteè signifies the true and legitimate parrot, which excels the rest in sense and docility, and can imitate the sounds of men and beasts with greatest ease and success. It is equal in size to a young pigeon: its feathers are green, but yellow, red, and blue on the head, wings, and tail. I had in my possession a bird of this kind, which I called Don Pedro, and which articulately pronounced many words, and even whole sentences, in the Spanish, Guarany, and Abiponian languages, and learnt to sing a little Spanish song admirably. Moreover he could imitate violent coughing, laughing, weeping, barking, and an hundred other things so dexterously that you would have sworn it was a man you heard. Whenever I travelled on foot or on horseback, he sat upon my shoulder, always chatty, always playful. When tired of his noise or his weight, I gave him to one of the Indians to carry—he angrily bit the man’s ear, and flew back to me. He

laughed very loud for a long time at an old Indian woman, whom we met riding on an ass. Though he reposed all day long on my shoulder, yet about sun-set, like fowls, he felt a desire for rest, began to grow angry, and, by clapping his wings, and repeatedly biting my ear, admonished me to stop the journey. Next day when I mounted my horse again, he was extremely delighted, and did nothing but sing and laugh. When I stayed in the town, he sometimes walked up and down a very long rope suspended from two pillars outside the house. When I entered the dining-room he would fly after me, and whilst we were dining, ran about the table, and always flew angrily to bite the Indian who came to take away the rest of the food with the dishes. He tasted, snatched, and swallowed any food that he could lay hold of. He sometimes walked about the court-yard, rubbing and sharpening his beak in the sand, which he often swallowed by way of medicine. Seeing me caress a smaller parrot of another species, filled with envy he attempted to pierce the bird with his beak; but softened by a little coaxing, he not only suffered it to sleep under his wings, but ever afterwards treated it as a pupil, or rather as a son. What the older bird pronounced with a deep voice, the younger repeated in a slenderer one. The Guaranies

tie all their tame parrots, by one foot, to a long pole, to prevent them from flying away. These chains did not please me: I therefore clipped one wing of my parrots a little to prevent them from flying long, or far away, leaving them the full liberty of their legs. This Don Pedro of mine, after continuing many years faithful, took advantage of the circumstance of his feathers having grown a little too much, to fly away and disappear. He was sought by many, but without success. At the end of three days he saw me passing through a wood, and knew me instantly. Without delay he crept swiftly along the boughs by the help of his beak and claws, and flew to my shoulder, repeating the words Don Pedro. But though he lavished unbounded caresses on me, he atoned for this desertion by the mutilation of his feathers. I often wondered to hear this parrot repeat the sentences that he knew so opportunely, as if he understood the meaning of them; for when he was hungry, he cried *pobre Don Pedro*, poor Don Pedro, in a tone calculated to excite compassion, repeating those words again and again, till eatable roots, bread, or some other food was given him. These particulars, relative to my parrot, the memory of which is still dear to me, I have, perhaps with too much prolixity, related, in order to show you how great is the power of

education, even upon brute animals. Female parrots learn to imitate human speech quicker and better than the males. My companion had one which could repeat the Lord's Prayer in the Guarany tongue. I could have fancied I heard a child praying. This circumstance is very surprizing, as we find that the females of other birds are almost mute. I never could understand how parrots, brought by Englishmen or Dutchmen from the remotest parts of Asia, Africa, or America, after travelling about so many months, or years perhaps, learn to pronounce sentences either in German or French, or any other language, when in Paraguay it is thought impossible to teach them to speak, unless they be brought unfledged from the nest; for when full grown we have found them quite indocile. They are most conveniently taught at night, or in a dark room, where no object presents itself to their eyes, no sound to their ears: though, whilst walking on their rope, or on a pole, in the court-yard, they insensibly learn to imitate dogs barking, horses neighing, cows lowing, old men coughing, boys whistling, laughing, or crying—being extremely attentive to every thing. By long experience I have found that parrots of every kind will learn better and more willingly from wo-

men and children, whose voices are sweeter, than from men.

The paracaubaỹ is of the same size and form as the paracauteè; but its feathers are almost all green, with but a very sparing admixture of blue ones, and perhaps a little yellow, or red feather here and there on its head, wings, and tail. These birds babble some unintelligible stuff, but never utter an articulate sound.

The aruay, which is somewhat smaller than the former, is of a most lovely shape, adorned with red, yellow, and bright green feathers, and capable of talking a great deal, if instructed.

The iribaya, which scarce exceeds a European linnet in size, is sparingly besprent with a few dark green, red, and blue feathers, and is distinguished from the rest by a white circle round the eyes. Though of a very lively temper, garrulous, restless, and apt to bite, it is unable to learn to talk, and has a harsh voice. Some woods abound to such a degree in these birds, that no other kind of parrot can be seen there.

The mbaracanà, and others of the same kind that are entirely green, being devoid of all beauty and docility, are seldom taught by the Indians. The tuỹs are divided into many species. The greenness of their plumage is praised

by every body. The least of them does not exceed a man's little finger in length; they are extremely merry, and more apt to bite than any of the rest.

The largest and most beautiful of all the parrots which Paraguay produces, are the quaà, or quacamayo, and the caninde; the latter of which is adorned in every part with feathers of a Prussian blue, and a dark yellow colour; the former with very red and dark blue ones. Their tail is composed of feathers a cubit in length. They are alike in form and size, in which they far exceed a common cock. Their beak is so strong that it would pierce the hard bark of an almond tree at one stroke; you must be cautious, therefore, in handling them. At home they are tamed sooner than you would believe it possible. In the town of St. Joachim I had in my possession some very gentle quaàs and canindes. They walked every day about the yard, and would never suffer themselves to be separated, but always kept company together, and were always quarrelling, so that you might apply to them the words of the poet, *Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te.* They never learn to speak any thing but their own name, which they articulately and clamorously pronounce with a harsh voice. I had often wished to have an unfledged caninde brought me from

the nest, feeling quite sure that I should be able to teach it to speak; but these wishes were vain; for the old Indians who were born in the woods, and had long dwelt there, all replied with one accord, God, the Creator of all things, alone knows where the caninde builds its nest. For it is thought to hide its offspring in the hidden recesses of the wood, and from thence, when they are advanced in age, to fly with them to the open plains. Though so many kinds of parrots are exposed for sale at the shops of Lisbon, or are exhibited in the gardens of the chief people there, yet the caninde, which yields to none of the parrot kind in beauty, is never to be met with out of Paraguay, nor is it found in every part of that province even; for, like the other more elegant parrots which I have described, it only inhabits the northern forests. In the more southern regions, parrots of the largest size, but of a sombre dark green colour, and annoying to the ears by their senseless clamours, fly in crowds about the groves, especially those composed of palm trees; where wander also great numbers of very small parrots, about the size of a lark, adorned with pale green feathers, and called catitas, or kikilk. They are merry, playful, cunning, and may easily be taught to pronounce some words. They are kept in lea-

thern cages. Incredible is the mischief they do to fields sowed with maize. Guards are necessary to keep them off. The Indians know how to change the natural colour of the parrot into any other they choose. They pull the feathers up by the roots, and rub the place from which they have been plucked, till it grows red, and blood flows from it; they then instil and press into the pores or sockets of the old feathers, juice of any colour they like. If the wings or tail be imbued with a yellow, red, or blue colour, yellow, red, or blue feathers will grow there. This was practised amongst the Brazilians, Guaranies, and, according to P. Joseph Labrador, amongst the Mbaya savages. The same Father observed that the Indians performed the operation in the beginning of spring or autumn, that green is very easily turned into yellow, and that yellow feathers, if plucked up, will be succeeded by none but yellow ones. Why might not the experiment be tried upon European birds? A red canary, a yellow nightingale, and a blue lark, would certainly be curious objects.

As the beautiful colours of parrots, and their merry garrulity delight the ear and eye, their flesh, in like manner, is extremely pleasing to the palate, but being rather hard, must be beaten a little while, before it will become

tender. As parrots are exceedingly suspicious, all times are not equally proper for hunting them. When they assemble on the highest boughs, one of them occupies the top of the tree, that, if any body approaches, he may warn his companions of their danger, and exhort them to flight by sudden clamour. About sunset they compose themselves to rest like hens. A great crowd generally assemble on one tree, and as each strives to get the highest bough, continual quarrels ensue—one trying to push the other from the seat that he has obtained, whilst, amid horrid clamours, the feathers that they have torn from each other with their beak or claws, fly about in all directions. During these contentions for the highest place, the hunter steals softly thither, and with a gun, or a bow, knocks down the disputing bipeds. If ever you hear the parrots, which you see in the houses of the wealthy, called by other names than those I have mentioned, remember that they must have been brought from other countries, of Asia, Africa, or America. White parrots, with a little red crest, called cockatoos, and others of a grey colour, which I have often seen in Germany, are unknown to Paraguay. The smaller parrots, which we call *tuỹ* in the Guarany tongue, have the French name *perroquet* given them in Europe.

INDIAN CROWS.

Indian crows are black, like those of Europe, but much longer; their head and neck, as far as the beginning of the wings, are bald, smooth, quite destitute of feathers, but full of wrinkles. These birds subsist on the carcasses and entrails of slain beasts. Whenever oxen are killed in the open plain, as usual there, they perch upon trees or roofs of houses, presently rush down upon the intestines, and one taking each end, carry them through the air like a long rope. Their king is clothed with extremely white feathers, and though very seldom seen, flies accompanied by the other crows, as by satellites. As birds of one feather flock together, the Abipones, who live on rapine, bring up the young of these rapacious crows at home, as they become wonderfully tame: for they accompany their masters when they ride out to hunt or enjoy the country, partake their fare, and return when they return, but sometimes suffer themselves to be enticed away by flocks of crows which they meet on the road. Crows' feathers are generally chosen for arrows by the savages, on account of their strength.

THE CARACARÀ, OR CARRANCHO.

Kindred, and allies of the crows, are birds

which the Spaniards call caracarà, or carrancho. Their body is of a yellowish grey colour, but spotted with yellow and white. They are about the size of a hen, and resemble a hawk in their head, hooked bill, eyes, long claws, and long tail. They feed upon carcasses, like crows, and do a great deal of mischief amongst hens and other birds. Their flesh is of no use.

VARIOUS KINDS OF HAWKS.

Caracaràs are followed by kirikirì, different kinds of hawks, spotted with various colours. Amongst them are the common hawk, the goshawk, or gerfalcon, &c.

Of owls, the commonest are those which the Spaniards call lechuza, and the horned owl, which the Spaniards call mochuelo. Bats are of various kinds, and very common, as shall be shown hereafter.

THE GOOSE.

Water-fowl are so numerous, and of such various kinds, that it would fill a volume to describe them properly; I shall therefore only speak of some of them. I have, though very seldom, met with an immense number of geese like those of Europe in lakes. But of ducks there is such a variety and number, not only in the lakes but in the rivers also, that their dung

defiles the water so as to render it unfit to be drunk.

VARIOUS KINDS OF DUCKS.

Ducks, clothed with black and white feathers, are extremely numerous, and pass the day in the water, and the night in trees close by it. They are most easily and frequently shot out of the water. Their young, when removed to towns, seldom become tame. Other ducks, which the Abipones call *roakabì*, have feathers of various colours, and beautifully red feet. Small ducks, called by the Abipones *ruililiè*, flit about together at night, making a loud hissing, and are believed by the Abipones to be spirits of the dead. The most remarkable are certain middle-sized ducks, of a beautiful rose colour from the head to the tail, but their natural ill smell annoys the nostrils of all who approach them, as much as the beauty of their plumage delights beholders. Under the beautiful feathers of their wings and the rest of their body, (of which not only the plume, but the quill, which we use to write with, is tinged with a deep red colour,) is concealed skin, bone, and a very scanty portion of most stinking flesh. They are slenderer than geese's quills, and are used by the Abipones to adorn and crown their heads.

STORKS.

Paraguay is not destitute of river-fowl, very like European herons and storks.

THE HARIA.

The haria, which is about the size of a stork, boldly attacks serpents, pierces them with its bill and eats them. It soon grows tame in the houses of the Spaniards, and is very useful in gardens by killing noxious insects. I was often moved to laughter by another river-fowl, which, when it stretches out its neck, exceeds a tall man in height, and a lamb in the size of its body. This bird is entirely white, and has very long feet. It stands for many hours motionless, as if meditating, in the water; but I confess that I have forgotten its name.

WATER-CROWS.

In the river Parana, and elsewhere, numerous water-crows are seen. Their young are devoured with avidity by the savages, though they all detest the thought of eating birds, hens, or chicken. It would take a long time to mention all the various kinds of water-fowl which swarm in the larger rivers and subsist wholly on fish.

SWALLOWS.

Before I proceed from birds to fishes, I think proper to subjoin a few remarks upon common hens and swallows, the latter of which no ways differ from those of Europe in appearance, voice, and habits. Although Paraguay is free from snow, yet as the south wind renders the air rather cold in winter, the swallows migrate like those of Europe to other places about the beginning of autumn, and pass the winter in some unknown retreats, but return at the commencement of spring.

BRAZILIAN FOWLS.

The Paraguayan hens have the same form and variety of colour as the European. A few years ago, hens much larger, but not better than the common ones, were brought into Paraguay from Brazil. Their flesh is hard and unsavoury. The chickens are not clothed with feathers within several weeks. The cock is unusually large, and instead of the crest which those of our country wear, displays a large purple crown. Now let us proceed to the scaly tribes of Paraguay.

VARIOUS KINDS OF FISHES.

I never found any European fish throughout

the whole extent of Paraguay, but many in some respects resembling them. Those best known to me I will describe under their Spanish or Indian names.

THE DORADO.

The fish dorado has obtained the name of the golden fish from its scales, which shine like gold. It is of great weight, and affords solid, white, and savoury flesh. Its head is justly reckoned a dainty, though almost all other fish have their heads cut off in Paraguay, before they are brought to table.

THE PACÙ.

The pacù is remarkable not only for length but breadth, and the savouriness of its flesh, which is prized for its abundance of fat. The scales are of a dusky, and in some of a sulphureous colour. The head seems too small in proportion to the rest of the body. The Parana, and even the lesser rivers which unite with it, abound in this most excellent fish.

THE CORVINO.

The corvino is generally caught in the neighbourhood of the ports of Monte-Video and Maldonado, where the fresh water is mingled with the salt water of the river Plata. It has some-

what the appearance of a carp, but excels that fish so much in size and savouriness, that it is eagerly sought by distant cities.

THE MUNGRÚLLU.

The mungrúllu is perhaps the largest and strongest of the Paraguayan river-fish. It sometimes weighs more than a hundred pounds. Its flesh is firm and red.

THE ZURUBÌ.

The zurubì, a fish scarce inferior in size to the former, is not covered with scales, but with a slippery skin of a greyish colour, and mottled with large black spots. It affords white, solid, savoury, and wholesome flesh. The vast weight of this fish may be inferred from the circumstance that when hung upon a pole, and carried on the back, it is enough to tire two Indians.

THE PATÌ.

The patì is thought almost equal to the former in size and savouriness.

THE ARMADO.

The fish armado is very properly named, for its back and sides are armed all over with very sharp gills and fins, with which it endeavours to wound the fisherman as he is taking the hook

from its jaws, horribly roaring at the same time and tossing itself about, on account of which its head must be crushed with a strong stake as soon as it is taken out of the river. Its head is round, resembling that of a frog, and shielded by a very strong shell. It has small bright eyes, surrounded by a circle of gold. Its mouth is narrow, but rendered terrific by a shaggy beard. The body is of an iron-grey colour, and armed with very hard oblong scales. This fish is thicker than it is long, and often weighs four, often six pounds, or more. Its flesh is solid, extremely well tasted, and on that account thought very wholesome for sick persons. The river Paraguay abounds in this noble fish.

THE VAGRE.

The vagre is a species of trout. Its head is covered with a hard shell, its skin is smooth, slippery, and covered with red spots, and its flesh extremely well tasted. Various rivers contain various kinds of this fish, which are distinguished by the number, size, and colour of their fins and gills, but are all of an admirable savour. Of their bladder, ground with the teeth, and mixed up with brandy, a very strong glue is made.

THE SÁVALO.

The sávalo somewhat resembles our carp, but

is smaller, and more savoury. You scarcely ever see one weighing more than two pounds. This fish is full of thorns. Though very common in many rivers and lakes, it is never caught with a hook.

THE BÒGA.

The bòga differs little from the sávalo, but is superior to that fish, though less abundant.

THE PEJE REY.

The peje rey means the king fish, for in fact, though only middle-sized, its flesh is pre-eminently good. It has a very large head and mouth, and is destitute of fat. It is only caught in that part of the Parana which washes the territories of Sta. Fè, or in the kindred streams, to which this fish repairs to spawn. When fresh, it is reckoned amongst the delicacies of the tables of the wealthy. After being dried by the air only, without a grain of salt, it is sent in quantities from the above-mentioned city to others, and kept a long while, but soon putrifies if it contracts any moisture on the way.

LA VIEJA.

La vieja is a very strange fish, for its whole body is covered with a strong shell, or horny bark, which would resist even a knife. Hence,

when caught it is laid on live coals, together with the shell, and eaten roasted in this manner. It is very seldom taken with a hook, and rarely weighs more than a pound.

THE DENTUDO.

The dentudo abounds every where, and would be extremely palatable, were it not for the thorns with which it is covered. It scarcely ever weighs so much as a pound. I have caught and eaten numbers of them, but have lost many hooks in the process, for they gnawed the line to pieces with their sharp teeth.

THE RAYA.

The raya is a fish of such singular appearance, that it can hardly be reckoned amongst fishes. Its form resembles that of an oval dish with a flat surface. Its back is black, and its belly white. In the middle of its body is placed a narrow mouth or cheek. It has a smooth, slender, but very long tail, denticulated like a saw, and armed at the end with a poisonous sting, with which, whilst lurking under the sand on the shore, it grievously wounds the naked feet of the sailors walking about there, whenever it has an opportunity. The wound presently swells, gets inflamed, and unless hot ashes be immediately applied to it, causes death. It is

a curious fact, that the Abipones use this envenomed sting as a pen-knife to open a vein. The flesh of the raya may be eaten; but it is generally thought that hunger alone could render it palatable, though I must say, that, well fried, it was not unpleasant to my taste. The size and form of these fish vary in various kinds; (for there are many species of them). They appear to be viviparous, for embryos are frequently found in their insides.

THE PALOMETA.

The palometa is more formidable to swimmers than any crocodile; for its jaws, each of which is furnished with fourteen very sharp, triangular teeth, like so many spears, are its armoury, with which it attacks any part of the human body, and cuts it off at one blow. I myself have seen a strong Abipon with the sole of his foot severely wounded by this fish, and an Abiponian boy with four of his toes cut off by it and hanging only from a bit of skin. To prove the credibility of the fact, I must tell you that the Abiponian women use the jaw of the palometa to shear sheep with. The Abipones also, before they were in possession of iron, used it to cut off the heads of the Spaniards. This fish is found every where in great abundance, but is smaller in the smaller rivers, where it scarce

weighs half a pound, while in the larger ones it grows to the size of two or more pounds; but its length never corresponds to its breadth. It has a curved back, thick head, wide mouth, small round eyes, and a broad forked tail. Besides the formidable jaw which I have described, it threatens all assailants with large, long gills, and seven sharp fins, the largest of which is situated in the middle of the back, and runs towards the tail. The body is covered with faint grey spots, interspersed with red, blue, and yellow. The flesh is firm, white, and very savoury; I wish that it were not so full of bones. When the hook is extracted, these fish must be handled with caution, otherwise they will wound you with their teeth or fins.

THE MBÛZU.

In muddy pools, and even in rivers, you see fish very like European eels, and not eaten by the Indians, on account of their snake-like appearance. Our eating one of these fishes, caused a report amongst the Indians that Europeans fed upon serpents. Whether these fishes are really eels, or of the serpent kind, I will not pretend to determine.

THE RIVER-CRAB.

Although Paraguay abounds in various kinds

of choice fish, it is almost destitute of crabs. I had long heard that some very small crabs, not like those of the sea, but like those in the rivers of Germany, were found in certain streams in the territories of the Uruguay; and I myself saw some which were brought to our table in the Uruguayan town of Concepcion; but they were pygmies in comparison with ours, and might be called mere shadows, and embryos of crabs. After travelling, sailing, and fishing so much in Paraguay, as I never saw any other cray fish beside these, it is my opinion that there are none, or very few indeed. But there are a great variety of sea-crabs.

RIVER-TORTOISES.

The rivers, lakes, and streams, abound in tortoises, but not of that kind the shells of which are valuable in Europe, and fit for working. No sooner did we cast a hook into the river than a tortoise would bite, but was always rejected by us; for in the greater part of Paraguay these animals are eaten neither by Spaniards nor Indians. The only useful part of tortoises in Paraguay is their great shells, which are used for pots and plates by the common people.

LAND-TORTOISES.

Whilst the Abipones, Guaranies, and other

Indians with whom I was acquainted, not only abstain from eating tortoises, but even detest the very idea of such a thing; the Chiquitos, on the contrary, make them their chief food during the greater portion of the year. They laboriously hunt after these animals, which are marked with various colours, in the woods and rocks, that provision may not fail them during those months in which their territories are inundated by an annual flood; for as there is more wood and mountain than plain country there, the deficiency of pasture renders it impossible that as many oxen can be raised and killed, for the support of the Indians, as in the colonies of the Guaranies and Abipones. The tortoise, therefore, supplies the place of beef among the Chiquitos.

SNAILS.

Innumerable snails are seen in their shells in the woods, plains, and the borders of lakes, but are eaten by no human being in Paraguay. Empty snail-shells, burnt to ashes in the fire, are used by the Guaranies for whitening walls, when stones for making lime are not to be found. From the white shells of certain snails, the Vilelas make little round beads, perforated in the middle, which they sell to the other Indians. The Abipones hang round their

necks great heavy strings of these beads, and both men and women think the more they are loaded the finer they are. On the shores of the river Uruguay, there is an odd kind of snail, larger than a man's fist, which the Indians roast in its shell, and devour with avidity. I do not recollect any thing worth mentioning, in regard to shells and shell-fish, if there are any wretched ones to be found here.

WAYS OF FISHING.

After treating of fish, a few observations should be made concerning the various methods of fishing. In the city of Buenos-Ayres the Spanish fishers enter the river Plata on horse-back, near the shore, as far as it is shallow. Two of them lay hold of each end of a rope, on which a net is either spread, or closed again, filled with fish; in a few hours they carry to shore numbers of noble fishes, which are immediately put to sale. The Payaguas and Vilelas subsist chiefly upon fish. For fishing they use a very small net, two ends of which they fasten before them, as you would an apron, at the same time holding the two others with their hands. Thus accoutred they jump from the shore into the water, and if they spy any fish at the bottom, swim after it, catch it in the net, which they place under its body, and carry it

to shore. The Indian who has remained beneath the water such a length of time that you believe him inevitably drowned, you will, with astonishment, behold emerging at a great distance, laden with booty. These men are more properly divers, than fishers. If the transparency of the water, as in the river Salado, renders the fish visible, the Paraguayrians pierce them with an arrow, a spear, or an iron prong. The wood Indians catch fishes more usually by craft and artifice than by arms. Sometimes by throwing in sticks, and boughs of trees artfully entwined together, they dam up a river in such a way that, though the fish can enter this enclosure, they are unable to get out again. In other places they throw the plant *yçipotingi*, which creeps up trees, or the leaves or fresh roots of the *caraquata*, well pounded, into the water, which intoxicates the fishes to such a degree that they may be caught with the hand as they float on the surface. They often lash the water with the leaves of a certain tree which grows in great abundance near the river *Atingỹ*, the juice of which is said to be fatal to fishes. The Indians sometimes catch fishes with hooks made of wood or reeds. The common, and indeed the only instrument for fishing that I used, was an iron hook baited with a piece of fresh beef.

LITTLE FLYING-FISH.

Flying-fish are about the size of a large herring; their body is oblong and smaller at the tail; their head large and flat; their eyes round and big, with immense pupils, and surrounded by a yellow circle, and another larger blackish one: their mouth is middle-sized, destitute of teeth, but armed with jaws slightly denticulated. The tail is wide and forked; the wings very large, and composed of a membrane thinner than paper, of a whitish grey colour. They are furnished with six small fins, a bony shell, pointed at the end, and scales of various colours and forms, but shining like those of a herring. They fly out of the water to avoid the dorados, which try to catch them; but in a few moments, as soon, in fact, as their wings are dried by the air, fall back into the sea, and being again moistened are enabled to renew their flight. In various seas they are of various forms and sizes. The Portuguese sailors do not refuse to eat their flesh.

THE SHARK.

But as men of this description have generally too large appetites, and capacious stomachs to be satisfied with "such small deer," they prefer larger fish, especially sharks, numbers of

which they caught, during their voyage, with an iron hook many pounds weight. Sharks generally follow ships, and swallow whatever is thrown out of them, whether it be dead bodies or any other filthy trash. They are of such vast size and weight, that twelve stout sailors are scarce sufficient to drag one with a rope from the sea into the ship. Nor should you be surprized at this, for a shark is about nine feet long, and three or more wide. Its horrid jaws, which contain a triple row of serrated triangular teeth, are prepared to tear any thing. It has a fierce, and ever watchful look. It is covered with very rough skin of various colours. Whenever a shark was taken and gutted by the sailors, its stomach presented a ridiculous spectacle; it looked like a broker's shop full of all sorts of trumpery. In it we found worn out garments, old drawers, hats, whole fowls, and whatever had been thrown by the sailors into the sea. When I found this, I always suspended stones, or cannon balls, to human bodies before I committed them to the waves, that they might sink to the bottom, lest floating on the surface, they should be torn to pieces by sharks. The flesh of this fish, though very white, was tasted by none but hungry sailors; though the females are despised by them even. One, which I had seen them take with

immense labour, they threw back into the sea, on discovering its sex. I cannot tell why they make this distinction. The Abipones roast and eat female locusts, but loathe and reject the males, for reasons known to themselves alone.

DOLPHINS.

During nine months spent in sailing on the Mediterranean and the Ocean, I have frequently seen many others of the scaly tribe, with forms terrible to the sight; but except middle-sized fishes and sharks, I never saw any of the family of Neptune caught by the sailors. When the sea was smooth, and the air tranquil, we frequently observed dolphins tossing themselves merrily about, and appearing as it were to dance; a spectacle by no means pleasing to us, who had so often found this leaping of dolphins the forerunner, and annunciation of an impending whirlwind and tempest.

WHALES.

Immense whales were a very terrible, and by no means uncommon sight to us on the ocean, though they never approached the ship. On the desert shores of Brazil we thought we perceived a pirate ship. Fearing some mischance we called for the captain, who from the top of

the mast by the help of a telescope discovered it to be an enormous whale. This immense animal, as it tossed itself about on the waves, presented the appearance of a ship. A projecting fin, which is said to be sometimes fifty feet high, had been taken for a mast. From the horrid pipe, or fistula of his head, as from a great fire-engine, he spouted up a vast quantity of water, which, when dispersed by the wind, and shone upon by the rays of the sun, looked white like the sails of a ship. In returning to Europe we observed the water leaping up and breaking itself in an unusual manner, not far from the ship. Imagining that rocks or shoals must be at hand, the captain ordered the prow of the ship to be turned in another direction. But an intolerable stench relieved our minds by discovering the putrid carcass of a very large whale, against which the waters had been dashed. Whales perish in the same way as ships, and die by degrees from being knocked against quicksands and shoals. We sometimes, however, see the carcasses of whales cast on to the shore by the tide. I have spoken elsewhere of melotas, enormous fish, innumerable shoals of which we met during some weeks in the month of November. From the water let us now proceed to the woods and plains of Paraguay,

which abound in so many curious plants and trees.

PLANTS.

The Jesuit priest Thomas Falconer, an Englishman well versed in medicine and botany, frequently and openly declared that Paraguay had been enriched by the bounty of nature with so many wholesome plants, roots, gums, woods and fruits, that whoever was skilled in the knowledge of those things would have no occasion for European druggists to cure any disease. Out of many which Paraguay affords either for medicinal or other purposes, I will describe a few in the order in which they enter my mind. I doubt not that botanists have written on this subject more clearly and methodically; whether more faithfully also, I dare not determine with regard to all.

CHINA CHINÆ, OR PERUVIAN BARK.

This tree is peculiarly worthy of note on account of its bark, which is called china chinæ, Peruvian bark, or the remedy for fever. It is of middling height, and not very large, and bears an almost orbicular fruit, somewhat raised in the middle, and by no means fit to be eaten, but which contains two yellowish nuts indented all over like the rind of an almond. It is filled

with a balsamic odour of a dusky colour, and a very sweet scent, but extremely bitter. With this balsam the Indians allay pains in the eyes, head and stomach, if they arise from cold. The bark is naturally white, but when torn from the tree gradually assumes a dark yellow on the surface, a little varied with pale spots: but within, it is of a red colour, not like blood, but like cinnamon, being tinged with a yellowish cast. The taste is bitter, but the smell aromatic and pleasant, though somewhat rancid. Some call the Peruvian bark Jesuits' powder, because the Jesuit missionaries in Peru were the first who made known its singular efficacy in expelling fevers. The celebrated physician Woytz tells us that this medicine was first brought to Europe, in the year 1650, by Cardinal de Lugo, a Spanish Jesuit.

ZARZA PARRILLA.

Zarza parrilla is the root of a green, creeping plant, armed at intervals with very small thorns. It has leaves almost a span long, from the beginning of which proceed two tendrils, with which it entwines itself with other plants. The flowers grow in clusters, and give place to berries, which are first green, then red, and when quite ripe, black, and wrinkled like dry cherries, which they resemble in size and form.

This plant is called by the Spaniards *zarza parrilla*, on account of its thorns, for *zarza* in Spanish means a thorny plant; *parrilla*, in the same language, signifies a gridiron; as therefore the leaves of this plant bear some sort of resemblance to a gridiron, three pretty large veins running lengthways, crossed by a number of smaller ones, it has received the name *parrilla* or gridiron; but botanists call it *smilax aspera Peruviana*, or *sarmentum Indicum*. The *zarza parrilla* is very common on the banks of the Uruguay, and the Rio Negro, the waters of which are celebrated for their salubrity; it is also found near the Rio Tercero, in the territories of Sta. Fè, and other parts of America. The most famous is that which comes from the bay of Honduras. The roots of the *zarza parrilla*, which possess a medicinal virtue, are scarce thicker than a goose's quill, wrinkled on the surface, and of a dusky colour, but white within; all of them grow from the same joint or knot of the plant. They have no particular taste or smell. They consist of rosin, and gum which is the softer part of them. The various uses of these roots are too well known to physicians to need an explanation from me.

RHUBARB.

Rhubarb is the root of a plant of the dock

kind. From out the sheath of the leaves rises a little bunch of flowers divided into many branches, on which hang four blossoms, surrounded with leaves, and bearing a triangular seed. The roots are long, and rather spongy, tolerably heavy, yellowish on the outside, but within of the colour of a nutmeg, variegated like marble, and of a sharp bitter taste. When eaten they create nausea, and have an aromatic flavour. In divers parts of Paraguay, especially in the mountains called La Cordillera, near the city of Asumpcion, as well as at the banks of the rivers Ñpane miri, and Tapiřaguaỹ, there grows a kind of rhubarb, similar to that of Alexandria in colour, taste, smell, and virtue, but with this difference, that the leaves of the Alexandrine rhubarb are pointed at the bottom, and broader at the end; whereas the leaves of the Paraguayrian are wide at the beginning, and terminate in a point, like the leaves of lilies. I understand that the East Indian rhubarb, as well as that of Persia, Muscovy, and Tartary, is preferred by physicians to that of America.

THE ROOT JALAP.

Paraguay abounds in the root jalap, the plant of which is called by botanists *Mirabilis Peruviana*. These roots are long, thick, and resinous. Without they are of a dusky brown,

but within of a pure white, without any decay. They not only cure bile, and rheum, but expel other noxious humours from the body. The rosin of jalap is prepared from them.

MECHOACHÀN.

Mechoachàn is a large light root, entirely white at the beginning, but of a dusky colour above. Some call it *bryonia Indica*, but though it resembles the bryonia, its plant is a *convolvulus*, and bears heart-shaped leaves, and small berries. The mechoachàn is well calculated for gently purging infants; for the powder to which the root is reduced has no taste, and looks like flour.

SASSAFRÀS.

The tree sassafràs, which is very common throughout the whole of America, may be commended for its beauty, as well as its salubrity. The trunk is perfectly straight and plain, to the length of about thirty feet, when the top unfolds into branches, and leaves. Not only the wood of this tree, but also the bark and root smell very strong of fennel, which keeps off decay and rottenness. Like santalum it is of a dusky yellow colour, and has a sharp aromatic taste, and a pleasant smell. Druggists should examine carefully that the wood of the red fir,

boiled in fennel, may not be palmed upon them by foreign traders for the real wood. There is also another kind of sassafràs, which has leaves like those of a laurel, and bears an odoriferous and blackish fruit. The bark is of a darkish red colour. This other species is said to possess the same virtue as the former, in provoking perspiration, and urine, in healing maladies arising from cold, syphilis, obstructions in the bowels, disorders in the womb, &c. The *apeterebî*, a tree common in the North of Paraguay, is also thought by some to be a species of sassafràs.

HOLY WOOD.

The tree called holy wood is very broad, but not very lofty. It has little and almost round leaves, two of which proceed from single stalks, and are indented at the top. It bears yellow flowers, which grow either single or two together, at the extremity or in the middle of the boughs. The wood is exceedingly hard, and will last almost for ever, even under water. The pith is of a lead colour. The rosin which exudes from this tree is bitter, aromatic, and said to possess equal medicinal properties with the wood: it, as well as the gum, is reduced to a powder which the Paraguayrians drink in cold water, as a cure for dysentery. For what dis-

orders, and in what manner this salutary wood is to be used, it is not my province to explain. This tree does not grow in the South of Paraguay, but in the North, where the Abipones and Mocabios dwell; it is also found in some parts of upper Tucuman.

THE GUAYACÀN.

It is a great mistake to suppose that holy wood, and guayacàn are the same; for though the wood of both possess the same power of healing almost any disease, yet the two trees differ as much in form as in name: for the guayacàn is loftier than the other, and almost resembles a nut-tree. It abounds in boughs, and bears small hard leaves. The flowers are yellow and produce fruit full of seeds. The blacker the pith of the tree is the more it abounds in rosin. The bark of this tree is hard, resinous, and composed of several little skins, spotted with grey on the outside, but within of a pale red: it has a bitter taste, but not an unpleasant smell, and is thought to be more efficacious in medicine than the wood itself.

THE ZUYÑANDÿ.

The zuyñandÿ, a large, lofty tree, consists of a soft wood, a thick bark turgid with copious moisture, and red flowers which seem to be

composed of one large expanded leaf, as soft as silk. The bark, when stripped of the rough outer skin, and properly ground, is of much efficacy in healing wounds inflicted by the teeth or claws of a tiger.

THE ZAMUÛ.

The zamuû is ridiculous both in name and form; for the Spaniards call it *palo borracho*, the drunken tree. It is lofty. It has a trunk surrounded with largish thorns, and bears middle-sized flowers of a beautiful red colour, but is of very singular appearance in other respects. For the highest and lowest parts of the trunk are small, while the middle swells out to a great width, like a barrel: on which account its very soft wood is easily made into tubs, and barrels. The farther this tree grows from rivers the wider it swells, so great is its dislike to water. It bears a round fruit like certain large gourds, with a very strong rind, which fruit, when ripe, bursts open and discovers woolly flakes, like cotton, and softer than silk, but with so short a fibre that it is very difficult to draw them out into a thread. The thorns of this tree when bruised to powder, and boiled, tinge the water with a red colour which is said to cure sore eyes.

THE MANGAÏ.

The mangaï is about the size of a cherry-tree, and bears white flowers, which exhale a very delightful odour. It produces fruit of a golden colour, and equal in size to a large plum, which, when ripe, are agreeable to the taste, but hurtful to the stomach. Both the tree and the fruit overflow with a kind of milky, and resinous juice, called mangaïci, in the Guarany tongue, which streams out plentifully, when you cut the bark, and is caught by the hand, or by a board. The air curdles it, and gives it the appearance of a little skin. In this state, it is rolled up into balls, which are so remarkably elastic, that when thrown lightly upon the ground they leap up very high in the air. This liquor, mangaïci, is said to be very useful in cases of dysentery. It is much to be lamented that so very few take the trouble to collect this rosin, which would be useful in Europe in various ways.

DRAGON'S-BLOOD.

The tree *caà verà*, which produces the dragon's-blood, is middle-sized both as to height and bulk. Some botanists call these trees *palmae pruniferae foliis jaccæ*, but in my opinion they have no affinity whatever with palms.

When a deep incision is made into their trunks, a kind of juice flows from them, resembling blood in colour and consistence, and which, when boiled on the fire, condenses into a liver-coloured rosin. Physicians complain that foreign traders sell them goat's-blood, bolo, or red Brazil wood, mixed with gum arabic, for dragon's-blood.

THE CUPAYÏ.

The Paraguayrian trees, though they offer their fruits spontaneously to the natives, do not yield the oil, with which they are impregnated, without being cut. Amongst these is the cupayÏ, a large, tall tree, remarkable for its leaves, which are half a foot long, with red nerves and veins. Besides the wood, which is of a dark red colour, hard, and fit for carpenter's work, it affords a fruit which is dusky on the surface, but has a kernel resembling a walnut in size and form, and which is reckoned eatable by the Indians, and a dainty by the apes. But this tree owes its celebrity and value to the excellent oil with which it teems. To extract this most useful juice both arms, and arts are requisite. The trunk of the tree, which should neither be very old, nor too young, is cut to the pith with a knife. Soon after the incision is made, you will hear a slight

crackling, caused by the oil flowing from the top and from the boughs: for the warm air, insinuating itself more freely into the pores of the wounded tree, seems to rarefy and liquidate the oil, which is naturally resinous and thick. To effect this sooner and with more certainty apply dry burning boughs to the opposite side of the tree into which the incision has been made; by their heat, the oil is more dispersed amongst the fibres of the tree, and more liquefied, which causes it to flow freely into the vessel placed beneath the trunk. Within a few hours you will find a jug full of oil. If you wish to fill many jugs cut many of these trees, which are most abundant in the northern woods of Paraguay; there are none, or very few, elsewhere. This operation must be performed in spring, in the month of September, when the moon is at full; if you undertake it in the absence of the moon, in winter, or summer, you will lose your labour. This oil, in colour, could not be distinguished from water; it has a bitter taste, exhales an odour neither sweet nor the contrary, and is useful both to painters and physicians. I will now make you acquainted with its virtues, which I learnt from others, but never tried myself. When warmed and applied to a wound, it is said to stop the flowing of the blood, and to heal the wounded person

very speedily. It will cure the bites of serpents, and remove scars. Placed by way of plaster on the breast, it eases languor in the stomach; when applied to the belly, it assuages colic, and pains arising from cold. Two or three drops, swallowed with a boiled egg, will remove dysentery, and other hurtful fluxions, restore the tone to the bowels, and impart strength. Sometimes it is used as an injection with sugar from plaintain water, or oil of roses. From the oil of the cupaỹ the Brazilians make the balsam cupaỹba, of such high repute in Europe, especially the inhabitants of the province of Maranhã, which abounds in those trees. But other rosins, chiefly that from the tree ybirapayè, of which we shall speak hereafter, are mixed with this balsam, as the singular fragrance of the smell discovers. American as well as European painters derive much benefit from the oil of the cupaỹ, for when mixed with garlick, it brightens pictures better than any varnish, and will never be obscured by time, if mixed with the colours instead of linseed oil. In wooden images, particularly, nothing is better for painting the face, hands, and every thing of flesh, of a natural colour. I can scarce persuade myself that the oil of the cupaỹ is brought quite pure from America to our shops; and that merchants do not adul-

terate it to increase the weight. There are three trees in Paraguay, all materially different, but much alike in name; I mean the *cupaỹ*, the *curupaỹ*, and the *curupicaỹ*. The *curupaỹ* affords bark like that of the *çevil*, which the Indians use to dress ox-hides with. To give them a red colour they mix the bark of the *curupaỹ* with that of another tree, (the *caatigua*, which the Abipones call *achitè*.) The *curupicaỹ*, a tree not larger nor harder than the elder, has a spongy kind of wood, unfit for any purpose, that I know of, which at the slightest touch, sheds a milky juice commonly thought to be poisonous.

PIÑON DEL PARAGUAY, OR THE CATHARTIC NUT.

This is a shrub resembling the fig tree of our country, in its leaves, its form, and the softness of its wood. The trunk and leaves, when pressed with the hand distil a milky juice abounding in serum. It bears fruit like dark walnuts, beneath the hard black rind of which lie three white kernels, covered with a white membrane and divided into as many separate compartments; in sweetness, and in shape they resemble almonds. These kernels, *piñones del Paraguay*, or piny nuts of Paraguay, are called by physicians, cathartic nuts, *ricini Americani*,

or purging beans; for two or three kernels, which many say ought to be first stripped of their white skin, then bruised in wine, and roasted a little on the fire, to mitigate their purging qualities, when eaten, will cause vomiting, purge the bowels, and expel noxious humours. Whether these nuts are sold in the druggists' shops in Europe, and whether physicians prescribe the use of them, I do not know. This is certain, that they must be taken cautiously, and with regard to the strength of the sick person. A branch of this tree, when cut and committed to the earth, soon takes root, and grows up very quickly.

THE VAYNILLA.

The vaynilla, a sweet name to those who love chocolate, is a creeping plant which grows in moist places, and entwines itself with certain palm trees, which serve it for a prop. It bears large leaves about a hand long, and small white flowers. Like pulse, for fruit it bears little hulls, or sheaths, a quarter of an ell long, triangular, and when ripe dark on the surface, and of a bright colour; they have a most delicious odour, and are full of very small seeds, like figs. Of these seeds the Indian women make rosaries to adorn their necks with: the savages formerly knew no other use of the vaynilla, which

however birds and apes eagerly devour. The little bag or sheath, in which the fruit is inclosed, occasioned the Spaniards to give it the name of vaynilla. The description of this plant, which became extremely profitable to the Americans after the discovery of the use of chocolate, I owe to Father Joseph Sanchez, who had travelled over the land of the Chiquitos, where that fruit grows, as well as in Peru and elsewhere. For this plant grows in no other part of Paraguay that I am acquainted with, which must be attributed to the inhabitants, not to the climate, as it doubtless would grow in the northern parts of Paraguay, were it cultivated there.

THE CACAÒ.

With the vaynilla we must speak of the cacaò, which is produced by a tree resembling an orange tree in its leaves, but larger, and having a kind of crown on the top. It bears a fruit like large melons, containing oily kernels, as big as almonds, and separated from one another by a white and very sweet skin, as by a kind of fence. The Peruvian Indians, throwing away the kernels which they did not then know how to use in preparing chocolate, were accustomed to chew and suck the little skin only, which is sweeter than honey. These trees in their native woods grow to a great size, and cover the melons

which they bear so entirely with their immense leaves, that you cannot see them without standing close by. They never grow so large when planted in any other soil. In Peru, amongst the Mojos Indians, in Mexico, and other countries of America, the woods abound in this most profitable fruit: both the tree and the kernel, however, vary in different countries.

THE TAMARIND.

Tamarinds, which are very well known in European druggists' shops, are a species of plum, with a dark rind, rather acid, of an agreeable taste, and full of a number of beautiful kernels. Taken inwardly, after being steeped for some time in cold water, they conduce much to allay the most burning thirst, and gently to purge the bowels. They grow upon trees which resemble palms, and have boughs and leaves long enough to cover a number of men, and with their dark shade protect them from the heat of the sun. Tamarinds, which botanists call *dactyliacidi*, grow in the territories of the Chiquitos, and elsewhere, but are unknown to the other parts of Paraguay.

THE ROSIN YÇICA.

This Paraguayan rosin is found at the roots of trees under ground, where it flows very co-

piously from them in the heat of the sun. The Guaranies use it not only for medicinal purposes, but also to tar ships with, when pitch is not to be had.

THE TREE ABATI TIMBABỸ.

The huge tree abati timbabỹ, in the heat of the sun, sheds a quantity of gum of a golden colour, and clear as the purest crystal, of which the lower orders of Spaniards and the wood Indians make crosses, ear-rings, and beads to hang round the neck, by the following method: they apply hollow moulds, made in the same form, of wood or reeds, to the trunk of the tree, and the gum flowing down into them is hardened by the air, and quickly assumes the shape of crosses, ear-rings, or beads, with admirable exactness; you would swear they were made of crystal. Although as fragile as glass, they can be melted by no moisture. Were European artisans in possession of this gum, they would make knots, buckles, and little images beautifully with it. Might it not possibly contain medicinal properties? No one has hitherto made trial of its virtues.

THE CEDAR.

The more northerly woods of Tucuman and Paraguay boast of innumerable lofty cedars,

which, having exceedingly tall, straight, and large trunks, afford excellent materials for ships, and all sorts of building, as they never feel decay, and last for ever, even under water. No tree which Paraguay produces makes longer or wider beams, which, as they are laboriously hewn, not by a water-machine, but by human hands with a saw, and conveyed in waggons from Tucuman full three hundred leagues, sell very high in the city of Buenos-Ayres, where no woods are to be seen, and whither they are brought from the distant forests of Asumpcion, after a two months' navigation on the river. In Tucuman, indeed, a German lay-brother of our order constructed a machine, by which the saw was moved to the cedars by water underneath the wheel, with a great saving of time and labour; but it was soon after removed and destroyed by the natives, who hate all innovation. Sometimes out of one cedar a very large boat is made, to pull which thirty rowers are hardly sufficient. I do not deny that the tree timboỹ is made into shorter and slenderer planks and boats in Paraguay; but cedars hold the first place, as they excel in the width, height, and straightness of their trunk, in the docility of the materials, and their durability under water. There are two kinds of cedars in Paraguay; the wood of the one is beautifully red, that of the other rather palish; both, however, have a very sweet smell,

and in the heat of the sun shed great quantities of gum, which is sometimes white, sometimes red, but always transparent. We used it in the same manner as gum Arabic, to glue things together, and also for polishing; might it not be fit for various medicinal purposes? Water boiled with bits of cedar wood and drunk, is a remedy for extravasation in those that have been bruised by a violent blow, by a sudden fall from a horse or a tree; though in such cases, to accelerate the cure, an infusion of quinoa, a kind of pulse with a very small grain, should also be drunk. Others make plasters of the quinoa, after it has been pounded in a mortar, and boiled in water, and when applied to the wounded or bruised part, they dissipate noxious humours so soon as to exceed the expectation both of the physician and the patient. This pulse is also a very wholesome food.

THE AMERICAN PINE, CURIÿ.

The curiÿ resembles the European pine in its leaves and in its height, but exceeds it in the hardness of its wood, which is pale, with red veins. The knots and swellings particularly which grow on the Paraguayan pine are almost as hard as a stone. Of these large knots the Guaranies turn rosaries and images of the saints very neatly. When placed by the fire,

the red rosin lurking in the veins of the wood is melted, so that they seem as if varnished with a beautiful red colour, and shine surprizingly.

THE ALFAROBA.

We are now come to a tree on many accounts worthy of particular note; the fruit of which is called by the Spaniards *alfaroba*. The American alfaroba differs in size, form, and colour from that which is commonly put to sale in Germany, and is called by the Spaniards *alfaroba de la Berberia*; for from Barbary it was brought by the Moors to Spain and Portugal, where, at this day, it grows in such abundance in the woods, without culture, that in those countries, during the winter season, it is given to oxen and mules for their daily fodder. The sheath of the Spanish alfaroba is rather wide, full of seeds, or large pebbles, and of a dusky colour, although its pulp is sweet and whitish. The sheaths or hulls of the Paraguayrian alfaroba, which are almost a span long, and the breadth of a man's thumb, are covered with a soft yellow skin; moreover the seed is smaller and softer, and they have a pleasanter taste. Of the many kinds of alfaroba which Paraguay produces, the most remarkable are those two which are distinguished by the names of the white and the black. It is chewed white and

dry, as it falls from the tree, and when pounded in a mortar, is either eaten, or drunk mixed with water, and fermented, by the Abipones and other savages. It is the employment of the women to gather it in the woods, carry it home on a horse, pound it in a mortar, and pour it, mixed with cold water, on a hide, which serves both for tub and drinking vessel, where, without addition of any thing else, in about twelve hours, it effervesces so much with its own natural heat, as to become at last, a sharp, sweet, and wholesome beverage. Immoderate use of it disorders both the head and feet, and still more the tongue; yet, when taken in moderation, it is a means of strengthening the constitution, and inducing uncommon longevity. Moreover horses, mules, and oxen are never fatter, or more robust than after feeding on the alfaroba, woods of which abound particularly in Chaco, and the territories of St. Iago, though not even the shadow of such a tree is to be seen in any other part of the immense tracts of Paraguay. The Guaranies, who, being distributed into thirty-two colonies, inhabit a vast extent of country, are destitute of this most wholesome fruit; neither did we ever think fit to plant the alfaroba, which grows so quickly, lest the Abipones, like the other Indans, should turn it to a bad use,

and that it should cause drinking-parties and intoxication. Moreover the seeds of the alfaroba, if carelessly scattered in any soil, will certainly, and quickly grow up into trees. The white alfaroba affords not only meat, drink, and medicine, but also excellent materials for building waggons, houses and ships: for its violet-coloured wood is docile, and extremely firm, even under water. The leaves of this tree are small; and from its little pale flowers grow seeds, inclosed in a pod. They ripen in the month of November, and last in the woods till March, or are gradually collected and preserved at home by provident persons.

The other species of alfaroba, which the Spaniards call the black, resembles the former in all respects, except that it is smaller and sweeter. Its dusky bark is covered with red spots. The pods, though agreeable to the palate from being extremely sweet, create a roughness in the tongue, if eaten raw too freely, and a difficulty in speaking. I write this on my own experience; for once in a long journey, happening to pluck some of that fruit as I rode along, I was suddenly deprived of the power of speech. Some hours' silence was both the disease and the remedy; the Spaniards who accompanied me being greatly amused at my taciturnity. This kind of alfa-

roba is more commonly used for food than for drink. Its hulls, when pounded in a mortar, are reduced to a flour, which, after being strained through a sieve, is thrown into a round wooden box, pressed with both hands, and, as it is naturally resinous, forms into bread of itself, and becomes as hard as a stone; for as it abounds in thick rosin, its own dust glues it together. These loaves, which are called *patay*, and are chiefly made in the colonies of St. Iago, and sent to other cities, are taken, not only as food, but as medicine, especially by Europeans labouring under stone or strangury. No one ever doubted that both the black and the white alfaroba, as they have a diuretic property, are of much use, whether taken in a solid or liquid state, to persons in a consumption, or labouring under diseases of the bladder. Some say that spirits of much efficacy in diseases of the kidneys, and in hectic fevers, might, by chemic art, be extracted from both the alfarobas. We must not pass by a third species of alfaroba, which appears little different from the acacia. It has very hard, dark, red wood, is clothed with the same sort of leaves as the other alfarobas, and bears small yellow flowers, growing in clusters, and exhaling an aromatic smell. The rind of the pods is thick and black. The seeds, inclosed in

the pods, are like pulse, but harder. The pods, with their pulp, are resinous, of a sharp, bitter taste, and fit neither to be eaten nor drunk. The fruit is used by the people of Cordoba, and St. Iago, to dye wood, and cotton of a black colour, with the addition of alum, and copperas. This tree exudes rosin like gum Arabic. To it you may add a fourth species of alfaroba, a small tree, the pods of which are of a dark red colour, and taste neither sweet nor bitter. Of this the natives make a potion which is remarkably sudorific, and which, according to Thomas Falconer, will cure many persons who, in Europe, could not be restored to health without the aid of salivation.

VARIOUS KINDS OF PALMS.

Palms alone would afford subject for a bulky volume, if the names, forms, properties, and uses of all the different species were to be described. Palms supply the Americans with meat, drink, medicine, arms, lodging, and clothing. Out of the numbers that I have seen in Paraguay, I will describe a few.

THE CARANDAÏ.

The tall palm, carandaï, expands its leaves like an open fan, and bears sweet dates, which are not disliked by Europeans even. The bark of the trunk, which is very hard, when cut with

an axe, and deprived of the pith, which consists of sharp thorns, is used to roof the houses in some cities, and even to build cottages with. If the palms be cut when the moon is in the wane, their bark will bear age. This also is certain, that the carandaỹ palms create the richest and most wholesome pasture for cattle; for the rain-water, flowing to the ground from their leaves, contracts a kind of saltness, which generates saliva, and is the best and most agreeable seasoning of the grass for beasts.

THE PINDÒ.

The pindò is a very lofty and common palm, with a rough, white bark. By way of wood it has a pulp as porous as a fungus, very light, and composed of threads extremely liable to catch fire. It produces dates which, after being pounded in a mortar, are either drunk with water, or eaten. The dates, falling from the trees, fill the woods, and, by their hardness, severely hurt the naked feet of the Indians. But though these palms are, in some respects, very annoying to travellers, yet in others they are equally convenient to them: for the Guaranies, when they pass the nights in the woods, are furnished by them, on an impending storm, with a protection against the rain. Some hew down any palms of this sort that they can find,

and with the soft spongy materials afforded by their trunks, quickly build a little hut, and cover it well with boughs and leaves of palms, bent partly one way, partly another: should the rain fall with the utmost violence, not a drop will penetrate this hasty fabric. Of the leaves of the pindò palms, cords, panniers, and baskets are sometimes woven, as of osiers in other places. These palms, not only by their great height, but also by the length of their boughs, which they gracefully extend, afford a pleasing spectacle to the eye, and a great ornament to gardens.

THE YATAÏ.

The yataÏ, a smaller palm, besides dates, yields a very tender germ, leafy at the top, as soft as butter, and of a yellowish white, which is eaten raw, as it is plucked from the tree, and is very pleasant to the taste. Crowds of parrots daily fly to feed upon the nuts of this palm.

THE YATAÏ GUAZÙ.

The yataÏ guazù, which has very large bright green leaves, and a rugged trunk, and is at least five ells high, produces oval shaped nuts, which the Spaniards call *coccos*. The pulp is very small in quantity, but, if boiled, eatable. In each nut there are three large kernels, as agreeable to the taste as almonds, but more oily.

THE MBOCAYAÏ.

The mbocayaï, a tree very abundant on hills, has its trunk and leaves armed with long and strong thorns. It bears bunches of smooth dates, as sweet as almonds, which are eaten either raw or roasted. Oil, almost like that of olives, may be expressed from these nuts. This palm puts out threads stronger than hemp, of which the savage nations make cords for bows, and lines for fishing with. In the territory of Cordoba you see palms, the leaves of which make such strong and commodious besoms, that they are brought to the more distant cities. The Spaniards of St. Iago, who go to the woods to seek wax and honey, cut certain palms to the pith. At the end of some weeks they return to the place, and in those palms they had wounded find very large fat worms, which they fry, and eat with much satisfaction.

FRUIT-BEARING TREES.

Many fruits which European trees produce are unknown to Paraguay: in all my travels through that country I never, or very rarely, saw any apples, pears, plums, cherries, filberts, chesnuts, &c. These trees seem not to suit the climate and soil of Paraguay; for they are either entirely barren, or produce such ridicu-

lous fruit as rather deserve the appellation of abortions of nature, than delicacies of the palate. The want of the fruits above-mentioned is amply compensated by an incredible abundance of very large peaches, quinces, pomegranates, citrons, both sweet and sour, and oranges which Europe might envy. In the neighbouring kingdoms of Chili, where, on account of the vicinity of the mountains, the air is much sharper, almost all European fruits, and many other native ones, succeed amazingly, and are dried and carried into other countries with great profit. But though Paraguay is destitute of various European fruits, she boasts of many native ones, unknown in Europe even by name. I shall cursorily describe trees and shrubs as they enter my head, without regard to order.

THE MISTOL.

The mistol, a very large tree, affords hard and heavy wood, of a red colour, fit for making pestles of mortars and spears; it also produces a red fruit, about the size of a chesnut, resembling in appearance the tree which the Spaniards call *azofaifa*, and druggists *jujubes*, and which was formerly brought from Africa to Spain and Italy. The skin is tender, the kernel rather large and hard, and the pulp fit for

food; a sweet drink, and even a kind of bread, being made of it, which is much liked by the Indians, but to my taste extremely insipid. The jujub is used by European physicians for allaying pains in the breast, cough, hoarseness and pleurisy: whether the Paraguayan mistol possess the same virtues or no, I cannot tell.

THE CHAÑAR.

The tree chañar has a yellowish and very hard wood: the fruit supplies both meat and drink, and is dried and preserved by some.

THE YACANÈ.

The fruit of the yacanè tree is of a yellow colour, about as large as a middle-sized citron, and in taste like a rotten pear.

THE QUABÿRA GUAZÙ, AND THE QUABIYÙ.

The quabÿra guazù, which somewhat resembles a plum, and the quabiyù, which is more like a cherry, are used both as meat and drink. The quabÿra is very abundant, and much liked by the Indians; but was always nauseous to my taste, for it smells like a bug. Both the trees which produce these fruits afford very good wood for turning.

THE QUABÿRA MÿRI.

The quabÿra mÿri, that is, the smaller quabÿra, differs totally from the former, and, in my opinion, exceeds all the other Paraguayrian fruits, both in sweetness, and salubrity. It is a little apple, resembling a medlar in size, and form, and covered with a hardish skin, which is green at first, and when ripe becomes a dark red. The pulp, which is full of tender seeds, pleases the palate with an agreeable taste, between sweet and sourish, and exhales a fragrant, balsamic odour, with which the bark and leaves are likewise scented. It is a remarkable circumstance that this fruit, though naturally hot, is never prejudicial, however freely it be eaten. The quabÿra mÿri grows on shrubs like the junipers of Austria; they are supported by a slender stalk, but have a number of knotty, thick roots, spreading far and wide in the earth. They grow no where but in sandy soils, destitute of good grass. The quabÿra mÿri is to be seen in every part of the plains of Taruma, of the lands near the little city Curuquati, and of the territories of St. Paulo, bordering on Brazil. But in those tracts of land where this fruit abounds, you find the pastures particularly poor, either from the grass being

choked by the sand, or because these shrubs suck up the best juices of the earth. Certainly in the rest of Paraguay, where richer turf is found, I never beheld any thing the least like a quabỹra miñi. I should not be silent on the other use of this plant; in its little branches the ants make a wax whiter than milk, and fragrant as the most delightful balsam; it consists of very small, white grains, scattered up and down the shrub, which are laboriously collected by women, melted at the fire, and made into candles, for the use of the churches, where, when lighted, they exhale a very sweet odour. It is much to be lamented that this wax, though excellent in other respects, wants hardness; for the candles made of it melt quickly, and are consumed in a short time. To render them more durable, I have often mixed common bees' wax with the wax of ants.

LA GRANADILLA, OR THE PASSION FLOWER.

The first claim to our notice after these belongs to a most wholesome fruit, which the Spaniards call la granadilla. It grows in great abundance in the plain, at all seasons of the year, on a shrub which clings, like ivy, to hedges and bushes. There are many species of it, differing only in form and colour. They

all bear a middle-sized apple, of a golden colour spotted with red, in taste between sweet and acid, with an agreeable odour, and full of round, black seeds. Whether eaten raw, or boiled with sugar, like citrons, and drunk mixed with cold water, it is extremely salubrious. Its sweet juice conduces much to strengthen the bowels, and without danger to cool the limbs, after they have been heated by the sun. If you attentively examine the beautiful flower of this plant, you will find the scourge, the crown, the nails, the cross, the pillar, the dice, the gall, and all the other instruments belonging to the passion of our Lord, plainly figured there.

On this account it universally goes by the name of the passion flower, and was thought worthy to be brought from America to Rome, in the time of Paul V.

THE GUEMBÈ.

The fruit guembè is the more remarkable for its being so little known, even by many who have grown old in Paraguay; for the northern woods only of that country are its native soil. It is about a span long, almost cylindrical in shape, being thicker than a man's fist in the middle, but smaller at both extremities, and resembles a pigeon stripped of its

feathers, sometimes weighing as much as two pounds. It is entirely covered with a soft yellowish skin, marked with little knobs, and a dark spot in the middle. Its liquid pulp has a very sweet taste, but is full of tender thorns, perceivable by the palate only, not by the eye, on which account it must not be slowly chewed, but quickly swallowed: for if any one were leisurely to bruise the pulp with his teeth, his tongue would be made to smart for a long time by the latent thorns, and would be rendered less ready in speaking. The stalk, which occupies the middle, has something of wood in it, and must be thrown away. You cannot imagine how agreeable and wholesome this fruit is, and how it refreshes a man fatigued with long walking and bathed in perspiration. This ponderous fruit grows on a flexible shrub resembling a rope, which entwines itself round high trees. How great must be the strength of the *guembepi*, as the Guaranies call it, you may infer from this, that the stoutest Indians, when they cut a high tree for the sake of getting honey, sit for a long time with safety upon this shrub, which is entwined about the boughs and trunk. From the above-mentioned *guembepi* the Spaniards and Portugueze sometimes weave cables stronger than hempen ones.

THE TATAYÿ, A MULBERRY TREE.

The tatayÿ, a tall, large tree, bears mulberries, resembling those of our country in taste, and form, but larger, and of a yellow colour. The saffron-coloured wood of this tree is very hard, but docile, and of it the Indians make beautiful boxes, pipes, trumpets, and other things, as Europeans do of box. Pieces of the same wood, boiled with alum, are used for dyeing wool, and cotton, of a yellow colour.

MAMMONES.

Mammones, fruit about the size of a quince, sometimes larger, and when ripe of a greenish yellow, grow upon the trunk of the tree, and hanging by short stems, have the appearance of teats, whence they are named. Their pulp resembles that of melons, in its taste and yellow colour, and is sometimes eaten raw, or boiled with meat. The tree is of middling height and thickness, and resembles a walnut, in its dusky bark, and a fig-tree, in its large, angular leaves. Its weak wood swells with a milky, insipid liquor, which is an additional reason for the name of *mammones* being given it. This tree bears flowers, and fruit, at all seasons of the year, but is so much exhausted by this exceeding fertility that it scarce ever

lasts above four years. When fresh planted it bears fruit the first year. There are two species of this tree, whereof the one is called the male, the other the female. In some respects they differ, but it is not true that one would be barren without the other. Mammones, though abundant in Brazil, and other parts of America, are very rare in Paraguay, and scarce ever seen there except in gardens.

THE ALABAS.

A shrub, or more properly, a low thorny thistle, delighting in a sandy soil, produces the alabas, round apples, about the size of a hen's egg, concealing beneath a thick, pliant bark, defended by sharp, but very slender thorns, a liquid pulp, which is sometimes redder than blood, sometimes whiter than milk; abounds in soft black seeds; delights the palate with its delicious flavour; and greatly refreshes the body, when heated by the sun. Assuredly this fruit, were it found in Europe, would be ranked amongst the delicacies of the desert. It grows very common in some parts of Paraguay, but is rarely seen in others.

THE AGUAÏ.

The aguaï, an immense tree, produces fruit like plums, which on account of the acidity of

their juice, are oftener, and more safely eaten, after being boiled in water. There is another tree which resembles this in name, but is totally different in form and other respects.

THE ANGUAYÏ, OR YBIÏAPAYÈ.

The *anguayÏ*, a tree of uncommon height, and thickness, affords wood fit for carpenters' work, hard, red, and remarkably fragrant. By way of fruit, it bears hard seeds, like almonds, which are also used in medicine. The stones of this fruit are triangular-shaped, of a violet colour, and so bright that the Indian women make necklaces of them. The rosin which distils from the *anguayÏ* is exceedingly fragrant, and of sovereign virtue. The famous Peruvian and Brazilian balsam is made of this rosin mixed with the oil of the *cupayÏ* tree, and others; it is also used in churches instead of frankincense, which it greatly exceeds in sweetness. The bark of the tree, being impregnated with rosin, is used for the same purpose. The tree is named *anguayÏ*, because mortars are generally made of it by the Guaranies, in whose language it is also called *ybiÏa payè*, the conjuror's tree; for the savage jugglers, whenever they expected to be visited, and consulted by their countrymen, used to

perfume their huts, by burning this rosin, that they might seem to breathe of something divine.

THE ỸBA POROYTŸ.

The ỹba poroytŸ is a small pome, resembling a cherry, with a pleasant, but rather acid flavour. Of the tree balsam is made.

THE TARUMAÿ.

The fruit of the tarumaÿ somewhat resembles an olive, though extremely dissimilar in taste. From the abundance of these trees, the territory, wherein we placed the town of St. Joachim, was called Taruma by the Spaniards, and Indians; none of whom are very fond of this fruit.

THE GUAYÁBA.

The tree guayába produces kinds of pears of an oval shape, and full of grains. The surface of them, when they are ripe, is yellow, the pulp red. They are both pleasant and wholesome when boiled with sugar. Dressed unripe they are very efficacious in strengthening the bowels, and possess an astringent quality. This tree flourishes even in soils that are not very rich.

THE VINÀL.

The vinàl, a tolerably large tree, is clothed

with leaves like those of the olive, but broader. It bears sweet pods, of which a beverage is prepared. The tree is covered with very sharp and strong thorns, a span in length, and so virulent, that whoever is pricked by them finds it a matter both of pain and danger. But the same tree also affords a medicine; for the juice expressed from its leaves, after they have been pounded, is said to cure complaints in the eyes, especially when they are afflicted with noxious humours.

THE YBIÎA YEPIRÔ.

Of the ybiîa yepirô a balsam is prepared, but for what purpose intended I do not know.

THE CAAÏCÏ.

The caaïcÏ, which some say is a species of mastic, yields a transparent, sweet-scented rosin.

THE AGUARIBAÏ.

Of the shrub aguaribaÏ, which is likewise thought to be a species of mastic, a balsam of much service in cleansing and healing wounds is made. Taken inwardly it greatly conduces to stop flowing of the blood, and allay coughs.

THE MOLLE.

The molle, a tree of no obscure name, fur-

nishes solid wood for building, but liable to be moth-eaten. It is adorned with leaves, like those of a laurel, which, when bruised, serve for dressing goats'-skins, and for medicinal purposes. The trunk distils a quantity of very fragrant gum, which is burnt instead of frankincense. It bears fruit of a black colour, the rind of which, when unripe, is of a pale blue. This fruit is boiled in water, and, being sweeter than the alfaroba, makes a sharp and sweet syrup, which, mixed with water, affords a pleasant, but powerful drink. This liquor imparts a sort of ferocity to the eyes of persons intoxicated with it, which continues two days. Physicians use both the boughs and the rosin of this tree for various medicinal purposes.

THE BACOBÀ AND BANANÀ.

The fruits bacoba and bananà, which the Indians delight greatly in, belong to the fig species. They are oval-shaped, and of a red colour. The shrubs which produce them have neither seed, nor boughs, but are adorned with long, wide, and beautifully green leaves, from the midst of which the germen and the fruit emerge. The trunk or stalk of these shrubs is slender and fragile. They die after bearing fruit once, but are compensated for by suckers which grow from their roots. The fruit of the

bananà is rather long, and square in form, with a saffron-coloured skin, a soft pulp, and not a very rich, but rather cold juice, which, unless quite ripe, is injurious to the stomach. The bacoba is, therefore, more wholesome than the bananà; both fruits, however, when properly used, are remedies for various complaints. A liquor expressed from them causes intoxication when taken in excess. Both trees, though they grow in very sterile soils, bear fruit all the year round.

THE ANANÀS, OR PIÑA DEL PARAGUAY.

The anana is called by the native Spaniards *piña del Paraguay*, from a sort of resemblance to the nuts of the pine, and from its being very abundant in the north of Paraguay. I observed that those of Paraguay were larger than those of Europe, but not so sweet. The juice of the former is as pleasant as that of strawberries to the taste; but, unless perfectly ripe, sharp and caustic; on which account this fruit, when cut into stocks, according to its length, must first be macerated in rich wine. The liquor of it, when expressed by the aid of fire, removes languor from the mind, and nausea from the stomach, relieves dysury, and nephritic pains, and restores the natural heat to the aged. Some preserve ananàs in sugar. Each plant

yearly produces one fruit, and becoming exhausted, gradually dies away; whilst, in its place, a little plant, taken from the crown of the ripe fruit, is placed in the ground, and next year bears fruit. This also is the case when it grows wild without cultivation; for the new germ falls from the top of the plant, and takes root.

THE MANDIOC.

The mandioc is the root of the little plant mandiò, which is about the height of a middle-sized man. It is supported by a very straight, slender trunk, the thickness of a man's thumb, knotty like a reed, with bark resembling that of a hazle, and pith, spongy, like the elder's, and full of milk. At the top it is crowned with branches and little boughs, with elegant, long, narrow leaves, of a beautiful green colour. The flowers are yellow. The want of fruit is compensated by the roots, which are sometimes three feet long, fragile, thicker than a man's arm, and covered with a dusky skin like the bark of a hazle. Their very white pith is full of a milky, glutinous, and poisonous liquid. As in the cinnamon shrub the bark is alone made use of; so in the mandiò, the root is the only serviceable part. The Americans are acquainted with more than twenty species of this

tree, differing in form and virtues. The mandiò bears seed not unlike that of the piñon del Paraguay; but it is quite useless in propagating the plant, for which purpose the trunk or stalk of the shrub is cut into stocks, about a span long, three of which are always stuck into heaps of mould, so that they project about the length of a span from the surface of the earth. In a short time they take root, put out leaves, and grow up. Neither do they require to be watered, for this plant detests moisture and shade, and loves dry soils, and sunny situations. It must be planted in the summer, in ground that has been well dried. Six months after it has been laid in the earth, you will find roots fit for eating; but in reality it is a year before they are fully mature, and attain to their ordinary size; at the end of which time, although they be not dug up, they will remain a long while under ground uninjured, but if taken out of the earth, grow rotten in the space of three days. The roots, therefore, should be carefully cleansed without delay, the little skin being first stripped off them; they should then be cut into small pieces, and laid upon the floor to dry for two days. After being pounded in a mortar, they are reduced to flour, and made into bread baked in various shapes, which, though wholesome, is relished by none but

persons unacquainted with the taste of wheat. These American loaves are round, flat, and rather hard, like the bark of the cork tree. They look like those cakes made of flour and honey in Germany, but are devoid of all taste. In other places they squeeze a juice from the roots of the mandiò, which, when left in a vessel for two hours, deposits a white settlement at the bottom. This, when dried, is made into flour, and that into small cakes, balls, and other things. The same juice is boiled on the fire, and makes a kind of paste, which is not only used as victuals, but likewise for starch to stiffen clothes with, and sometimes for glue to fasten paper together. There is another kind of mandiò, the roots of which, after being softened by lying for some days in water, are roasted on the ashes, and eaten without prejudice. It would take up a long time to relate all the different methods by which the mandioc is converted into meat, drink, and medicine, mixed with butter, barley, and sugar. Happy are the Americans who can deceive and appease their stomachs by so many artifices! For my part, though I have often, in travelling, been exceedingly hungry, I could never prevail upon myself to satisfy the cravings of appetite with the mandioc, in whatever way it were dressed. If the Americans like it, that is

sufficient: *haud equidem invideo, miror magis*. I confess, however, that the root of the mandioc properly cleaned, and eaten plain with boiled beef, was by no means disagreeable to me. I never doubted either that these roots, when prepared in other ways, though insipid to Europeans, create good blood and juices; for, to omit other arguments, the American mothers, whenever they find their milk fail, after recruiting themselves with boiled mandioc, find their breasts filled, which a little while ago were quite exhausted. The Portuguese in Brazil perform arduous journeys of many months, on foot, through immense wilds, furnished generally with no other provision than the flour of the mandioc. The Portuguese sailors also, when they are detained many months in the Brazilian ports, and when they sail back to their native land, feed principally upon the mandioc, and most part of the natives do the same; for as the continual rain prevents the cultivation of wheat, the higher ranks only eat wheaten bread, the flour being conveyed at a great expense from Lisbon. The North Americans also greatly esteem, and carefully cultivate the mandioc. The Brazilian and Paraguayan Indians account this plant one of the greatest blessings of Providence, as being frequently the only support of life; for al-

though locusts, ants, or a long drought, should entirely destroy maize, pot-herbs, pulse, melons, and fruits; the mandioc alone, surviving under ground, would supply the place of all these things; for when the boughs, and leaves of this tree are, by some means, destroyed, the roots flourish, increase, and remain uninjured. Drought, which destroys other plants, is favourable and salutary to this. But now the resemblance of the name admonishes me to pass from the esculent mandiò, to the woolly mandiyù.

THE MANDIYÙ, COTTON.

As the mandiò is very serviceable in feeding the Americans, the mandiyù does much towards clothing them. It is produced by shrubs scarce larger than a hazel of our country, with wood and bark like the elder, and clothed with plenty of soft, woolly leaves. Between three small leaves, with which the unripe nuts are surrounded, grow flowers larger than roses, composed of five broad yellow petals, streaked with red: yellow stamens grow in the bottom of the flowers. The blossoms at length become fruit of a green colour, oval-shaped, or rather conical, and when full grown larger than a plum. When ripe it turns black, and

separates into three parts, thrusting out white cotton, full of black seeds, resembling pistachio nuts in size and shape. Under the black skin of these seeds is concealed a yellowish white pith, of a sweet taste, very oily, and of much use in allaying cough and difficulty of respiration. The oil expressed from them is said to be efficacious in cases of stone and in cutaneous disorders. Cotton itself, when burnt, will stop the flowing of blood. As the cotton gradually ripens and bursts from its prison, it is not gathered all at once, but collected day by day. In the Guarany towns this is the business of the girls, who walk about the field, and pluck the fruit with a gentle hand, that the shrubs may not be injured. The cotton daily collected is spread on hides in the court-yard of the house, and laid out in the sun to dry. If this be properly attended to, it may either be safely kept for years in a leathern bag, or spun into thread as soon as you like. To extract those seeds from the cotton the women make use of a wooden machine, consisting of a couple of cylinders, the thickness of two fingers, into which they insert the cotton, and, twisting it about with their hands, cause the seeds to fall out of themselves; because, as they are thicker than the space between the cylinders, they are squeezed out by them.

Some parts of Paraguay produce yellow cotton, but this is very uncommon; for in every other place throughout the country the cotton is as white as snow, and grows on shrubs which are reared from seed sown in little plots of ground, and yield fruit many years. If any plant withers, or grows old, fresh seed is sown, and another succeeds which bears fruit the first year. Cotton loves a sunny elevated situation, exposed to the winds on every side, and full of stones. However favourable the soil may naturally be to the production of cotton, it always requires exquisite culture. It must be ploughed, and weeded over and over again, to clear it of thistles, tares, and grass. The furrows and ditches, into each of which three or four fresh cotton seeds are placed, must be dug in a right line, and at such a distance from one another that the oxen and ploughmen may have room to pass through the intermediate spaces. The same field, indeed, must be fresh ploughed every year, and, at the approach of spring, the plants, which have been stripped of their leaves in the winter, are cut like vines, and quickly covered with new foliage. The poorer sort amongst the Spaniards of Paraguay wear cotton shirts; the richer, linen ones. They prefer paying an inordinate price for linen webs

brought from Europe to the trouble of cultivating flax.

RICE.

During the first years that I spent in Paraguay, rice was so scarce that, as it was brought from other countries, it hardly ever appeared at our table. It was never sown, and none would go of their own accord to gather or carry away rice, which grows at a great distance on the northern shores of the Paraguay; justly fearing the Payaguas, who infested those places. Instructed, at length, by the Portuguese Brazilians, we began to sow rice, and the crop was more than could be consumed. But as it is very difficult to take the grains of rice out of the ear, the Indians preferred eating maize, which is pounded in mortars with little trouble. Let no one entertain a notion that the sowing and cultivation of rice require any particular artifices; for it is sown and reaped exactly in the same manner as European wheat, with this difference only, that the seeds must be committed to the earth at the commencement of spring, and in a moist situation. Many have affirmed positively that rice will only grow in marshy places; but we found that which was sown in woods, or rather in

ground that had formerly been wooded, to yield a more abundant harvest than what was sown in a marshy situation. For a place that has been previously occupied by trees, retains, for a long time, its native humidity, and the ashes of the trees that have been cut down and burnt on the spot, incredibly fertilize the soil. In places of this kind the Guaranies used to sow tobacco, maize, and most other things except cotton, with great success. But, good heavens! how have I lost myself in this labyrinth of trees, shrubs, and plants! I shall hardly be able to find my way out of the wood; yet it is best to tarry there awhile till, after having described the medicinal trees, I have enumerated all the rest which are useful in building, or on other accounts worthy of note.

THE TAYÿ, OR URUNDEÿ QUEBRACHO.

The tayÿ, or tajibo, and the urundeÿ quebracho, either of a red, or pale colour, excel in hardness and size; both trees are called by the Spaniards *quebracho*, or *quebrahacho*, because, unless dexterously cut by a skilful woodman, or carpenter, they break the axe at the first blow, being as hard as iron; for *hacha* means an axe, and *quebrar* to break. The quebracho colorado, when covered with its bark, is red.

As soon as it is cut down and worked upon, the rosin in which it abounds is melted by the hot air, and flowing to the exterior parts of the wood, gives it a red hue, and causes it to shine like porphyry. The Guaranies burn pieces of the tree tayỹ, receive the smoke or soot arising from them into a clean dish, and by pouring hot water upon it, convert it into ink, which, mixed with gum and sugar, is by no means to be despised.

THE LAPACHO.

The lapacho is remarkable for the hardness and heaviness of its wood, and is particularly useful in making the mills for squeezing the sugar cane, olives, and other things, and also for wheels of waggons.

THE VIRARÒ.

The virarò affords white, not very hard, but extremely durable materials.

THE ESPINILLO.

The espinillo has very strong wood, but its indocility renders it fitter for the fire than for carpenter's work.

THE NETERGE.

Of the pith of the neterge very strong spears

or pikes are made. This tree is remarkable for the width and height of its trunk. Its leaves, which are like oblong thorns, point towards the ground. For fruit, it bears pods or bags, which are about a span long, and have a balsamic odour. The pith of this tree equals iron in hardness, and is of a violet colour, which however changes to black, after the spears made of this wood have been rubbed some time by the hand.

THE ȲBARÔ.

The large tree ȳbarô bears black, shining berries, about the size of filberds, which are pierced in the middle, and made into rosaries.

THE ÇEVIL.

The çevil produces bark for dressing hides, together with certain pods, which the savage Indians used formerly to burn, inhaling the smoke into their mouth, nose, and whole body, which rendered them drunk, mad, and for some time furious.

THE SEIBO.

The seibo, a middle-sized tree, adorned with violet-coloured leaves, consists of crooked boughs, and a spongy wood, as soft as that of the cork tree, so that, when fresh, it may be cut with a knife like an apple; but after it is dry,

axes are not sufficient to hew it. A bough of this tree fixed in the ground takes root, and grows immediately. Whenever the tiger feels his claws burn, he is said to rub them against the bark of this tree to relieve the pain.

PALO DE LECHE.

This tree is called *palo de leche*, the milky tree, by the Spaniards, because its wood is white as milk, and so soft that it may be cut with a common knife, and is used for small carpenters work.

THE YÇAPÏ.

The yçapÏ, a large tall tree, is covered with leaves like those of the citron, but smaller, and of a paler green. It is a remarkable circumstance, that when the air is mild, and always in the night, its leaves drop a quantity of water, which mōistens the space round about the tree and renders it muddy. The wood of the tree is very soft and flexible, but not moist, on which account it is well calculated for making stirrups. John Verkens of Leipzig, in his account of a journey taken by the Dutch to the East Indies, relates, that in the island of Ferro, one of the Canaries, they found a very large tree which dropped water day and night, every part of the year, and that the inhabitants hung up large

pitchers to receive it for their own use, and that of their cattle; fresh water, he says, being incredibly scarce there. If this be true, I suspect that it must be the same tree as that which the Guaranies call *ỹçapyỹ* in Paraguay. They say that this water possesses a medicinal virtue, but of what kind I do not know.

THE TREE OF ANTS.

This is called *arbol de hormigas*, the tree of ants. It consists of a weak spongy wood. The whole tree is full of holes like a sieve, and being covered with ants, should be avoided by all passers by; for if you do but touch the tree, a host of ants rush out of their lurking-holes, and will cover both you and the tree itself.

THE UMBÙ.

So wide are the boughs and trunk of this tree, that the sun never sees its foot. It affords plenty of shade to fifty persons seated beneath it, and completely defends them against the rain. The linden trees of Europe are mere dwarfs compared with an aged umbù.

THE WILLOW.

The willow, though it covers the islands of the Parana, and the banks of certain rivers, is not to be seen elsewhere throughout a vast ex-

tent of country. The wood and leaves of willows, used both medicinally and for other purposes, were often vainly sought by us.

THE AMBAÏ.

The ambaï, a kind of wild fig, grows pretty high in the course of a few months. The body of the tree is slender, and perforated like an elder; the bark such as is peculiar to figs; and the wood white like that of a birch, but so soft that it may be cut with a knife. It has few boughs, but is adorned with very large leaves, for the lively verdure of which it is greatly commended, as well as for the salubrity of its bark, juice, and leaf, which, applied in various ways, stop running of the reins, too copious discharges, and looseness of the bowels.

THE WALNUT.

Walnuts, no ways differing from those of our own country, are very common in the woods of Tucuman, but scarce seen in other parts of Paraguay. Their wood is employed in making pistol-cases, handles, and for other kinds of cabinet-maker's work. The nuts are of different sorts, for some are very large, with a soft rind, others quite dwarfish, and with rinds as hard as a stone.

THE URUCUÿ.

The urucuÿ, which is half shrub half tree, resembles a hazle in the whiteness of its wood, and the blackness of its bark. Its leaves are rather large, and heart-shaped. The flowers, which are composed of five white petals, tinged with red, are about the size of a common rose, but have no scent whatever. For fruit it bears pods, which are green at first, and afterwards red, each containing about forty grains the size of peas, but plain on both sides, and with a white pulp, like the seeds of apples. The surface of them is of a deep bright red, and immediately dies the hands of all who touch it with that colour. The pods, when ripe, burst open of themselves. These grains, either dry or fresh, supply the place of vermilion: when pounded, and sprinkled with water, they are used by the savages, sometimes for painting their bodies, sometimes for dying or staining cloth, vessels, or other things. This scarlet colour, when a thing is once tintured with it, adheres pertinaciously, if the grains of the urucuÿ, steeped in water, be mixed with alum or urine. The same grains are thrown into boiling water, and of the colour that settles at the bottom cakes are made, which the women in Europe paint their faces with, and painters and dyers

use for other purposes. They are used also both as food and medicine, variously prepared and mixed. Of the bark some weave cables, cords, and ropes, stronger than hempen ones.

THE AÑIL, OR INDIGO.

That mass of blue colour which the Spaniards call añil, or añir, and other Europeans, indigo, is made of a plant, with a long slender root, branching out into a number of shoots; on which account its long stalks partly creep on the ground, and partly stand upright. They are red on one side, and are laden with small boughs, and round leaves, about the size of one's little finger nail, of a dark green, on one side, and a silvery white on the other. The little blossoms of this plant are of a palish red, with flowers like a husk of corn, or as others explain it, like an open helmet: and are succeeded by pods, hanging from the stalk, full of an olive-coloured seed, very like rape seed. The leaves of the plant, when perfectly mature, are gathered in bundles, pounded in stone mortars in the first place, and next steeped, and turned about in a pan of tepid, or as others say, cold water. They use them poured out on a wooden table, surrounded with a high wooden brim, and hollowed here and there into ditches. After the water has escaped, the

thicker part of the colour settles into those ditches, coagulates, and hardens. The solid particles are then taken out, and dried for many days; for the dryer they are, the nearer they approach to that colour which we call Venetian blue. Those who dyed webs, or garments with that colour in Paraguay, mixed children's urine, instead of alum, with it, to prevent the colour from flying. The plant añil is sown in other places, and grows spontaneously in the plains of Paraguay, but is generally neglected, the industry of the inhabitants seldom answering to the liberality of nature. I never had the least doubt but this plant might be cultivated in those countries of Europe where the climate is milder. The seed must be sown in a soft, and well-tilled soil. The young plants must be removed, like lettuce, and cabbage, and placed at proper distances: great care must likewise be taken to prevent their being choked with weeds.

COCHINILLA.

The Paraguayrian cochineal is produced by winged insects, which sit continually on certain little thistles, and suck their juice. There are many kinds of these thistles, which differ from one another in their form, and fruit. The plant on which the cochineal is found, is called

tuna by the Spaniards, and *opuntia* by botanists. From a very short root rises a thick stalk, sometimes four-cornered, green, crooked, with a white fragile pulp, and covered with thorns: on this, instead of boughs and leaves, grow other stalks, the same as the former, very long, and extremely full of juice. Yellow flowers are succeeded by fruit of a red colour, larger than a common fig, with a sweet, and at the same time, rather acid flavour, which renders them very delightful to the palate. Their pulp is full of small, black seeds, like grape stones, and when peeled has a delicious taste. From these shrubs therefore, the women collect cochineal, which consists of very small, white, fluid particles, closely resembling moss. Most of the particles are made into small, round cakes, and, after exposure to the air, become red and hard. Nothing further is requisite to fit them for painting, and dying. The Jesuit priest of the Guarany town Nuestra Senhora de Sta. Fè, took care to have the tuna thistle planted in a large garden, that they might not be obliged to seek the cochineal necessary for his town in distant plains. When the thistles were grown up, those winged insects, resembling bugs, were carried by the Indians from the plain, and scattered up and down, with more than the desired success; for so abundant,

and so excellent was the cochineal collected from them, that it was anxiously bought, at any price, by the neighbouring priests, for the use of their towns; because it was of a deeper, and brighter red, than that of the plains, and the woods, and was, moreover, scented with citron juice. In succeeding years, the same Father prevented all access to the town by means of these thistles, that the equestrian savages, who had committed much carnage amongst them, might not be so easily able to approach it. This kind of living hedge, which the Spaniards use both in their gardens and estates, became not only a means of security, but at the same time, an ever fertile nursery of cochineal, which, as well as a most beautiful paint, affords the Paraguayrians a medicine for strengthening the heart, creating perspiration, and counteracting poison; so that it may be safely, and usefully mixed with vinegar, and other seasoning liquors.

GOLDEN-ROD.

Golden-rod, which has a very straight stalk crowded from top to bottom with leaves, is sometimes four, sometimes five feet high, and adorned with a bright, yellow flower, abounds in the plains of Paraguay. Both its trunk, and leaves, boiled in water, and mixed with alum,

afford painters, and dyers a most splendid yellow colour, and mixed with blue a very bright green. The same golden-rod is also of great, and various use amongst physicians. I remember a gentlewoman, who had been confined to her bed for years by some disease which baffled the skill of many physicians, being quickly, and happily cured, by a German, who prescribed the use of this medicine. There are many species of golden-rod, but I was acquainted with only one in Paraguay.

ROOTS OF A RED COLOUR.

The Guaranies in marshy places dig up roots called yzipò with a dusky surface, which they use to dye woollen, and cotton cloths of a dark red. Whether this root be the *rubia* of dyers I cannot venture to affirm, for though that plant is cultivated in Austria, I never happened to see it.

THE BARK CAATIGUÀ.

The bark of the tree caatiguà, when dipped in water, imparts a pale red colour, and is chiefly used for dying leather.

MATERIALS FOR A BLACK COLOUR.

To dye cloth black, they make use either of a kind of alfaroba, which I have described

elsewhere to be like the Egyptian tree acacia, of a well-known Paraguayrian herb, or of a rich, black clay. Though cotton will take a black dye, it will not hold it long; consequently the cotton dresses which we wore in Paraguay, became almost of no colour, and the blackness, by degrees, faded away. The Spanish ladies of St. Iago, and the Chiquito Indians have the art of dying cotton with a very lasting black, a secret unknown to every one else.

A NAMELESS FRUIT AFFORDING
A GREEN COLOUR.

Walking in a wood on the banks of the Narahage I discovered a shrub, before unknown to me, covered with leaves of such a very bright green that I felt an inclination to taste them. I found them sweeter than sugar, and thought to use them for sweetening the herb of Paraguay. Applauding myself vastly, for what I thought so useful a discovery, I gave a leaf to the Spaniard, my companion, to taste; but he prudently declared, that he should take care not to eat, or even touch that strange plant. The Indian old women were consulted on this affair: they told us that these leaves were used for dying things green, but were very poisonous.

WOODS USED FOR DYING.

Woods, moreover, used for dying various colours, which are brought into Europe from Brazil, Guayana, and other countries of America, are found in that part of Paraguay, which borders on Brazil. The same may be observed with regard to roots, oils, juices, gums, rosins, kernels, &c.

CARDONES, OR CEREI.

To the thistles called tunas, or Indian figs, you may add the *cardones*, or *cerei*, the trunk of which is large, and tall, with a spongy, and brittle pulp. In the place of branches and leaves there grow on them other stalks, both thick, and long, which are thorny on every side, full of juice, and straight upright. They bear white flowers, and oval-shaped fruit larger than a goose's egg, which produce a red colour, and are eaten by the Indians with impunity. In the deserts of Paraguay, I have often traversed immense woods of *cardones*. The honey which bees deposit in them is very famous in Europe. Every part of the *cardo* is converted into medicinal uses, both by the Europeans, and Americans. There are many species of *cardones*, of strange, and monstrous forms. Some

creep on the ground, others stand upright. The most remarkable is the large, thorny, Peruvian cereus, which is twenty feet high, and one foot thick. Its trunk has various corners, and channels, as it were, together with knobs, and thorns. The bark is green, and the pulp fleshy, and under it lies a ligneous substance, the pith of which is white, and juicy. It bears but few flowers. If you wish to know more of this cereus, it is to be seen in the gardens of princes.

VARIOUS SPECIES OF THE CARAQUATA.

Many species of this plant are commonly to be met with in Paraguay. I will briefly mention those with which I am best acquainted. The caraquatà guazù, or the great caraquatà, is supported by a short thick root. It consists of about twenty very thick leaves, dentated on both sides, remarkably sharp, and about two feet in length, in the midst of which rises a stalk, like a trunk, five, and often more feet high. The top of it is crowned with yellow flowers. The Indian women spin threads of the fibres of the leaves, as others do of flax, or hemp, and weave them into cords, cloths, and nets. But no time, or art can make these threads perfectly white, nor will they hold any

colour with which they may be dyed. Creditable authors write that in the province of Guayana such beautiful stockings are woven of this same thread, that they are sometimes preferred to silk ones in France for strength, and softness. Another kind of caraquatà, very like the former, is seen in the woods, but it cannot be spun into threads. In the woods of Mbaèverà, the Indian women who inhabit there make thread, and garments, not of the caraquatà, but of the bark of the tree pinô, after it has been properly cleaned : for the webs woven of the thread of this bark, after being exposed for some time to the sun, and frequently sprinkled with water, become beautifully white and will retain any colour with which they are dyed, extremely well. It is much to be lamented that this tree pinô is found in the larger woods only, and is not to be seen in many parts of Paraguay. Another caraquatà of a different shape produces a kind of artichoke, or anana. It bears fruit of a scarlet colour, and has plenty of seed contained in a straight slender stalk. It is surrounded with very large leaves, denticulated like a saw, and pointing towards the ground, in the centre of which travellers find a tolerable supply of very clear water, and with it often quench their thirst in dry deserts, where sometimes not a drop of

water is to be found. Another caraquatà with leaves very like a sword, and armed on both sides with a threatening row of thorns, bears fruit of a pale yellow within and without, full of black seeds, and pregnant with an acidulated, and pleasant juice. But to extricate this fruit from the many thorns, with which the leaves that guard it are armed, without being wounded, is the labour and the difficulty. Of this fruit mixed with sugar a very wholesome drink, and an excellent medicine for various diseases are made. These, and other kinds of caraquatà are of great use to the Americans. Planted around gardens, and the buildings of estates, they, by their thorns, prevent all secret, and improper access, more effectually than any other kind of hedge, and will survive every inclemency of the weather. Their leaves supply the place of flax in making thread, as well as of tiles in covering temporary huts, and their thorns serve for needles. Their leaves, on being pricked, yield a thick juice which washerwomen use for soap, and when boiled on the fire are fit to be eaten. The Indians look upon the various fruits of the caraquatà as food. From their leaves, when scraped with a knife, flows a sweet liquor, which is thickened on the fire, and condensed into sugar. This liquor of the caraquatà, mixed in water with the seeds of

oranges, or lemons, undergoes a vinous fermentation; exposed to the sun it turns to vinegar. By what method, and in what cases, wounds and disorders are healed by the juice of the caraquatà, would be long to tell. A polypodium, preferable in the opinion of physicians to any European one, grows on the caraquatà.

VARIOUS KINDS OF REEDS.

Both in marshy plains, and in the moister woods, you see a great abundance and variety of reeds; some solid, others hollow. Some are as thick as a man's thigh, others scarce equal to his thumb: many which are slenderer than a goose's quill, but full ten yards long, entwine themselves about the neighbouring trees. You commonly meet with reeds of such immense size, that they supply the place of wood in building houses, waggons, and ships, and if cut at proper times would exceed it in hardness and durability. Some made very large flaggons, for the purpose of holding wine on a journey, of these reeds, and they answered better than glass, because less fragile. As various kinds of reeds grow in various parts of the province, the Indians ingeniously conjecture the name and country of their savage foes who have been travelling the same way, from the reed of an arrow which they may have chanced

to see on the road. We have often crossed woods of wide extent bristling with continual reeds, and have been obliged to pass the night there even, always sleepless, always anxious; for as reeds generally delight in a marshy soil, they are seminaries and abodes of tykes, snakes, gnats and other insects, which are always noisy and stinging, and never spare either the blood or ears of strangers; especially on an impending calm. If a violent wind comes on, the fire at which you sit, being thereby scattered up and down, will set fire to the reeds, which are covered with leaves, and you will be burnt; for no means of extinguishing the flames are at hand, and there are no opportunities of escape. Those reeds which the Germans call Spanish canes, and the Spaniards Indian ones, and which are used for walking-sticks, never grow in Paraguay, though neither rare nor precious in the provinces of North America.

THE SUGAR-CANE.

The sugar-cane flourishes exceedingly in the hotter territories towards the north, if properly cultivated. In the month of August, at the end of winter that is, slips of canes, about one or two feet long, are placed sloping in furrows, at equal distances, and properly ploughed. These gradually rot under ground, and from them a

new germ arises, which grows to the height of eight feet, and is cut down in the space of about two months, being perfectly ripe. The longer they are left in the field, the sweeter and thicker becomes their juice, which is afterwards expressed by various methods and machines in America. In Paraguay, the canes, after being stripped of their leaves, are cut into pieces a foot and a half in length. These are thrust by the hand into two large cylinders of very hard wood, which are turned round by two oxen with the help of a great wooden wheel. The juice squeezed out by the tight compression of the cylinders, falls into a boat or cup placed beneath. It is then boiled in a brass pan, more or less, according to the various uses for which the sweet liquor is intended; for if it be used in the same manner as honey, which serves either for food or drink, it is less thickened on the fire, and kept in skins, at the bottom of which, after the liquid part is consumed, you find white crystallized stones, made of the coagulated sugar, which is commonly called the pure and natural sugar-candy; for that yellow candied sugar so full of threads, which is sold in shops, appears to be artificial. But if the liquor expressed from the canes be intended for making sugar, it must be boiled for a long time, and brought to a thick mass. The oftener this is

strained through an earthen pan perforated at the bottom, and the longer it is exposed to the sun, the more thoroughly it is purged of the dregs, which flow off into a vessel placed beneath the pan, and the whiter and better sugar it becomes. Of these dregs the Spaniards make either coarser sugar, or aqua vitæ, by liquefying it at the fire drop by drop. For the same purpose others use the canes that have been pressed by the cylinders, but have not had all their juice entirely squeezed out. Observe, moreover, that the pans in which that sweet liquor is daily exposed to the sun are carefully covered with fresh moist mud. All the sugar prepared in Paraguay, and the neighbouring Brazil, has the appearance of wheat flour. That alone is used by the Portugueze; it is transported from Lisbon, in ships, to different places, and made as hard as a stone by aid of chalk, or bull's blood. As the industry of the inhabitants in Paraguay by no means answers to the fertility of the soil, the sugar made there is rarely sufficient for that province, so that no one thinks of exporting any from thence. On the contrary, from the exquisite cultivation of the sugar cane, Brazil derives immense wealth from Europe; it is the chief strength of the Portugueze trade, and a perpetual source of

riches. The sugar cane differs from the common reed no otherwise than in having more joints, and a smaller space between each. It is adorned with beautifully green and very large leaves, especially at the top. It is about four inches thick. Though the plant is seven or eight feet high, great part of it towards the top is thrown away, being devoid of juice, and very full of leaves. Sugar canes like a rich and moist soil, nor will they grow much on hills, though well watered. More earth must be heaped on the sugar cane after it has been lately planted in the summer, less in the winter, that it may not bud too much; for the more leaves it bears the less juice it will yield. Weeds, which suck up the moisture of the earth, must be carefully extirpated. Moderate frosts are useful to the full grown canes, because they thicken the sweet liquor; immoderate ones do harm, because they exhaust it all. Ants, which are destructive to the young canes, must be carefully kept away. Many other arts, proper to be used in the rearing and expression of canes, and the converting of them into sugar, I choose to omit for the sake of brevity. I have briefly described the principal ones, that Europeans may be made thoroughly acquainted with the origin of sugar, which they know so well how to consume, and cease to wonder that these reedy

sweets, so laboriously prepared in America; should often be sold at such an extravagant price in Europe.

BEES' HONEY.

Throughout the whole of Paraguay you see none of those beehives the keeping of which is so troublesome in Europe, because the various species of bees deposit their excellent and copious honey either in hollow trees, in the caverns of the earth, or in the open plain; especially in those territories which enjoy a mild climate, and are near to flowery plains. Honey differs both in name and taste according to the different bees that produce it, and the different times and places in which it is produced. That which is concealed under ground the Abipones call *nahérek*. In some places it is rather acid, in others very sweet. A quantity sufficient to fill many jugs is often dug out of one cave. That which is taken at the beginning of spring from the tops of shrubs or high grass is called by the Spaniards *lechiguana*. The materials of which the cells of this honey consist are very like blotting-paper, and are often of such extent and circumference that you can hardly embrace them with both arms. The honeycombs which certain wasps build in Europe are constructed

in much the same way. The excellence of the lechiguana honey you may ascribe to its being made of the first spring flowers, and if it remains untouched for some months, and escapes the eyes and hands of passers by, it hardens of itself, like sugar, which it excels in sweetness. Moreover it has no admixture of wax. Though various kinds of honey are found under the earth, and in the plain, yet the principal store-houses of the bees are the hollow trunks of lofty trees. The Spaniards of St. Iago prefer to every other kind that found on the cardones. With the Guaranies, and all just estimators, the first place is given to the *eÿrobáña*, the sweetest and most transparent of all honey, which, when poured into a glass, could not be distinguished from water. The same honey, if found on the fragrant wood of the tree *ybirapayè* is then decidedly the best, and excels all other honey as the sun does the lesser stars. In Paraguay, in the winter months the Abipones think honey extremely unwholesome, and carefully abstain from eating it. The Spaniards of St. Iago go out in crowds to seek honey and wax in distant woods; and after whitening it with immense labour in the sun, sell it to the people of Peru and Chili, with hardly moderate profits. To discover and rifle the beehives concealed in the woods is a

matter of little difficulty to the Abipones, who, when the sky is clear, and the sun bright, ride out on horseback into the country. Being possessed of wonderfully quick eyesight, they perceive the bees flying about, and leaving their horse at the bank of a river, pursue them on foot till they see what tree they enter: this they climb with all the agility of apes, open a hole by way of a door, and as a mark of the hive, take out the honey and wax into a leathern bag, and carry it home, where their friends, wives, and children soon consume these adventitious sweets, either by eating them like ambrosia, or drinking them like nectar. But if a general drinking-party be appointed on any occasion, the honey they bring is mixed with cold water, and stirred for a little while with a stick; when, without addition of any other ferment, it effervesces, froths, and becomes wine in the space of some hours, and taken even in small quantities intoxicates the Indians like very pure wine: for we have found two or three cups sufficient to upset their naturally imbecile minds. Wax is scarce ever used amongst the Indians: for the fire, which is always kept alive on the floor of the hut, serves to dress the food by day, and supplies the place of a candle by night.

SALT.

From honey let us proceed to salt, which is in great request both amongst the savages and almost all beasts, though they are scarce ever able to procure it: for notwithstanding that some parts of Paraguay abound in salt either natural, or artificial, yet none of either kind can be obtained throughout immense tracts of land, unless it be brought at a great expense from other places. All the Guarany towns are destitute of chalk, and salt, both of which are forced to be conveyed in ships, or waggons, from the remote colonies of the Spaniards, are often purchased at an exorbitant price, often not to be procured. In the Cordoban territories, and elsewhere, the lakes which have been exhausted by a long drought do indeed afford coagulated salt; but during time of drought it is very difficult to reach those lakes, as the plains, through which you must pass, deny water both to the carriers, and to the oxen, by whom the salt is conveyed in waggons to the cities. In rainy seasons, when those lakes are full, no salt is coagulated, which being frequently the case, salt is in consequence often scarce and dear. In many places under the jurisdiction of the cities Asumpcion, and St. Iago, nitre collected in the plains, or salt water boiled

in small pans, is converted into salt. At the town of Concepcion the salt boiled in the little town of Sta. Lucia was sometimes too bitter to be eaten: that salt made in the Indian town Lambare, and in Cochinoco where it borders on Peru, is much esteemed, because it is hard as a stone, very white, and fit for medicinal purposes. The people of Buenos-Ayres sometimes convey salt in ships by the South Sea, sometimes in waggons by land from the lakes, where there is an immense accumulation of native salt, and of snow. These lakes, as they are situated towards the straits of Magellan, many days' journey from the city, can never be reached without much expense, and seldom without some danger. Great troops of Spaniards were often cruelly murdered on the way by the southern savages, who scarce left one alive to announce the massacre to the city. On considering these difficulties you will not much wonder that salt is generally scarce in Paraguay, and often not to be procured. The Guaranies eat their meat and all their other provisions without a grain of salt; but a single spoonful was given on Sundays by the free bounty of the priest, to every father of a family, to last the whole week: yet even this little portion was expensive to the towns, of which some contained a thousand inhabitants, others seven

or eight hundred. For as an arroba (a Spanish weight of twenty-five pounds) of salt often cost four crowns, or eight Austrian florens, a pound was worth about twenty of our cruitzers. The savages who live in hidden wilds generally eat their food without salt, as there are no salt-pits there; and this is, in my opinion, the reason that so many of them are afflicted with cutaneous disorders. Others burn a shrub which the Spaniards call *la vidriera*, the ashes of which they used instead of salt, to season their meat with and to prepare medicines.

CORO.

This plant closely resembles tobacco in its leaf, its pungency, and property of exciting saliva.

When should I ever have done writing, were I to mention the names of all the other shrubs and plants? In certain Guarany towns you find immense woods of rosemary, rue, artemisia or mugwort, golden-rod, mint, and wormwood. I was acquainted with three different kinds of sage, varying in appearance, but endued with the same virtues. That which the Spaniards call royal sage is scarce, because seldom cultivated. Borage, plantane, mallows, bastard marjoram, garden-nasturtium, bugloss, vervain, fumitory, purslain, liquorice, and three kinds of

pepper, that is, common pepper, which the Guaranies call *gỹ*; *cumbarỹ*, which has a small grain, but is remarkably pungent; and *aji*, which we call Turkish pepper: all these, which grow in Europe, are seen here in some places; but not every where. Ginger grows abundantly when planted. Throughout many tracts of land I could discover none of the nettles of our country. Liberal nature has bestowed on the soil of Paraguay innumerable herbs useful to physicians, such as *contrayerva*, &c. It may be proper to give some little account of the grains which compose the chief part of the support of the Indians.

MAIZE.

That grain, which the Spaniards call *mayz*, is the principal provisions of the Americans. It bears grains of divers colours. The Guaranies sow various kinds of it. Those best known to me are the *abati hatâ*, composed of very hard grains, the *abati morotî*, which consists of very soft and white ones, the *abati mifi*, which ripens in one month, but has very small dwarfish grains, and *bisingallo*, the most famous of all, the grains of which are angular and pointed: when pounded in a wooden mortar, they yield a sweet and very wholesome flour, and drunk with water, either alone, or mixed with honey or

sugar, quickly allay hunger and the most burning thirst. This flour is the delicious food of the soldiers of St. Iago, when they pursue the fugitive savages, and by its aid they often accomplish long and arduous excursions in a few days, without ever being obliged to light a fire to cook their victuals. This flour was likewise a great relief to myself in calamitous journeys under a burning sun. Of the grains of each kind of maize, either whole, or pounded in an mortar, the Indian women make various sorts of food, and even a thin bread, dressed on the hot coals, which, however, hunger alone would render palatable to a European. The Spanish ladies, of maize flour, carefully strained through a sieve, make a white bread, which, while new, has an agreeable flavour, and is to my taste preferable to wheaten bread. The grains of maize, when pounded in a mortar, and sprinkled with water, ferment in a few hours, and frequently afford the lower orders of Spaniards, and still oftener certain Indians, a fermented liquor called *chicha* or *aloja*. The Abipones, who abound in honey and the alfaro, though very fond of maize, never use it in that manner. Many and great are the advantages of maize, for it does not require a very rich soil. One grain often yields the cultivator more than a thousand-fold. The ears, when young and milky, are much relished both by Eu-

ropeans and Americans, either roasted or boiled with meat. The Indians find this grain, however prepared, highly useful in strengthening the body, increasing the blood, and lengthening life. Neither could we discover any thing better for fattening hens and other animals.

BATATAS.*

Amongst articles of food used by the Indians, a high place is given to certain roots which the Spaniards call *batatas*, and the Germans earth-apples (*erdäpfel*). It would be superfluous to describe with prolixity a thing so commonly seen. Those of Paraguay are decidedly superior to the German ones in size and flavour. These roots, or rather bulbs, are sometimes white, sometimes red, and sometimes yellow, in Paraguay. In my opinion the red ones are by far the worst, and the yellow the best of all.

THE MANDUBI.

The mandubi, a fruit which Europe may envy America the possession of, resembles an almond in oiliness, sweetness, and, with the exception of the bark, in appearance. It grows underground from a very beautiful plant about two feet high, which has a square hairy stalk of a

* Potatoes.

reddish green colour. Its slender boughs are covered with four small leaves of a bright green on one side, and a whitish hue on the other, and are clothed with tender down. At the beginning of the little boughs grow small yellow flowers with red edges, hanging by a short stem, and surrounded by three leaflets. The roots of this plant are short, slender, and tortuous, and on them hang yellow oblong pods with a soft rind. Each of these pods contains either one or two kernels, (for there are various species of the mandubi,) beautifully covered with a red skin, and inclosing a very white and very rich pulp. These kernels, slightly fried or roasted, are much liked even by Europeans. The oil expressed from them is used instead of oil of olives, to which indeed it is superior, on lettuce; and many eat it with food in the place of butter or beef fat. I have often wished that this excellent fruit grew in Europe, where it certainly would be useful in many ways.

VARIOUS KINDS OF VEGETABLES.

Besides lentils, beans, fasels, and other kinds of vegetables, there is an infinite variety of melons, gourds, and cucumbers, brought from England, Italy, Germany, and Africa, into Paraguay, which, dressed in various ways, serve excellently both to fill the stomach and delight

the palate. The curuguà, a kind of gourd, is of great size. Hanging from its stalk, it creeps like ivy along the neighbouring hedges and trees. This gourd is a by no means unpleasant dish, and a celebrated medicine for persons afflicted with the tertian ague. After being kept at home for many months, it fills the room with a delightful fragrance, which virtue the seeds likewise possess. Melons of almost too great sweetness grow every where here, but, unless plucked as soon as ripe, immediately get bitter and are filled with most offensive bugs. Watermelons are very plentiful and of great size. The soil of St. Iago del Estero, which is sandy, produces exceedingly sweet and enormously large melons. Their pulp, which is sometimes red, sometimes yellow, and always cold, greatly refreshes the mouth when parched with heat, and the other parts of the body, without injuring the stomach. They will keep great part of a year, if suspended in any open airy place. Rainy weather is extremely injurious to the young melons, for they absorb so much water that they either burst before they are ripe, or when ripe quickly putrify.

LETTUCE.

Lettuce grows in the winter months, if rightly cultivated, but very seldom in the summer, un-

less it be planted on the banks of rivers; for in a garden, by reason of the excessive heat of the sun, it soon blossoms, and turns to seed. European rapes grow successfully the first year they are planted, but degenerate to black and very pungent radishes the next.

THE RADISH.

Indeed the soil of Paraguay seems peculiarly favourable to radishes, which grow every where to an amazing size, and are very pernicious to wheat, by choking up the fields like tares.

MUSTARD SEED.

Mustard seed, a wholesome seasoning for food, is always to be seen in the more careful gardens.

NASTURTIUM.

The European nasturtium is almost unknown to the whole of Paraguay; though the garden, or water-nasturtium, grows spontaneously in moist places.

SAFFRON.

The European saffron is found in no part of Paraguay. The American, which is saffron in name and appearance only, is not used for seasoning food, but for dying things of a yellow colour.

ASPARAGUS.

Asparagus grows wild in the plains, but is very bitter, and slenderer than a thread; if cultivated in gardens, it would become quite gigantic.

ONIONS AND GARLICK.

Onions and garlick are diligently cultivated with great care and expense by the Spaniards, and are even eaten raw with avidity by hungry persons.

FUNGUSES.

Various funguses are found both in the woods and plains, but no one would venture either to touch or taste them. Verengena, called by the Latins melongena, tomatoes, which the Germans call apples of Paradise, and other condiments of this kind, better known to Spaniards than Germans, are frequently seen in gardens and at table. The Indians like sweet things, and detest radishes, mustard-seed, garden-nasturtium, lettuces sprinkled with vinegar, in short, every thing acrid, acid, or bitter. The Abipones, who, leading a vagrant life, never take the pains to sow, nor find occasion to reap, subsist, like birds and beasts, on whatever their predatory habits supply, or liberal nature gratuitously

offers to hunters in the plains, woods, rivers, and lakes. If the surface of the earth yields no food, they seek under the earth, or the waters, for esculent roots, of which they call some neeyeka, others hakamik, and others again leèkate. There is also a kind of very small bean, which they call nauvirgila, and which is commonly found in the woods. These beans, when boiled, though not very savoury to the palate, serve in some measure to fill the bellies of the Indians.

WHEAT.

The soil of Paraguay, particularly in the territories of Buenos-Ayres, Monte-Video, and St. Iago of the Tucumans, is extremely fruitful of wheat. It is nevertheless no less true than surprizing that greatest part of the Spanish nation never taste wheaten bread, to avoid the difficulty of sowing and grinding this grain: for you never see any thing like a water-mill here. The mill-stone is turned about by horses, in some places by the wind. I saw but two wind-mills of this kind, and those were in the city of Buenos-Ayres. European wheat differs from that of Paraguay, the latter having a very short stalk, but a larger ear, containing larger grains. The Guaranies cut off the ears alone with a common knife, and leave the stalks in the field,

where they are afterwards burnt as they stand, as the ashes fertilize the soil better than any other manure. In every Guarany town as much wheat is sown, as is thought sufficient for one year. The grains of wheat are pressed out of the ear by the feet of horses, one or two hundred of which are driven round an area surrounded by hedges, wherein the ears are strewed on the floor.

OATS.

Oats are not even known by name in Paraguay.

PETRIFICATION OF WOOD AND HORN.

Immense pieces of petrified wood are sometimes seen in the river Parana. Cows' horns also, which are mottled with various colours like marble, and when rubbed against steel emit fire like flint, are often transformed in this way.

HOT SPRINGS.

In none of those parts of Paraguay which I have myself visited did I ever find any mineral, or medicinal waters. But Father Joseph Sanchez Labrador discovered, in his journeys through the towns of the Chiquitos, that two places contained salubrious springs, which I shall describe

in his own words. “ Not far from the town of St. Iago is a hot spring, surrounded on all sides by woods. It is wide, about three feet deep, and emits a sound like that of a boiling kettle, occasioned by the water bubbling up from the bottom. On dipping your foot into it you feel a violent heat, which in a short time becomes tolerable. Little fishes swim in these waters, without however doing them any injury; but their sulphureous odour renders them very disagreeable. The banks of the fountain are surrounded by lime-stones. The farther the water recedes from the spring, the colder it becomes, forming a river, which, about three leagues beyond the town of Santissimo Corazon de Jesu, loses itself amid extensive palm groves. Many persons who had been long, and grievously ill, derived much benefit from these springs. In sight of the town of St. Juan, at the borders of the rocks, rises another small fountain, bubbling with the heat of its waters; it forms a lake in the neighbouring vale, which gives birth to another river. That water is hot at its source, but gradually cools as it goes along, and is drunk by the Chiquitos: but it is of an unpleasant taste, and not very wholesome. Indeed the inferior fruitfulness of the women of that town is ascribed by many to this water. The same complaint is made by the inhabitants

of the town of St. Iago. From which I conclude that these waters are beneficial to sick persons bathing in them, but not proper to be drunk."

Of metals, or rather of the total absence of all metals, I have discoursed elsewhere. Wild animals, trees, and plants I have described with a hasty touch, like one speeding upon a journey. Let me hasten therefore to the Abipones, the chief subject of my pen, lest I appear to dwell too long upon the introductory part of my work.

END OF VOL. I.

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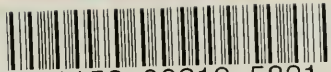
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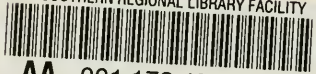
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AN
ACCOUNT
OF
THE ABIPONES,
AN EQUESTRIAN PEOPLE
OF
PARAGUAY.

FROM THE LATIN OF MARTIN DOBRIZHOFFER,
EIGHTEEN YEARS A MISSIONARY IN THAT COUNTRY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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HISTORY
OF
THE ABIPONES.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE TERRITORY, ORIGIN, AND VARIOUS NAMES OF
THE ABIPONES.

THE Abipones inhabit the province Chaco, the centre of all Paraguay; they have no fixed abodes, nor any boundaries, except what fear of their neighbours has established. They roam extensively in every direction, whenever the opportunity of attacking their enemies, or the necessity of avoiding them renders a journey advisable. The northern shore of the Rio Grande or Bermejo, which the Indians call *Iñatè*, was their native land in the last century. Thence they removed, to avoid the war carried on against Chaco by the Spaniards of Salta, at the commencement of this century, and migrating towards the south, took possession of a

valley formerly held by the Calchaquis. This territory, which is about two hundred leagues in extent, they at present occupy. But from what region their ancestors came there is no room for conjecture. Ychamenraikin, chief cacique of the Abipones in the town of St. Jeronimo, told us, that, after crossing the vast waters, they were carried hither on an ass, and this he declared he had heard from ancient men. I have often thought that the Americans originally came, step by step, from the most northern parts of Europe, which are perhaps joined to America, or separated only by a narrow frith. We have observed some resemblance in the manners and customs of the Abipones to the Laplanders, and people of Nova Zembla, and we always noticed in these savages a magnetical propensity to the north, as if they inclined towards their native soil; for when irritated by any untoward event, they cried in a threatening tone—*Mahaik quer erëgem*, I will go to the north; though this threat meant that they would return to the northern parts of Paraguay, where their savage compatriots live at this day, free from the yoke of the Spaniards, and from Christian discipline.

But if the Americans sprung from the north of Europe, why are all the Indians of both Americas destitute of beard, in which the northern Eu-

ropeans abound? Do not ascribe that to air, climate, and country, for though we see some plants brought from Europe to America degenerate in a short time, yet we find that Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, and Frenchmen, who in Europe are endowed with plenty of beard, never lose it in any part of America, but that their children and grandchildren plainly testify their European origin by their beard. If you see any Indian with a middling-sized beard, you may be sure that his father or grandfather was an European; for those thinly-scattered hairs, growing here and there upon the chins of the Indians both of North and South America, are unworthy the name of beard.

Paraguay is indeed near Africa, yet who would say that the inhabitants migrated from thence? In that case, the Paraguayrians would be of a black, or at any rate of a dusky leaden colour, like the Africans. The English, Spaniards, and Portuguese know that if both parents be Negroes, the children, in whatever country they are born, will be black, but that the offspring of a male and female Indian are of a whitish colour, which somewhat darkens as they grow older, from the heat of the sun, and the smoke of the fire, which they keep alive, day and night, in their huts. Moreover, the Americans have not woolly hair like the Negroes, but

straight, though very black locks. The vast extent of ocean which divides Africa from the southern parts of America, renders a passage difficult, and almost incredible, at a time when navigators, then unfurnished with the magnet, dared scarcely sail out of sight of the shore. The Africans, you will say, might have been cast by a storm on the shores of America; but how could the wild beasts have got there? Opposite to the shores of Paraguay lies the Cape of Good Hope, inhabited by Hottentots which, in the savageness of their manners, resemble the Paraguayrian Indians, but are totally different in the form of their bodies, in their customs, and language. Many may, with more justice, contend that Asia was the original country of the Americans, it being connected with America by some hitherto undiscovered tie; and so they may, with my free leave; nor, were I to hear it affirmed that the Americans fell from the moon, should I offer any refutation, but having experienced the inconstancy, volubility, and changefulness of the Indians, should freely coincide in that opinion. The infinite variety of tongues amongst the innumerable nations of America baffles all conjecture in regard to their origin. You cannot discover the faintest trace of any European, African, or Asiatic language amongst them all.

However, although I dare not affirm posi-

tively whence the Abipones formerly came, I will at any rate tell you where they now inhabit. That vast extent of country bounded from north to south by the Rio Grande, or Irate, and the territories of Sta. Fè, and from east to west by the shores of the Paraguay, and the country of St. Iago, is the residence of the Abipones, who are distributed into various hordes. Impatient of agriculture and a fixed home, they are continually moving from place to place. The opportunity of water and provisions at one time, and the necessity of avoiding the approach of the enemy at another, obliges them to be constantly on the move. The Abipones imitate skilful chess-players. After committing slaughter in the southern colonies of the Spaniards, they retire far northwards, afflict the city of Asumpcion with murders and rapine, and then hurry back again to the south. If they have acted hostilities against the towns of the Guaranies, or the city of Corrientes, they betake themselves to the west. But if the territories of St. Iago or Cordoba have been the objects of their fury, they cunningly conceal themselves in the marshes, islands, and reedy places of the river Parana. For the Spaniards, however desirous, are not able to return the injuries of the savages, from the difficulty of the

roads, or their want of acquaintance with them. It sometimes happens that a lake or marsh, which the Abipones swim with ease, obliges the Spanish cavalry to abandon the pursuit.

The whole territory of the Abipones scarcely contains a place which has not received a name from some memorable event or peculiarity of that neighbourhood. It may be proper to mention some of the most famous of these places; viz. *Netagránac Lpátage*, the bird's nest; for in this place birds resembling storks yearly build their nests. *Liquin'ánala*, the cross, which was formerly fixed here by the Spaniards. *Nihírenac Leënereráquiè*, the cave of the tiger. *Paët Latetà*, the bruised teats. *Atopèhèn'á Lauaté*, the haunt of capibaris. *Lareca Caëpa*, the high trees. *Lalegráicavalca*, the little white things. Hail of enormous size once fell in this place, and killed vast numbers of cattle. Many other places are named from the rivers that flow past them. The most considerable are the *Evòrayè*, the Parana, or Paraguay, the *Iñatè*, the Rio Grande, or Vermejo, the *Ychimaye*, or Rio Rey, the *Neboquelatèl*, or mother of palms, called by the Spaniards *Malabrigo*, the *Narahage*, or *Inespin*, the *Lachaoquè Nâuè*, *Ycalc*, *Ycham*, &c. the Rio Negro, Verde, Salado, &c.

In the sixtieth year of the present century, many families of Abipones removed, some to the

banks of the Rio Grande, others to the more distant northern parts. The last Abiponian colony was nearly ten leagues north of the Rio Grande, in which situation we found that the Toba savages, who call themselves Nataguebit, had formerly resided.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE NATURAL COLOUR OF THE AMERICANS.

WHEN European painters have represented a man of a dark complexion, naked and hairy from head to foot, with flat distorted nostrils, threatening eyes, and a vast belly, a monster, in short, armed with a quiver, bow, arrows, and a club, and crowned with feathers of various colours, they think they have made an admirable portrait of an American Indian. And, indeed, before I saw America, I pictured the Americans to myself as agreeing with this description; but my own eyes soon convinced me of my error, and I openly denounced the painters, to whom I had formerly given credit, as calumniators and romancers. Upon a near view of innumerable Indians of many nations, I could discover none of those deformities which are commonly ascribed to them. None of the Americans are black like Negroes, none so white as the Germans, English and French, but of this I am positive, that many of them are fairer than many Spaniards, Portugueze, and Italians. The Americans have whitish faces, but this white-

ness, in some nations, approaches more to a pasty colour, and in others is darker; a difference occasioned by diversity of climate, manner of living, or food. For those Indians who are exposed to the sun's heat in the open plain, must necessarily be of a darker colour than those who dwell always in the shade of forests, and never behold the sun. The women are fairer than the men, because they go out of doors less frequently, and whenever they travel on horseback, take greater care of their complexions, skreening their faces with fans made of the longer emu feathers.

I have often wondered that the savage Aucas, Puelches or Patagonians, and other inhabitants of the Magellanic region, who dwell nearer to the South Pole, should be darker than the Abipones, Mocabios, Tobas, and other tribes, who live in Chaco, about ten degrees farther north, and consequently suffer more from the heat. May not the difference of food have some effect upon the complexion? The Southern savages feed principally upon the flesh of emus and horses, in which the plains abound. Does this contribute nothing to render their skin dark? What, if we say that the whiteness of the skin is destroyed by very severe cold, as well as by extreme heat? Yet if this be the case, why are the inhabitants of Terra del

Fuego more than moderately white: for that island is situated in the fifty-fifth degree of latitude, at the very extremity of South America, hard by the Antarctic Pole? May we not suppose that these Southern nations derive their origin from Africa, and brought the dark colour of the Africans into America? If any one incline to this opinion, let him consider by what means they crossed the immense sea which separates Africa from America, without the use of the magnet.

Many have written, and most persons at this day believe the Patagonians to be giants, perhaps the progeny of the Cyclops Polyphemus; but believe me when I say that the first are deceivers, and the latter their dupes. In the narrative of the voyage of the Dutch commander, Oliver Von Nord, who, in the year 1598, passed the Straits of Magellan, the Patagonians are asserted to be ten or eleven feet high. The English, who passed these straits in 1764, gave them eight feet of height. The good men must have looked at those savages through a magnifying-glass, or measured them with a pole. For in the year 1766, Captains Wallis and Carteret measured the Patagonians, and declared them to be only six feet, or six feet six inches high. They were again measured in 1764, by the famous Bourgainville, who

found them to be of the same height as Wallis had done. Father Thomas Falconer, many years Missionary in the Magellanic region, laughs at the idea entertained by Europeans of the gigantic stature of the Patagonians, instancing Kangapol chief Cacique of that land, who exceeded all the other Patagonians in stature, and yet did not appear to him to be above seven feet high. Soon after my arrival, I saw a great number of these savages in the city of Buenos-Ayres. I did not; indeed, measure them, but spoke to some of them by an interpreter, and though most of them were remarkably tall, yet they by no means deserved the name of giants.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE PERSONS OF THE ABIPONES, AND THE CONFORMATION OF THEIR BODIES.

THE Abipones are well formed, and have handsome faces, much like those of Europeans, except in point of colour, which, though not entirely white, has nothing of the blackness of Negroes and Mulattoes. For that natural whiteness which they have in infancy is somewhat destroyed as they grow up, by the sun, and by the smoke: as nearly the whole of their lives is passed in riding about plains exposed to the beams of the sun, and the short time that they spend in their tents, they keep up a fire on the ground day and night, by the heat and smoke of which they are unavoidably somewhat darkened. Whenever the cold south wind blows, they move the fire to the bed, or place it underneath the hanging net in which they lie, and are thus gradually smoke-dried, like a gammon of bacon in a chimney. The women, when they ride out into the country, shield their faces from the sun's rays with an umbrella, and are, in consequence, generally fairer than the men, who, more ambitious to be dreaded by their

enemies than to be loved, to terrify than attract beholders, think the more they are scarred and sun-burnt, the handsomer they are.

I observed that almost all the Abipones had black but rather small eyes; yet they see more acutely with them, than we do with our larger ones; being able clearly to distinguish such minute, or distant objects as would escape the eye of the most quick-sighted European. Frequently, in travelling, when we saw some animal running at a distance, and were unable to distinguish what it was, an Abipon would declare, without hesitation, whether it was a horse or a mule, and whether the colour was black, white, or grey; and on examining the object more closely, we always found him correct.

Moreover, in symmetry of shape, the Abipones yield to no other nation of America. I scarce remember to have seen one of them with a nose like what we see in the generality of Negroes, flat, crooked, turned up towards the forehead, or broader than it should be. The commonest shape is aquiline; as long and sharp as is consistent with beauty. An hundred deformities and blemishes, common among Europeans, are foreign to them. You never see an Abipon with a hump on his back, a wen, a hare lip, a monstrous belly, bandy legs, club feet, or

an impediment in his speech. They have white teeth, almost all of which they generally carry to the grave quite sound. Paraguay sometimes produces dwarf horses, but never a dwarf Abipon, or any other Indian. Certain it is, that out of so many thousands of Indians, I never saw an individual of that description. Almost all the Abipones are so tall, that they might be enlisted amongst the Austrian musketeers.

The Abipones, as I told you before, are destitute of beard, and have perfectly smooth chins like all the other Indians, both of whose parents are Americans. If you see an Indian with a little beard, you may conclude, without hesitation, that one of his parents, or at any rate his grandfather, must have been of European extraction. I do not deny that a kind of down grows on the chins of the Americans, just as in sandy sterile fields, a straggling ear of corn is seen here and there; but even this they pull up by the roots whenever it grows. The office of barber is performed by an old woman, who sits on the ground by the fire, takes the head of the Abipon into her lap, sprinkles and rubs his face plentifully with hot ashes, which serve instead of soap, and then, with a pair of elastic horn tweezers, carefully plucks up all the hairs; which operation the savages declare to be devoid of pain, and that I might give the more credit to his

words, one of them, applying a forceps to my chin, wanted to give me palpable demonstration of the truth. It was with difficulty that I extricated myself from the hands of the unlucky shaver, choosing rather to believe than groan.

The Abipones bear the pain inflicted by the old woman with the forceps, without complaining, that their faces may be smooth and clear; for they cannot endure them to be rough and hairy. For this reason, neither sex will suffer the hairs, with which our eyes are naturally fortified, but have their eye-brows and eye-lashes continually plucked up. This nakedness of the eyes, though it disfigures the handsomest face in a high degree, they deem indispensable to beauty. They ridicule and despise the Europeans for the thick brows which overshadow their eyes, and call them brothers to the ostriches, who have very thick eye-brows. They imagine that the sight of the eye is deadened, and shaded by the adjacent hairs. Whenever they go out to seek honey, and return empty-handed, their constant excuse is, that their eye-brows and eye-lashes have grown, and prevented them from seeing the bees which conduct them to the hives. From the beard, let us proceed to the hair of the head.

All the Abipones have thick, raven-black

locks; a child born with red or flaxen hair would be looked upon as a monster amongst them. The manner of dressing the hair differs in different nations, times, and conditions. The Abipones, previously to their entering colonies, shaved their hair like monks, leaving nothing but a circle of hair round the head. But the women of the Mbaya nation, after shaving the rest of their heads, leave some hairs untouched, to grow like the crest of a helmet, from the forehead to the crown. As the savages have neither razors nor scissars, they use a shell sharpened against a stone, or the jaws of the fish palometa, for the purpose of shaving. Most of the Abipones in our colonies let their hair grow long, and twist it into a rope like European soldiers. The same fashion was adopted by the women, but with this difference, that they tie the braid of hair with a little piece of white cotton, as our countrymen do with black.

At church, and in mournings for the dead, they scatter their hair about their shoulders. The Guarany Indians, on the contrary, whilst they live in the woods, without the knowledge of religion, let their hair hang down their backs: now that they have embraced Christianity, and entered various colonies, they crop it like priests. But the women of the Guarany towns wear their hair long, platted, and bound with a

piece of white cotton, both in and out of doors, but dishevelled and flowing when they attend divine service. The Spanish peasantry also approach the door of the church with their hair tied in the military fashion, but loosen it on entering. Indeed, all the Americans are persuaded that this is a mark of reverence due to the sacred edifice.

As soon as they wake in the morning, the Abiponian women, sitting on the ground, dress, twist, and tie their husbands' hair. A bundle of boar's bristles, or of hairs out of a tamandua's tail, serves them for a comb. You very seldom see an Indian with natural, never with artificial curling hair. They do not grow grey till very late, and then not unless they are decrepid; very few of them get bald. It is worth while to mention a ridiculous custom of the Abipones, Mocobios, Tobas, &c. all of whom, without distinction of age or sex, pluck up the hair from the forehead to the crown of the head, so that the fore part of the head is bald almost for the space of two inches: this baldness they call *nalemra*, and account a religious mark of their nation. New-born infants have the hair of the fore part of their head cut off by a male or female juggler, these knaves performing the offices both of physicians and priests amongst them. This custom seems to me to have

been derived from the Peruvian Indians, who used to cut their children's first hair, at two years of age, with a sharp stone for want of a knife. The ceremony was performed by the relations, one after another, according to the degrees of consanguinity; and at the same time a name was given to the infant.

It is also a custom, amongst the Abipones, to shave the heads of widows, not without much lamentation on the part of the women, and drinking on that of the men; and to cover them with a grey and black hood, made of the threads of the *caraquatà*, which it is reckoned a crime for her to take off till she marries again. A widower has his hair cropped with many ceremonies, and his head covered with a little net-shaped hat, which is not taken off till the hair grows again. All the men cut off their hair to mourn for the death of a Cacique. Amongst the Christian Guaranies, it is thought a most shameful and ignominious punishment, when any disreputable woman has her hair cut off. I have described the person which liberal nature has bestowed upon the Abipones; it now remains for me to show by what means they disfigure it.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE ANCIENT AND UNIVERSAL METHODS OF DIS-
FIGURING THE PERSON.

MANY Europeans spoil their beauty by eagerly imitating foreign customs, and always seeking new methods of adorning their persons. The Abipones disfigure and render themselves terrible to the sight from a too great attachment to the old customs of their ancestors; by whose example they mark their faces in various ways, some of which are common to both sexes, others peculiar to the women. They prick their skin with a sharp thorn, and scatter fresh ashes on the wound, which infuse an ineffaceable black dye. They all wear the form of a cross impressed on their foreheads, and two small lines at the corner of each eye extending towards the ears, besides four transverse lines at the root of the nose between the eye-brows, as national marks. These figures the old women prick with thorns, not only in the skin, but in the live flesh, and ashes sprinkled on them whilst streaming with blood render them of an indelible black. What these figures signify, and what they portend I cannot tell, and the Abipones themselves

are no better informed on the subject. They only know that this custom was handed down to them from their ancestors, and that is sufficient.

I saw not only a cross marked on the foreheads of all the Abipones, but likewise black crosses woven in the red woollen garments of many. It is a very surprizing circumstance that they did this before they were acquainted with the religion of Christ, when the signification and merits of the cross were unknown to them. Perhaps they learnt some veneration for the cross, or gained an idea of its possessing great virtues from their Spanish captives, or from those Abipones who had lived in captivity amongst the Spaniards.

The Abiponian women, not content with the marks common to both sexes, have their face, breast, and arms covered with black figures of various shapes, so that they present the appearance of a Turkish carpet. The higher their rank, and the greater their beauty, the more figures they have; but this savage ornament is purchased with much blood and many groans. As soon as a young woman is of age to be married she is ordered to be marked according to custom. She reclines her head upon the lap of an old woman, and is pricked in order to be beautified. Thorns are used for a pencil, and

ashes mixed with blood for paint. The ingenious, but cruel old woman, sticking the points of the thorns deep into the flesh, describes various figures till the whole face streams with blood. If the wretched girl does but groan, or draw her face away, she is loaded with reproaches, taunts and abuse. "No more of such cowardice," exclaims the old woman in a rage, "you are a disgrace to our nation, since a little tickling with thorns is so intolerable to you! Do you not know that you are descended from those who glory and delight in wounds? For shame of yourself, you faint-hearted creature! You seem to be softer than cotton. You will die single, be assured. Which of our heroes would think so cowardly a girl worthy to be his wife? But if you will only be quiet and tractable, I'll make you more beautiful than beauty itself." Terrified by these vociferations, and fearful of becoming the jest and derision of her companions; the girl does not utter a word, but conceals the sense of pain in silence, and with a cheerful countenance, and lips unclosed through dread of reproach, endures the torture of the thorns, which is not finished in one day. The first day she is sent home with her face half pricked with the thorns, and is recalled the next, the next after that, and perhaps oftener, to have the rest of her face, her breast and arms

pricked in like manner. Meantime she is shut up for several days in her father's tent, and wrapped in a hide that she may receive no injury from the cold air. Carefully abstaining from meat, fishes, and some other sorts of food, she feeds upon nothing but a little fruit which grows upon brambles; and, though frequently known to produce ague, conduces much towards cooling the blood.

The long fast, together with the daily effusion of blood, renders the young girls extremely pale. The chin is not dotted like the other parts, but pierced with one stroke of the thorn in straight lines, upon which musical characters might be written. All thorns seem to have a poisonous quality, and consequently, from being scratched with them, the eyes, cheeks, and lips are horridly swelled, and imbibe a deep black from the ashes placed on the wounded skin; so that a girl, upon leaving the house of that barbarous old woman, looks like a Stygian fury, and forces you involuntarily to exclaim, *Oh! quantum Niobe Niobe distabat ab illâ!* The savage parents themselves are sometimes moved to pity at the sight of her, but never dream of abolishing this cruel custom; for they think their daughters are ornamented by being thus mangled, and at the same time instructed and prepared to bear the pains of parturition in future. Though I de-

tested the hard-heartedness of the old women in thus torturing the girls, yet the skill they display in the operation always excited my wonder. For on both cheeks they form all sorts of figures with wondrous proportion, variety, and equality of the lines, with the aid of no other instrument than thorns of various sizes. Every Abiponian woman you see has a different pattern on her face. Those that are most painted and pricked you may know to be of high rank and noble birth, and if you meet a woman with but three or four black lines on her face, you may be quite certain she is either a captive, or of low birth. When Christian discipline was firmly established in the Abiponian colonies, this vile custom was by our efforts abolished, and the women now retain their natural appearance.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE PERFORATION OF THE LIPS AND EARS OF THE SAVAGES.

THE Abipones, like all the other American savages, used formerly to pierce their lower lip with a hot iron, or a sharp reed. Into the hole some insert a reed and others a small tube of bone, glass, gum, or yellow brass; an ornament allowed only to the men when they are seven years old, never to the women. This custom has long since been abolished amongst the later Abipones, but is still continued by the Guaranies who inhabit the woods, by the Mbayas, Guanas, and Payaguas. These people think themselves most elegantly adorned when they have a brass pipe a span long, and about the thickness of a goose's quill, hanging from the lip to the breast. But this imaginary ornament renders them very formidable to European strangers; for they are of great height, their bodies are painted with juices of various colours, and their hair stained of a blood red; the wing of a vulture is stuck in one of their ears, and strings of glass beads hung round their neck, arms, knees and legs; thus accoutred they walk the

streets smoking tobacco out of a very long reed; figures in every respect terrible to behold.

The thing which is inserted into the lip, of whatever material it may be made, is called by the Guaranies *tembetà*, and is universally used by them whilst they wander about the woods without religion; but after being converted to Christianity and settled in colonies they throw away this lip appendage. The hole of the lip, which neither salve nor plaster will cure, however, remains, and in speaking the saliva sometimes flows profusely through it; it also impedes them a little in pronouncing some words. All the plebeian Indians whom I discovered in the woods of Mbaeverá, both youths and adults, used a short slender reed for the *tembetà*; but that of the three caciques was made of a gold-coloured gum or rosin. At first sight I could have sworn that it was glass. In the heat of the sun that beautiful gum flows plentifully from the tree *abati timbabỹ*, and falls gradually into the models of *tembetàs*, crosses, globes, or any other figure they like: exposed to the air it grows as hard as a stone, so that no liquid can ever melt it, but still retains its glassy transparency. If this rosin of the tree *abati timbabỹ* were not possessed of singular hardness, the *tembetà* made of it, after remaining whole

days in the lip of the savage, and being covered with saliva, would soften, and dissolve.

Do not imagine that there is but one method of piercing the lip amongst the savages. The anthropophagi do not pierce the lower lip but cut it to the length of the mouth in such a manner, that when the wound terminates in a scar they look as if they had two mouths. They wander up and down the woods, and are often, but fruitlessly exhorted by the Jesuits, not without peril to themselves, to embrace our religion. The Indians of Brazil and Paraguay formerly delighted in human flesh. Many of them, after having been long accustomed to Christian discipline in our towns, sometimes confessed that the flesh of kine or of any wild animal tastes extremely flat and insipid to them, in comparison with that of men. We have known the Mocobios and Tobas, for want of other food, eat human flesh even at this day. Some hundreds of the last-mentioned savages fell suddenly upon Alaykin, cacique of the Abipones, about day-break as he was drinking in a distant plain with a troop of his followers. An obstinate combat was carried on for some time, at the end of which the wounded Abipones escaped by flight. Alaykin himself and six of his fellow-soldiers fell in the engagement, and were afterwards roasted and devoured by the

hungry victors. An Abiponian boy of twelve years old, who used to eat at our table, was killed at the same time by these savages, and added to the repast, being eaten with the rest; but an old Abiponian woman, who had been slain there with many wounds, they left on the field untouched, her flesh being too tough to be used. Now let me speak a little of the adorning, or, more properly, torturing of the ears.

The use of ear-rings, which is very ancient, and varies amongst various nations, is highly ridiculous amongst the Americans. The ears of very young children of both sexes are always perforated. Few of the men wear ear-rings, but some of the older ones insert a small piece of cow's horn, wood, or bone, a woollen thread of various colours, or a little knot of horn into their ears. Almost all the married women have ear-rings, made in the following manner. They twist a very long palm leaf two inches wide into a spire, like a bundle of silk thread, and wider in circumference than the larger wafer which we use in sacrifice. This roll is gradually pushed farther and farther into the hole of the ear; by which means in the course of years the skin of the ear is so much stretched, and the hole so much enlarged, that it folds very tightly round the whole of that palm leaf spire, and flows almost down to the shoulders. The palm leaf

itself, when in this spiral form, has an elastic power which daily dilates the hole of the ear more and more. Do not think that I have exaggerated the size of this spire and the capaciousness of the ear. With these eyes, by the aid of which I am now writing, I daily beheld innumerable women laden with this monstrous ear-ring, and very many men even of other nations. For those most barbarous people the Oaèkakilòts and Tobas, and other American nations out of Paraguay, use the same ear-rings as the Abiponian women. The Guarany women wear brass ear-rings sometimes three inches in diameter, not however inserted into the ear, but suspended from it.

The Paraguayrians seem to have learnt the various use of ear-rings from Peru. Its famous king and legislator, the Inca Manco Capac, permitted his subjects to perforate their ears, provided however that all the ear-holes should be smaller than those he himself used. He assigned various ear-rings to all the people in the various provinces: some inserted a bit of wood into their ears; some a piece of white wool not bigger than a man's thumb; others a bulrush; others the bark of a tree. Three nations were allowed the privilege of larger ear-rings than the rest. All persons of royal descent wore for ear-rings very wide rings which were suspended

by a long band, and hung down to the breast. The Paraguayrians, who had at first imitated the Peruvians, in course of ages invented still more ridiculous ear-rings, none of which a European could behold without laughter.

~~As~~ As the Abipones deprive their eyes of brows and lashes, pierce their lips and ears, prick their faces with thorns and mark them with figures, pluck the down from their chins, and pull up a quantity of hair from the fore part of their heads, I always greatly wondered at their preserving the nose untouched and unhurt, the cartilage of which the Africans, Peruvians, and Mexicans formerly perforated, sometimes inserting a string of beads into the hole. According to Father Joseph Acosta, book VII. chap. 17, Tikorik, king of the Mexicans, wore a fine emerald suspended from his nostrils. The Brazilians from their earliest age perforate not the lower lip alone but also other parts of the face, inserting very long pebbles into the fissures; a frightful spectacle, as the Jesuit Maffei affirms in the second book of his History of the Indies. You would call the faces of the Brazilians tessellated work or mosaic. But the Parthians delighted still more in deforming themselves; for, according to Tertullian, Lib. I., cap. 10. De Cultu Fœmin. they pierced almost every part of their bodies for the admission of pebbles or

precious stones. If Diodorus Siculus Lib. IV. cap. 1. may be credited, the female Negroes bordering on Arabia perforated their lips for the same purpose. From all this it appears that the savages of America are not the only people who have adopted the foolish custom of marking their bodies in various ways.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE STRENGTH AND LONGEVITY OF THE ABIPONES.

TRULY ridiculous are those persons who, without ever having beheld America even from a distance, have written with more boldness than truth that all the Americans, without distinction, are possessed of little strength, weakly bodies, and bad constitutions, which cannot be said of the generality of them. Their habit of body varies according to climate, country, food, and occupation; as we find those Europeans who breathe the healthy mountain air of Styria more robust than those who grow sallow with ague in the marshy plains of the Bannat. Negro slaves brought in ships were often exposed to sale, like cattle, in the streets of Lisbon, whilst I was in that city. Those from Angola, Congo, Cape de Verd, and above all the island of Madagascar are eagerly chosen, being generally of strong health and superior activity. Africans, natives of that country which the Portugueze call Costa de la Mina, can scarcely find a purchaser, being generally weak, slothful, and impatient of labour, because they inhabit nearest to the equator, where there is little or no wind, tepid air, and

frequent rain. In sailing to Paraguay we were detained in that neighbourhood by a continuous calm, and remained stationary there for full three weeks, roasted by the heat of the sun, and daily washed with warm showers. Who can wonder that this languishing climate produces languid and weakly bodies, though strong robust people are found in other parts of Africa? From this you may know what to think of so extensive a region as America, and of its inhabitants. Its various provinces and even different parts of the provinces differ essentially in the properties of the air, food, and habitations, which produces a variety in the constitutions of the inhabitants, some being weak, some very strong.

Let others write of the other Americans to whom and what they choose: I shall not contradict them. Of the Paraguayrians I confidently affirm that the equestrian nations greatly excel the pedestrians in beauty of form, loftiness of stature, strength, health, and longevity. The bodies of the Abipones are muscular, robust, agile, and extremely tolerant of the inclemencies of the sky. You scarcely ever see a fat or pot-bellied person amongst them. Daily exercise in riding, hunting, and in sportive and serious contests prevents them almost always from growing fat, for like apes they are always in motion. They consequently enjoy such an

excellent habit of body, and such sound health as most Europeans might envy. Many diseases which afflict and exhaust Europeans are not even known by name amongst them. Gout, dropsy, epilepsy, jaundice, stone, &c. are words foreign and monstrous to their ears. They expose their bare heads for whole days to the heat of the sun, and yet you never hear one of them complain of head-ache. You would swear they were devoid of feeling, or made of brass or marble; yet even these grow hot when acted on by the rays of the sun. After having been long parched with thirst in dry deserts, they drink large draughts of marshy, salt, muddy, stinking, bitter water, without injury. They greedily swallow quantities of hard, half-roasted beef, venison, tiger's and emu's flesh, and the eggs of the latter, without experiencing any consequent languor of the stomach, or difficulty of digestion. They often swim across vast rivers in cold rainy weather without contracting any ill affection of the bowels or bladder, which was often troublesome to the Europeans in swimming, and, if succeeded by strangury, dangerous. They ride seated on saddles made of hard leather during journeys of many weeks, and yet such long sitting does not injure the external skin even. They are unprovided with stirrups, and often use trotting horses, yet after many hours of uninterrupted

riding you can perceive no signs of fatigue or exhaustion in any of them. Stretched on a cold turf, should a sudden shower descend, they pass the night swimming in water, yet never know what the colic or the gout is. The Spaniards run the risk of both after being long drenched with rain water, which, when it touches the skin, affects the body most terribly in America, often producing syncope, and sometimes pustules and ulcers. I have frequently seen Spanish soldiers faint in the church from having been wetted with rain on their way thither. The Abipones pass many days and nights amid constant rain uninjured, because their feet are bare; for the moisture contracted from rain hurts the feet when they are wrapt up more than when they are uncovered; as, finding no vent when it exhales, it creeps inwards, penetrates the bones and nerves, and affects the rest of the body in a terrible manner. But I can give you further proof of the strength of the Abipones.

If a thorn of any plant happens to stick in their foot, and to break there, so that it cannot be dullad out by the finger, they will coolly cut the little piece of flesh, to which the thorn adheres, with a knife. When they go out to act the part of spies, or to reconnoitre distant places, they sit with both feet upon the horse's back. They climb high trees, and sit quietly

on their boughs, in order to plunder the hives concealed there, without any sense of danger or giddiness. After their removal to our colonies, being fatigued with handling the axe and the plough, instruments to which they were unaccustomed, and feeling their strength fail them, their bodies bathed in sweat, and burning with heat, they exclaimed, *La yivichigui yauigra*, now my blood is angry. For this they have a ready remedy: they plunge a knife deep into their leg, watch the blood spouting from it for some time with pleased eyes, and at length stop it by applying a clod to the wound, saying with a cheerful voice that they are recovered, and feel perfectly well. They are as lavish, and almost prodigal in shedding their blood, for the purpose of obtaining glory, as of procuring health; for in public drinking parties they cruelly prick their breast, arms and tongue with a bundle of thorns, or with the sharp bones of a crocodile's back, with much effusion of blood. They emulate one another in doing this, in order to obtain a reputation for bravery, and that these spontaneous wounds may render them less fearful of shedding their blood in engagements with the enemy, and may make their skin impenetrable by covering it with scars. Boys of seven years old pierce their little arms in imitation of their

parents, and display plenty of wounds, indications of courage superior to their years, and preludes of war, for which they are educated from earliest infancy.

Persons wasted to a skeleton, and with every symptom of fever and consumption, we have seen restored to health by daily eating and drinking the alfaroba. When seized with a violent disorder, or dangerously wounded, they recover by the use of this easily obtained remedy, or, like dogs, without any at all. I have often with horror beheld many of them wounded with various kinds of weapons, their side pierced, their bones and ribs broken, their breath drawn with difficulty, the blood streaming from their numerous wounds; themselves, in short, the breathing images of death. When I saw these very Abipones a few weeks afterwards, riding or drinking, in full health, I could attribute it to nothing but the strength of their constitutions; for it certainly could not be owing to their unskilful physicians and inefficacious medicines. Every one knows that small-pox and measles are almost the only, and by far the most calamitous pest by which America is exhausted. The Abipones take the infection like the other Indians, but seldom fall victims to the disease, though, whilst under its influence, they are less careful of themselves than the

other natives. Owing to the more healthy temperature of their blood and humours, it does not cause either so much, or such noxious matter in them as it does in others. Of the small-pox I shall discourse more fully hereafter. They live and enjoy their health many years after they have been wounded with leaden bullets without ever suffering them to be extracted: as a proof of their strength they often showed us a bullet sticking, without injury, in their arm or foot, and offered it us to handle. It is still more remarkable that a musket ball seldom proves fatal to the Abipones, unless it strike the heart or the head: their Cacique, the renowned Kaapetraikin, received a ball of this kind into his forehead without any dangerous consequences. Considering these things I often wondered why the savages dreaded fire-arms so much, since they very rarely proved fatal to them. But as children are afraid of ignes fatui, though harmless; in like manner the Indians fear the report more than the ball, which they so often find to miss of its aim, and prove formidable to the air alone. These instances will, if I mistake not, do something towards convincing Europeans of the strength of the Abipones. Neither shall I ever be a convert to the opinion that the Americans are possessed of a duller and less acute sense of

corporal inconvenience. The Abipones are highly sensible of the impressions of the elements, the injuries of weapons, and the pain arising from these causes, but are not so much overcome and exhausted by them as most others, either because they are blessed with a better temperature of blood and humours, and greater strength of limbs and muscles, or because the hardships they have been accustomed to from childhood, render them callous, or because their eager thirst after military fame impels them to deny that anything gives them pain, though they be ever so much affected by it.

I have already observed that they seldom grow bald, and not grey till at an advanced period of life. Even when arrived at extreme age they can hardly be said to have grown old, like certain plants which are always green and vigorous. Cicero, in his treatise on Old Age, bestows great praise on Massinissa, king of Mauritania, who, at ninety years of age, *cùm ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omninò non ascendit: cùm equo, ex equo non descendit. Nullo imbre, nullo frigore adducitur, ut capite aperto sit. Exequitur omnia regis officia et munera, &c.* The Roman orator would find all the old Abipones so many Massinissas, or even more vigorous than Massinissa. He would scarce believe his

own eyes were he to see men, almost a hundred years old, leap on to a fiery horse, without the aid of a stirrup, like a boy of twelve years old, sit it for hours, and even whole days, beneath a burning sun, climb trees for honey, travel or lie upon the ground in cold or rainy weather, contend with the enemy in battle, shrink from no toils of the army or the chase, evince wonderful acuteness both of sight and hearing, preserve all their teeth quite sound, and seem only to be distinguished by the number of their years from men in the prime of life. All these things will hardly be credited in Europe where they are so rare. In the colonies of the Abipones I daily beheld old men, like youths in every other respect but that of age, without surprize. If a man dies at eighty he is lamented as if cut off in the flower of his age. Women generally live longer than men, because they are not killed in war, and because the moistness of their nature renders them more long lived. You find so many old women a hundred years of age, amongst the Abipones, that you may wonder at, but will scarce be able to count them. I cannot say that the pedestrian nations of Paraguay enjoy equal strength and longevity. The Guaranies, Lules, Isistines, Vilelas, and other pedestrian Indians, are subject to diseases like the Europeans, and

both feel old age, and discover it by their habit of body. Their lives, like those of Europeans, are sometimes short, sometimes long. You find very few men a hundred years old, or even approaching to that age amongst them. It is worth while to investigate the causes of this exceeding vigour of the Abipones.

CHAPTER VII.

WHY THE ABIPONES ARE SO VIGOROUS AND LONG-LIVED.

THE Abipones are indebted for their strength and longevity partly to their parents, partly to themselves. The vigour of youth, preserved by temperance, accompanies them during the whole of their lives, and is even transmitted to their children. The Abipones never indulge in licentious gratifications during youth, and though of a fiery temperament, debilitate their constitutions by no irregularities. They amuse themselves with conversation, mirth, and jesting, but always within the limits of modesty. By a sort of natural instinct peculiar to themselves, both boys and girls hold in abhorrence all means and opportunities of infringing the laws of decorum : you never see them talking together either publicly or privately ; never idling in the street. The girls love to assist their mothers in domestic employments ; the continual exercise of arms and horses engrosses the chief attention of the young men.

The Indians of other nations are often shorter, slenderer, and less robust. Many of them con-

sume away before they arrive at manhood; others grow prematurely old, and die an untimely death. Do you enquire the cause? I will tell you my opinion on the subject. Many are unhealthy because their parents are so; others from being oppressed with labour, and very poorly provided with food, clothes, and lodging; the majority because they have exhausted their natural vigour by indulging from their earliest youth in shameful pleasures. *Libidinosa etenim, et intemperans adolescentia effæctum corpus tradit senectuti*, as Cicero observes, in his treatise on Old Age. How many of those who die a premature death would deserve to have this epitaph engraven on their tomb, *Nequitia est quæ te non sinit esse senem*. Too early marriages are often a cause why we find the other Indians weaker and less vigorous and long-lived than the Abipones, who never think of entering the matrimonial state till they are near thirty years old, and never marry a woman under twenty; which, as philosophers and physicians say, conduces much to the preservation of strength, lengthening of life, and producing robust children. It cannot be doubted, that tender parents never produce very strong children; and since the affections of the mind are consequences of the habit of the body, as Galen teaches with much prolixity, it cannot be won-

dered that such children should be as imbecile in mind as in body.

Their education also conduces greatly to form the manners and strengthen the bodies of the Abipones. For, as Quintilian observes, in his first book of Institutes, that soft kind of breeding, which we call indulgence, relaxes all the nerves both of the mind and body. No one can object to the education of the Abipones on account of its delicacy. The children are plunged into a cold stream, if there be one at a convenient distance, as soon as they see the light. They know of no such things as cradles, feathers, cushions, swathing-clothes, blandishments, and toys. Covered with a light garment of otters' skins, they sleep wherever chance directs, and crawl upon the ground like little pigs. Whenever a mother has to take a journey on horseback, she places the child in a bag made of boars' skins, and suspended from the saddle along with the puppies, pots, gourds, &c. The husband will often come and snatch his little son, as he is sucking, from its mother's arms, set him on his own horse, and behold him riding with eyes sparkling with pleasure. When a mother is swimming in a river for the sake of a bath, she presses her infant to her breast with one hand, while she uses the other as an oar. If the child be pretty big, it is thrown into the

water, that it may learn to swim while it is but just beginning to walk. You seldom see little boys but just weaned walking in the street without a bow and arrow. They shoot birds, flies, and all kinds of small animals. Their usual amusement is shooting at a mark. They go out every day on horseback, and ride races with one another. All these things undoubtedly conduce much towards strengthening and enlarging the body. Would that European mothers could be brought to discard the unnatural artifices and indulgences used in the bringing up of their children! Oh that they would moderate the bandages and cloths with which they bind, and as it were imprison and enchain the tender little bodies of their infants! then should we see fewer bandy-legged, hump-backed, dwarfish, weak, and diseased persons in Europe.

The Abipones wear a garment not tight to their bodies, but loose and flowing down to their heels; calculated to cover, not load and oppress the body, and to defend it from the injuries of the weather, without preventing the perspiration, or impeding the circulation of the blood. All the wise people of the east, and most of the ancient Germans, made choice of a large wide garment. What if we say that their bodies were consequently larger, and filled a wider space? Those who wish to enjoy their health,

should attend to the maxim *ne quid nimis*, in dress as well as in other things. On the other hand too scanty clothing is assuredly prejudicial to health. Prudent persons vary their dress according to the state of the air, as seamen shift their sails. Even the Abipones of both sexes, and of every age, though satisfied at other times with a woollen garment, put on a kind of cloak, skilfully sewed, of otters' skins, when the cold south wind is blowing. This skin garment bears some sort of resemblance to the cloak which we priests wear to sing vespers in the church.

Galen, in his work on the preservation of the health, boldly and truly asserts that too great repose of body is highly prejudicial, but moderate and proper motion, on the other hand, of the utmost utility. This is consonant to the words of Celsus, Lib. I. c. 1. *Ignavia corpus hebetat, labor firmat; illa præmaturam senectam, iste longam adolescentiam reddit.* You cannot therefore be surprized that the Abipones are athletic like the Macrobiani. They are in continual motion. Riding, hunting, and swimming are their daily employments. War, either against men or beasts, occasions them to take very long excursions. Their business is to swim across rivers, climb trees to gather honey, make spears, bows, and arrows, weave ropes of leather, dress

saddles, practise every thing, in short, fatiguing to the hands or feet. But if they indulge themselves with an intermission of these employments, they ride horseraces for a sword which is given to him who reaches the goal first. Another very common game amongst the Abipones is one which they play on foot. The instrument with which it is performed is a piece of wood about two hands long, rounded like a staff, thicker at the extremities and slenderer in the middle. This piece of wood they throw to the mark, with a great effort, in such a manner that it strikes the ground every now and then, and rebounds, like the stones which boys throw along the surface of a river. Fifty and often a hundred men stand in a row and throw this piece of wood by turns, and he who flings it the farthest and the straightest obtains the sword.

This game, which from boys they are accustomed to play at for hours together, amuses and fatigues them with wonderful benefit to their health. The same piece of wood which serves both as an instrument of peace and war, is made formidable use of by many of the savages to crush the bodies of their enemies and of wild beasts. The Abipones hate to lead the life of a snail, idle and listless, and consequently do not undergo a swift and miserable decay, like those who are stupefied with sloth, confined to

their bed, table, or gaming-table, and seldom stir out into the street or country. The Abiponian women, though debarred from the sports and equestrian contests of the men, have scarce time to rest or breathe, so much are they occupied day and night with the management of their domestic affairs. Hence that masculine vigour of the females in producing almost gigantic offspring, hence their strength and longevity.

The food also to which the Abipones are accustomed, in my judgment contributes not a little to prolong their lives. What Tacitus says of the ancient Germans is applicable to them: *Cibi simplices, agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum, sine apparatu, sine blandimentis expellunt famem.* They feed, as chance directs, upon beef, or the flesh of wild animals, mostly roasted, but seldom boiled. If the plain afford them no wild beasts to hunt, the water will supply their hunger with various kinds of fish besides otters, ducks, capibaris, &c. From the air also they receive birds that are by no means to be despised, and from the woods divers fruits, to appease the cravings of appetite. Should all these be wanting, roots concealed beneath the ground or the water are converted into food. Necessity alone will induce them to taste fishes, though excellent. Tigers' flesh, spite of its vile odour, is in such esteem amongst them that if

one of them kills a tiger, he cuts it into small portions, and divides it amongst himself and his companions, that all the hordesmen may share in what they think so delightful a delicacy. It is an old complaint amongst physicians that new seasonings of food imported from the new world have brought with them new diseases into Europe. This complaint cannot affect the Abipones, who are unacquainted with seasonings, and feed upon simple fare. They detest vinegar; and salt, though as fond of it as goats, they are seldom able to obtain, their land producing neither salt nor salt-pits. To remedy this deficiency they burn a shrub called by the Spaniards *vidriera*, and sprinkle its ashes, which have a saltish taste, on meat and on tobacco leaves, previously chewed and kneaded together with the saliva of old women. But as many of the Abiponian hordes are destitute of this shrub, the ashes of which are used for salt, they generally eat their meat unsalted. No one ever denied that the moderate use of salt is wholesome, for it sucks up noxious humours, and prevents putrefaction: but the too frequent use of it deadens the eye-sight, exhausts the better juices, and creates acrid ones injurious both to the blood and skin, by which means physicians say that the urinal passages are frequently hurt. We found in Paraguay that horses, mules, oxen,

and sheep fattened only in those pastures where plenty of nitre, or some saltish substance was mixed with the grass; if that be wanting the cattle very soon become ragged and lean. Meat sprinkled with salt will keep a long time, but the more plentifully it is salted the sooner it stinks and putrefies, the moisture into which salt dissolves united with heat accelerating putrefaction. Beef hardened by the air alone, and fish dried with nothing but smoke, will keep many months without a grain of salt, as I and all the savages know from experience. When we sailed back from Paraguay to Europe our chief provisions consisted of meat part salted, part dried by the air alone. The latter from having no salt in it remained well tasted and free from decay till we reached the port of Cadiz, while the other soon putrefied and was thrown into the sea even by the hungry sailors. Now hear what inference I draw from all this. Since the Abipones, though they use salt but seldom and in small quantities, are generally healthy and long-lived, I cannot but suspect that abstinence from salt conduces more to the well being of the body than the too unsparing use of it.

That diet regulating both meat and drink is the source of a late old age, firm health, and long life is unanimously agreed by all the great

physicians and philosophers. I have repeatedly affirmed that the Abipones are vigorous, and long-lived, yet who can call them studious of diet? They eat when, as much, and as often as they like. They have no fixed hours for dinner or for supper, but if food be at hand will dine as soon as they wake. Hungry at all hours they eat at all hours; and an appetite will never be wanting if they have wherewith to exercise it upon. You would think that the more they devour the sooner they are hungry. They are voracious, and, like the other Americans, cram themselves with flesh, but without injury to their health; for their stomachs, which will bear both a great quantity of food, and long abstinence from it, are weakened neither by gormandizing nor by extreme hunger. They undertake journies of many months unfurnished with any provision. A sufficiency of proper food is often not to be met with on the way, either from the want of an opportunity of hunting, or from the unintermitting haste with which the desire of surprizing, or necessity of flying the enemy obliges them to pursue their journey. Yet an empty belly and barking stomach never do them any harm, nor even prevent them from cheerfully conversing to still the sense of hunger. On such occasions you see them betray no sign of impatience, nor

complain of any indisposition of body. I do not pretend to deny that temperance in eating and drinking is the parent of longevity, and gluttony that of disease and premature death; knowing that many saintly hermits have prolonged their lives to an hundred years, spite of continual fasting, and that perhaps they would have attained a still greater age had they taken more nourishment. Yet I scarce wonder that these Christian heroes lived so long, upon poor and sparing diet, because they were always celibate, and remained fixed to one spot without ever experiencing great fatigue. Neither, on the other hand, does it surprize me that the Abipones should enjoy such singular longevity, united with so much voracity; for they, who are all married, weary themselves with running, hunting, swimming, riding, and military exercises, and consequently to recruit their strength, require, and easily digest a greater quantity of food: for their vigour would decay and their great bodies languish were they not frequently reinvigorated with plenty of victuals. The Abipones are daily obliged to assuage their thirst with river or marsh water, which is generally tepid or warm, very seldom cold, and not always quite fresh: might not this be a circumstance conducive to health? For physicians prefer river or rain

water to that of a spring, because it is lighter and impregnated with fewer noxious particles. The Chinese never taste a drop of cold water. Many think that snow and ice-water cause divers disorders. Snow, ice, springs of water, and subterranean cells for cooling liquors are no where to be found in the territories of the Abipones, who are also unacquainted with wine expressed from grapes, or burnt out of fruits by chemic art. But though they use nothing but water to quench their thirst, yet on the birth of a child, the death of a relation, a resolution of war, or a victory, they assemble together to drink a strong liquor made of honey or the alfaroba infused in water, which when fermented causes intoxication, but taken moderately is of much service to the health. For it is universally thought that the alfaroba and wild honey conduce much to prolong life and confirm the health. The Abipones are in the habit of drinking honey, in which the woods abound, very frequently; what if we call this a cause of their vigour and longevity? Both however they partly owe to the use of the alfaroba, which they either eat dried, or drink in great quantities, as wine, when fermented in water by its own native heat. Taken either way it possesses singular virtue, for it restores the

exhausted strength, fattens the body, clears and refreshes the breast, quickly and copiously discharges the bladder by its diuretic property, radically cures many disorders, is extremely efficacious against the stone, and affords a strong alleviation to nephritic diseases. Persons who had tried it assured me of its possessing those virtues. More robust and healthy horses are no where to be found throughout the wide extent of Paraguay, than those born in the territory of St. Iago del Estero, because they feed principally upon the alfaroba.

Add to this that the Abipones bathe almost every day in some lake or river. Bathing was certainly much practised, and reckoned of singular utility amongst the ancients. For as the dirt is washed off by the water, the pores of the skin are opened, and the perspiration of the body rendered easier and more commodious; a great advantage to the health. Some prefer cold bathing to bleeding, for by the one process the blood is only cooled, by the other it is exhausted. To continual bathing therefore, the Abipones are in a great measure indebted for the health and longevity which they possess to such an enviable degree. This opinion is confirmed in Bacon's History of Life and Death, where it

is asserted that “washing in cold water contributes to lengthen life, and that the use of warm baths has a contrary effect.” P. 131. The same author is of opinion that “persons who pass great part of their lives out of doors are generally longer-lived than those that stay more within.” The Abipones spend most of their time out of the house, and consequently breathe the pure air of heaven which is so salutary to the human body. Though they dwell under mats spread like a tent, or in fixed huts, they never suffer the air to be entirely excluded. Nor are they content with living in the open air, they also choose to be buried there, entertaining an incredible repugnance to sepulchres within the church. As the Abipones live long and enjoy excellent health, though entirely destitute of physicians and druggists, I can hardly help reckoning their absence amongst the causes which co-operate to render the savages superior in vigour and longevity to most Europeans, amongst whom as physicians are numerous, and medicine in general use, there are many sick persons and few very old men. The Abiponian physicians, of whom I shall speak more fully hereafter, are impostors more ignorant than brutes, and totally unworthy the splendid title of physicians, being born not to heal the sick, but to cheat them with juggleries and frauds.

That health of body depends in a high degree upon tranquillity of mind is incontestible: the functions of the brain are disturbed, the stomach grows languid, the strength fails for want of food, and the better juices are destroyed, when the mind is oppressed by turbulent affections, by anxiety, love, fear, anger, or sadness. The body will be sane if inhabited by a sane mind. This being the case, we cannot wonder that the Abipones are possessed of great vigour and longevity. Their minds are generally in a tranquil state. They live reckless of the past, little curious about the present, and very seldom anxious for the future. They fear danger, but either from not perceiving or from despising the weightiness of it, always think themselves able to subdue or avoid it. When a numerous foe is announced to be at hand they either provide for their safety by a timely flight, or await the assault, and amidst jocund songs quaff mead, their elixir, which inspires them with courage, and banishes fear. Gnawing cares about the augmentation of their property, or concerning food and raiment, have no place amongst them. They make no mortal of such account as to die, or run mad, for hate or love of him. No affections with them are either violent or of long duration. This tranquillity

of mind cherishes the body, and prolongs their lives to extreme old age. I allow that the climate in which they live, and which is neither starved with cold nor parched with heat, is one strengthener of the health, but I deny that it is the only one; for neither the Spaniards nor the other Indians, though they enjoy the same temperature of air, live and thrive like the Abipones. Europeans, if they envy the longevity of the Abipones, should imitate, as far as possible, their manner of life. They should tranquillize their minds by subduing vehement passions. They should interpose a little exercise of body between inaction, and sedentary occupations; they should mingle water with wine, rest with labour. They should moderate their luxuries in dress and eating. They should use simple food, not such as is adulterated by art, and for the purpose of satisfying, not of provoking the appetite, but make sparing application to medicines and physicians. And lastly, which is of the greatest importance for preserving vigour, they should abhor pleasures, the sure destruction of the body, as much as they desire a green old age.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE RELIGION OF THE ABIPONES.

HÆC est summa delicti, nolle recognoscere quem ignorare non possit, are the words of Tertullian, in his Apology for the Christians. Theologians agree in denying that any man in possession of his reason can, without a crime, remain ignorant of God for any length of time. This opinion I warmly defended in the University of Cordoba, where I finished the four years' course of theology begun at Gratz in Styria. But what was my astonishment, when on removing from thence to a colony of Abipones, I found that the whole language of these savages does not contain a single word which expresses God or a divinity. To instruct them in religion, it was necessary to borrow the Spanish word for God, and insert into the catechism *Dios ecnam caogarik*, God the creator of things.

Peñafiel, a Jesuit theologian, declared that there were many Indians who, on being asked whether, during the whole course of their lives, they ever thought of God, replied *no, never.* The Portugueze and Spaniards, who first landed

on the shores of America, affirmed that they could discover scarcely any traces of the knowledge of God amongst the Brazilians, and other savages. The Apostle Paul, in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, declares that this ignorance of God is by no means devoid of blame, and indeed that it cannot be excused; *so that they are without excuse, because from the very sight of the things created, they might arrive at the knowledge of God the Creator.* But if any one think the case admits of palliation, he will say that the American savages are slow, dull, and stupid in the apprehension of things not present to their outward senses. Reasoning is a process troublesome and almost unknown to them. It is, therefore, no wonder that the contemplation of terrestrial or celestial objects should inspire them with no idea of the creative Deity, nor indeed of any thing heavenly. Travelling with fourteen Abipones, I sat down by the fire in the open air, as usual, on the high shore of the river Plata. The sky, which was perfectly serene, delighted our eyes with its twinkling stars. I began a conversation with the Cacique Ychoalay, the most intelligent of all the Abipones I have been acquainted with, as well as the most famous in war. “Do you behold,” said I, “the splendour of Heaven, with its magnificent arrangement of stars? Who

can suppose that all this is produced by chance? The waggon, as you yourself know, is overturned, unless the oxen have some one to guide them. A boat will either sink, or go out of the right course, if destitute of a pilot. Who then can be mad enough to imagine that all these beauties of the Heavens are the effect of chance, and that the revolutions and vicissitudes of the celestial bodies are regulated without the direction of an omniscient mind? Whom do you believe to be their creator and governour? What were the opinions of your ancestors on the subject?" "My father," replied Ychoalay, readily and frankly, "our grandfathers and great grandfathers were wont to contemplate the earth alone, solicitous only to see whether the plain afforded grass and water for their horses. They never troubled themselves about what went on in the Heavens, and who was the creator and governour of the stars."

I have observed the Abipones, when they are unable to comprehend any thing at first sight, soon grow weary of examining it, and cry *orqueenàm?* what is it after all? Sometimes the Guaranies, when completely puzzled, knit their brows and cry *tupá oiquaà*, God knows what it is. Since they possess such small reasoning powers, and have so little inclination to exert them, it is no wonder that they are

neither able nor willing to argue one thing from another.

You cannot imagine in what dark colours the Europeans, who first entered these provinces, described the stupidity of the Americans. Brother Thomas Ortiz, afterwards Bishop of Sta. Martha, intimates in his letters to the Court of Madrid, that the Americans are foolish, dull, stupid, and unreasoning like beasts, that they are incapable of understanding the heads of religion, and devoid of human sense and judgement. Some of the Spaniards thought the Americans so stupid, that they wished to exclude them, even after they were grown up, from baptism, confession, and other sacraments, as being in the condition of infants who are not yet possessed of reason. Paul the Third was obliged to issue a bull, in the year 1537, the second of June, by which he pronounced the Indians to be really men, and capable of understanding the Catholic faith, and receiving the sacraments, the cause of the Indians being pleaded by Bartolomeo De las Casas, afterwards Bishop of Chiapa. The pontifical decree begins *Vetitas ipsa*, and is extant in Harold. Notwithstanding this, “ the adult Indians in Peru, who have been baptized and properly confessed, do not partake of the divine communion once every

year, nor indeed when on the point of death," as Acosta says in the eighth chapter of his work: *De procuranda Indorum Salute*. Nor did the exhortations and comminations of the famous councils at Lima procure the Indians permission to partake of the eucharist, as appears from the complaints and decrees of the synods held in the next century at Lima, Plata, Arequipa, Paza, and Paraguay. For the priests, who denied the eucharist, always alleged the stupidity, ignorance, and inveterate wickedness of the Indians in their excuse. But the synod held at Paza in the year 1638, was of opinion that this ignorance of the Indians should be ascribed to the negligence of their pastors, by whose sedulous instruction these wretches might have emerged from the native darkness of their minds, and from the slough of wickedness.

Taught by the experience of eighteen years spent amongst the Guaranies, and Abipones, I profess to hold the same opinion, having myself seen most barbarous savages born in the woods, accustomed from their earliest age to superstition, slaughter, and rapine, and naturally dull and stupid as brutes, who, after their removal to the colonies of the Jesuits, by daily instruction and by the example of old converts, became well acquainted with and attached

to the divine law. Although the Americans are but slow of understanding, yet when the good sense of the teacher compensates for the stupidity of his pupils, they are successfully converted to civilization and piety, and even instructed in arts of all kinds. If you wish to see, with your own eyes, to what a degree instruction sharpens the wits of the Indians, and enlarges their comprehensions, go and visit the Guarany towns; in all of which you will find Indians well skilled in the making and handling of musical instruments, in painting, sculpture, cabinet-making, working metals of every kind, weaving, architecture, and writing; and some who can construct clocks, bells, gold clasps, &c. according to all the rules of art. Moreover, there were many who printed books, even of a large size, not only in their native tongue, but in the Latin language, with brass types, which they made themselves. They also write books with a pen so artfully, that the most discerning European would swear they were printed. The Bishops, Governours, and other visitants, were astonished at the workmanship of the Indians, which they saw or heard of in the Guarany towns. The Guaranies were instructed in music, and other arts, by the Jesuit Missionaries, Italians, Flemings, and Germans, who found the Indians docile beyond their ex-

pectation. Of this, however, I am perfectly certain, that the Indians comprehend what they see sooner and more easily than what they hear, like the rest of mankind, who are all more readily instructed by the eyes than by the ears. If you desire a Guarany to paint or engrave any thing, place a copy before his eyes, and he will imitate it and execute his task with accuracy and elegance. If a pattern be wanting, and the Indian be left to his own devices, he will produce nothing but stupid bungling work, though you may have endeavoured to explain your wishes to him as fully as possible. Neither should you imagine that the Americans are deficient in memory. It was an old custom in the Guarany Reductions to make the chief Indian of the town, or one of the magistrates, repeat the sermon just delivered from the pulpit before the people in the street, or in the courtyard of our house; and they almost all did it with the utmost fidelity, without missing a sentence. Any piece of music which they have either sung or played on the flute, or organ, two or three times from note, becomes so infixed in their memory, that if the music paper were carried away by the wind, they would have no further occasion for it. From these things a theologian will infer that the thinking powers of the Abipones are not circumscribed by such

narrow limits as to render them incapable of knowing, or at least suspecting the existence of a God, the creator and governour of all things, from the sight of the things created. The nation of the Guaranies, though formerly very ferocious, knew the supreme Deity, whom they call *Tupá*, a word composed of two particles, *tú*, a word of admiration, and *pà*, of interrogation.

I said that the Abipones were commendable for their wit and strength of mind; but, ashamed of my too hasty praise, I retract my words, and pronounce them fools, idiots, and madmen. Lo! this is the proof of their insanity! They are unacquainted with God, and with the very name of God, yet affectionately salute the evil spirit, whom they call *Aharaigichi*, or *Que-evèt*, with the title of grandfather, *Groaperikie*. Him they declare to be their grandfather, and that of the Spaniards, but with this difference, that to the latter he gives gold and silver, and fine clothes, but that to them he transmits valour; for they account themselves more courageous and intrepid than any of the Spaniards. Should you ask them what their grandfather formerly was, and of what condition, they will confess themselves utterly ignorant on the subject. If you persist in your interrogations, they will declare this grandfather of theirs to have been an Indian—so barren and absurd is

their theology. The Abipones think the Pleiades to be the representation of their grandfather; and as that constellation disappears at certain periods from the sky of South America, upon such occasions, they suppose that their grandfather is sick, and are under a yearly apprehension that he is going to die: but as soon as those seven stars are again visible in the month of May, they welcome their grandfather, as if returned and restored from sickness, with joyful shouts, and the festive sound of pipes and trumpets, congratulating him on the recovery of his health. *Quemen naachic latenc! layàm nauichi enà? Ta yegàm! Layamini!* What thanks do we owe thee! and art thou returned at last? Ah! thou hast happily recovered!—With such exclamations, expressive of their joy and their folly, do they fill the air. Next day they all go out to seek honey to make mead, and, as soon as that is prepared, they assemble in one place, at the setting of the sun, to make public demonstration of gladness. They pass the night, the married Abipones sitting on the ground on skins, the by-standing women singing with a loud voice, and the crowd of single persons laughing and applauding, by the light of torches, which shine here and there about the market-place. Some female juggler, who conducts the festive ceremonies, dances at

intervals, rattling a gourd full of hardish fruit-seeds to musical time, and, whirling round to the right with one foot, and to the left with another, without ever removing from one spot, or in the least varying her motions. This foolish crazy dance is interrupted every now and then by the horrid clangor of military trumpets, in which the spectators join, making a loud noise by striking their lips with their hands. Yet in the midst of all this you can never perceive the smallest deviation from strict decorum. The men are decently separated from the women; the boys from the girls. The female dancer, the priestess of these ridiculous ceremonies, as a mark of particular favour, rubs the thighs of some of the men with her gourds, and, in the name of their grandfather, promises them swiftness in pursuing enemies and wild beasts. At the same time the new male and female jugglers, who are thought equal to the office, are initiated with many ceremonies. Of this most mischievous description of men I am now going to treat more fully.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE CONJURORS, OR RATHER OF THE JUGGLERS
AND CHEATS OF THE ABIPONES.

IF I remember rightly, no nation which has been discovered in Paraguay is without its jugglers, whom the Abipones call by the name of the devil, Keebèt, or devilish workers, because they believe them to have received from their grandfather, the evil spirit, the power of performing wonderful work far surpassing human art. These rogues, who are of both sexes, profess to know and have the ability to do all things. There is not one of the savages who does not believe that it is in the power of these conjurors to inflict disease and death, to cure all disorders, to make known distant and future events; to cause rain, hail, and tempests; to call up the shades of the dead, and consult them concerning hidden matters; to put on the form of a tiger; to handle every kind of serpent without danger, &c., which powers, they imagine, are not obtained by art, but imparted to certain persons by their grandfather, the devil. Those who aspire to the office of juggler are said to sit upon an aged willow, overhanging some lake, and to

abstain from food for several days, till they begin to see into futurity. It always appeared probable to me that these rogues, from long fasting, contract a weakness of brain, a giddiness, and kind of delirium, which makes them imagine that they are gifted with superior wisdom, and give themselves out for magicians. They impose upon themselves first, and afterwards upon others. But in reality they differ from the rest in nothing but the superior ability of concerting frauds to deceive others. Indeed it is no difficult matter to cheat ignorant and credulous savages, who account every new thing, which they have never seen before, a prodigy, and immediately attribute it to magic art. Once when I happened to make some roses of red linen, to adorn the church, the Indians watched me at my work with much interest, wondering at this imitation of nature, and exclaiming, "This father is either a magician, or the son of a witch." A European lay-brother of our order astonished the Indians by turning something of wood, with much skill and expedition, and was consequently spoken of by them all as the prince of magicians; for till that day they had never seen a turning machine, nor any thing turned. Were they to behold fireworks, optical glasses, the experiments of the air-pump, and many other things

which are every-day sights amongst Europeans, amazed at what would be so novel to their eyes, they would indeed swear them to be absolute proofs of magical art. This is confirmed by the circumstance of the Brazilians calling their conjurors *Payè*, and the art of working miracles *Caraybà*, which name they afterwards gave to the European strangers, because they saw them perform things by art which, being formerly unknown to them, they imagined above the powers of nature. Hence also the Guaranies, whose language bears much resemblance to that of Brazil, at this day call all the Spaniards and Europeans *Caray*.

This simplicity of an ignorant people, the crafty jugglers know well how to turn to their own advantage, openly boasting themselves vicegerents and interpreters of the devil, their grandfather; diviners of future events; priests of the mysteries; creators, or, as they please, healers of diseases; necromancers, and governors of all the elements; easily persuading these credulous creatures any thing that comes into their heads. They are furnished with a thousand arts of deceiving. Suppose they have heard from some savage visitant that an enemy is coming to attack the horde; this knowledge they will boast of to their hordesmen as if it had been revealed to them by their

grandfather, thus acquiring the reputation of prophets. Whatever they learn either from conjecture, from secret intelligence, or from their own examination, they predict to be about to happen with infinite pomposity, and are always listened to with as much attention as if they were actually inspired. Should their prophecies not be approved by the event, they are never at a loss for excuses to shelter their authority. Sometimes, in the dead of the night, they suddenly announce the enemy's approach with a whistle or a pipe. All are awakened, and without once calling in question the truth of the juggler's prediction, fly to arms. The women and children betake themselves to a place of safety, and whilst they pass hours, nay whole nights, in the fear of death, and their husbands in threatening it to the assailants, not one of the enemy makes his appearance. But that the faith in their prophecies, and the authority of the prophets, may suffer no diminution, they declare, with a smile, that the hostile assault has been averted by their grandfather the devil. At other times a body of enemies often rushes upon them on a sudden, when not one of these prophets has either foreseen or foretold the danger of an attack. A ridiculous event, à propos to this subject, occurs to my recollection. About

night-fall an Abiponian boy brought an iron bridle, an axe, and some other trifles, the treasures of his family, to be guarded in my house. On being asked the reason of his doing so, he replied that the enemies would arrive in the night; for so it had been predicted by his mother, a famous juggler, who declared that whenever the enemy was approaching, she felt a pricking sensation in her left arm. "Oh!" replied I, "you may attribute that to the fleas, my good lad. I can tell you this on my own experience. Day and night I feel my left and my right arm too, as well as other parts of my body, insolently pricked and stung by fleas. If that were an indication of the enemy, we should never be free from their attacks night or day." But my words were vain; for the report of the old woman's presage got abroad, and disturbed the whole town all night. Yet, as often happened, no sign or vestige of the enemy appeared.

The Abipones, whom the desire of booty or glory induces to be constantly scheming war against others, are, in consequence, never free from suspicions of machinations against themselves. The more ardently they desire to take measures for their safety, the more readily do they believe themselves in danger from others, and generally for some foolish reason.

A light rumour, smoke seen from a distance, strange foot-marks, or the unseasonable barking of dogs, fills them with suspicions that their lives are in danger from the enemy, especially when they dread their vengeance for slaughters which themselves have lately committed. The task of tranquillizing and preparing their minds devolves upon the jugglers, who, whenever any thing is to be feared, or any thing to be done, consult the evil spirit. About the beginning of the night a company of old women assemble in a huge tent. The mistress of the band, an old woman remarkable for wrinkles and grey hairs, strikes every now and then two large discordant drums, at intervals of four sounds, and whilst these instruments return a horrible bellowing, she, with a harsh voice, mutters kinds of songs, like a person mourning. The surrounding women, with their hair dishevelled and their breasts bare, rattle gourds, and loudly chaunt funeral verses, which are accompanied by a continual motion of the feet, and tossing about of the arms. But this infernal music is rendered still more insupportable by other performers, who keep constantly beating pans which are covered with deers' skin, and sound very acutely, with a stick. In this manner the night is passed. At day-break all flock to the old woman's tent, as to a Delphic oracle. The singers receive little presents, and

are anxiously asked what their grandfather has said. The replies of the old women are generally of such doubtful import, that whatever happens they may seem to have predicted the truth. Sometimes the devil is consulted by different women, in different tents, the same night. At day-break one party will pertinaciously assert that the enemy are on the approach, which the other as obstinately denying, a conflict of opinions ensues between these foolish interpreters of oracles, which generally ends in a bloody quarrel. Sometimes one of the jugglers is desired to call up the shade of a dead man, from which they may immediately learn what their fates reserve for them. A promiscuous multitude of every age and sex flocks to the necromancer's tent. The juggler is concealed beneath a bull's hide, which serves in the same manner as a stage-curtain. Having muttered a few extemporary verses, sometimes with a mournful, at others with a commanding voice, he at length declares that the shade of such a person, whoever the people choose, is present. Him he interrogates over and over again on future events, and, changing his voice, answers to himself whatever he thinks proper. Not one of the auditors dares to doubt of the presence of the shade, or the truth of its words. An Abipon of noble family and good under-

standing, used many arguments to convince me that he had with his own eyes beheld the spirit of an Indian woman, whose husband was then living in our town. Spaniards also, who have lived from boyhood in captivity amongst the Abipones, are quite persuaded that the shades of the dead become visible at the call of a necromancer, that they reply to questions, and that there is no deceit used in the business. But what sensible man would credit such witnesses, who are in the daily habit of deceiving and being deceived ?

But from this custom of the savages of calling up the shades of the dead, we may deduce that they believe in the immortality of the soul, as may also be collected both from their rites and conversation. They place a pot, a garment, arms, and horses, fastened on stakes upon graves, that the dead may not be in want of the daily necessaries of life. They have an idea, that those little ducks, which the Abipones call *ruililiè*, and which fly about in flocks at night, uttering a mournful hiss, are the souls of the departed. The Spaniard Raphael de los Rios, who superintended the estate belonging to the town of St. Jeronymo, was cruelly murdered in his tent, in an assault of the savages, whilst I resided there. Some months after, an Abiponian catechumen came and anxiously enquired

whether all the Spaniards went to Heaven when they died, and was told by my companion that those who had closed their lives with a pious death alone obtained this happiness. "I agree entirely with you," said the Abipon; "for the Spaniard Raphael, who was killed here lately, seems not to have gained admittance yet; our countrymen say that they see him riding in the plain every night, and hissing in a mournful tone." This, though to be accounted either a mere fabrication, or the effect of fancy, justifies the conclusion, that the savages believe the soul to survive the body, though they are entirely ignorant of what becomes of it, or what may be its fate. The other people of Paraguay too hold the same opinion of the immortality of the soul.

From what I have said of the jugglers, who does not see that all their knowledge, all their arts, consist of nothing but cunning, fraud, and deceit? Yet the savages yield them the readiest faith and obedience during their lifetime, and after their death revere them as divine men. In their migrations, they reverently carry with them their bones and other reliques as sacred pledges. Whenever the Abipones see a fiery meteor, or hear it thunder three or four times, these simpletons believe that one of their jugglers is dead, and that this thunder and lightning are

his funeral obsequies. If they ride out any where to hunt or fight, they are always accompanied on their journey by one of these knaves, on whose words and advice they fully depend, believing that he knows and can foretel whatever may conduce to the success of the expedition; he teaches them the place, time, and manner proper for attacking wild beasts or the enemy. On an approaching combat, he rides round the ranks, striking the air with a palm bough, and with a fierce countenance, threatening eyes, and affected gesticulations, imprecates evil on their enemies. This ceremony they think of much avail to securing them a victory. The best part of the spoils are adjudged to him as the fruits of his office. I observed that these crafty knaves have plenty of excellent horses, and domestic furniture superior to that of the rest. Whatever they wish for they extort from this credulous people. The Abipones account it a crime to contradict their words, or oppose their desires or commands, fearing their vengeance. When any of the jugglers are ill disposed towards a man, they call him to their house, and are instantly obeyed. When he is come, they harshly reproach him for some imaginary fault or injury, and declare their intention of punishing him in the name of their grandfather. They order him instantly to bare

his breast and shoulders, and then pierce and tear his flesh with the jaw of the fish palometa. The poor wretch dares not utter the least complaint, though streaming with blood, and thinks himself very fortunate in being suffered to depart alive.

At another time, when these bugbears think any one inimical or injurious to them, they will threaten to change themselves into a tiger, and tear every one of their hordesmen to pieces. No sooner do they begin to imitate the roaring of a tiger, than all the neighbours fly away in every direction. From a distance however they hear the feigned sounds. "Alas! his whole body is beginning to be covered with tiger spots!" cry they. "Look, his nails are growing," the fear-struck women exclaim, although they cannot see the rogue, who is concealed within his tent; but that distracted fear presents things to their eyes which have no real existence. It was scarce possible to persuade them out of their absurd terrors. "You daily kill tigers in the plain," said I, "without dread, why then should you weakly fear a false imaginary tiger in the town?" "You Fathers don't understand these matters," they reply, with a smile. "We never fear, but kill tigers in the plain, because we can see them. Artificial tigers we do fear, because they can neither be seen nor killed by us."

I combated this poor argument, by saying, “If that artificial tiger which your conjurors assume to alarm you cannot be seen, how, pray, can you tell that tigers’ claws and nails begin to grow upon him?” But it was vain to reason with men in whom the extreme pertinacity with which they adhered to the opinion of their ancestors superseded all reason. Should a furious tempest arise, they will all declare the deluge caused by profuse rain to be effected by the arts of the jugglers, and whilst some attribute the flood and hurricane to one, some to another, a still more furious and louder tempest arises amongst themselves. Hear my account of an event which I cannot remember without laughter. In the month of January, a quantity of heavy rain fell in the night, and precipitating itself from a neighbouring hill, nearly overwhelmed the colony of St. Jeronymo. The immense force of waters broke the leathern door, rushed into my hut where I was sleeping, and not immediately gaining egress, increased to about five palms in depth. Awakened by the noise, I put my arms out of bed, and using them as a plumb, measured the depth of the water; and had not the wall, which was perforated by the flood, opened a way to the waters, I must have been obliged to swim for my life. The same thing happened to all the Abipones who

dwelt on low ground, their huts being entirely inundated. But lo! the next morning a report was spread, that a female juggler, who had received some offence from one of the inhabitants of the town, had caused this great storm in the intent of drowning the whole horde, but that the clouds had been repulsed, the rain stopped, and the town saved by the interposition of another juggler. That dreadful flood did not extend to the neighbouring plain, where Pariekaikin, at that time chief of the Abiponian jugglers, was then living with some companions, who, after a long drought, were very desirous of getting water. This Pariekaikin in an oracular manner declared, that Father Joseph Brigniel had caused that rain for the advantage of his town, and that because he, Pariekaikin, did not choose to reside there, he had, out of revenge, directed the clouds with such art, that not a drop of rain reached his station. For they made no hesitation in accounting that Father a conjuror, because he happily and speedily healed the sick.

That the American jugglers enjoy familiar intercourse with the evil spirit is not only firmly believed by the ignorant savages, but some writers have even endeavoured to persuade Europe to believe it. For my part, after so long an acquaintance with these nations I

could never bring myself to credit it, always remaining of opinion that they neither know, nor are capable of performing any thing above human powers. Being firmly persuaded that they would do me all the evil in their power, I often accosted them in a friendly manner, and by all sorts of good offices endeavoured to prevail upon them to alter their manner of life, and embrace religion; for by their example almost all the rest would regulate their conduct. But this was like washing the blackamoor white: for these wickedest of mortals, unwilling to part with their authority and lucrative office, left no stone unturned, no frauds unattempted to deter and intimidate their countrymen from going to church, attending to the instructions of the priests, and receiving baptism, daily denouncing death, and destruction on the whole nation, unless they obeyed. Nor is this either new or surprizing. In all the American nations the teachers of the holy religion have found the jugglers upholders of ancient superstition, and rocks in the way of the desired progress of the Christian law. Good heavens! what contests, and what trouble did they not cause to Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, the famous Guarany missionary! It was not till he had repressed the authority of the remaining jugglers, and commanded the bones of

the dead ones, which were universally worshipped with great honours, to be burnt in the presence of the people, that he converted an infinite number of savages to the Christian religion, and induced them to enter colonies. Till these knavish *holophants*, and sycophants to speak with Plautus, are abolished, nothing can be done with the savages; this I affirm on experience. The town of St. Joachim not only merited the praise of religion, but produced many fruits of genuine piety. But as snakes often lurk in the grass, and tares in the most abundant harvest, an old Indian secretly performed the office of juggler there, and suffered himself to be adored as a divine person by some foolish women, whom he served in the double capacity of physician, and prophet, at the same time carrying on a criminal intercourse with them. These things were disclosed to me by Ignatius Paranderi, chief Cacique of the town; so that judging it advisable immediately to reprove this mischievous old man in public, since private admonitions were of no avail, I repaired to his house attended by all the chief people of the place; and imitating, in this important business, the thundering tongue of Cicero when he fulminated against Catiline, addressed him in the following manner. “How long, accursed old man, will you

belic your profession of Christianity, by daring to corrupt the morals of your fellow-hordesmen with nefarious arts, and indecent conduct? After living near twenty years in the school of Christ, are you not afraid to practise savage rites the most repugnant to Christian laws? Your manner of life is exactly suitable to the name of tiger, (he was called Yaguaretè, which means a tiger;) for by your deceits and indecencies you tear the poor little sheep of Christ. Extreme age has conducted you to the goal of life;—unless you repent, what a wretched death, and when dead what a sad fate awaits you! I am equally ashamed and grieved on your account. He whom you behold dead on the cross for you,” said I, showing him a crucifix, “will drive you headlong into hell, to punish your perfidy. Be what you appear, or appear what you are. Regulate your conduct according to divine law. But if savage superstitions are too firmly rooted in your breast to be ever eradicated, return instantly to the woods of the savages, to the dens of wild beasts where you first saw the light, that your example may not pervert the rest of your hordesmen, who have dedicated their lives to religion and virtue. Go, and repent of your former sins, and by penitence and innocence of life, cleanse away the stains of them.

If you do not instantly obey my friendly admonitions, it will be worse for you. Henceforward, you shall not go unpunished. Know, that as soon as ever I hear of any act of superstition or indecency committed or attempted by you, at my orders you shall be led about the streets amidst the hisses of the people, and pelted with cow-dung, by a crowd of boys. Such is my firm determination. This is the thyme and frankincense that shall be offered up to the stinking divinity, which you have madly dared to arrogate to yourself and suffered to be adored." This commination left the old fellow alarmed, and, if I mistake not, corrected, all good men highly approving the severity of my speech. No suspicions were ever after entertained of him, though I inspected all things with a vigilant eye and an attentive ear.

As the jugglers perform the offices not only of soothsayers and physicians, but also of priests of the ceremonies of superstition, it exceeds belief what absurd opinions they inculcate into the ignorant minds of the Abipones. Out of many, I will mention a few. The Abipones think that none of their nation would ever die, were the Spaniards and the jugglers banished from America; for they attribute every one's death, from whatever cause it may proceed,

either to the malicious arts of the one, or to the fire-arms of the other. If an Abipon die from being pierced with many wounds, or from having his bones broken, or his strength exhausted by extreme old age, his countrymen all deny that wounds or weakness occasioned his death, and anxiously try to discover by which of the jugglers, and for what reason he was killed. Because they have remembered some of their nation to have lived for a hundred years, they imagine that they would never die, were it not for the jugglers and the Spaniards. What ridiculous ideas do not the Americans entertain respecting the eclipse of the sun and moon! During the time it lasts, the Abipones fill the air with horrid lamentations. They perpetually cry *tayretà!* oh! the poor little thing! grieving for the sun and moon: for when these planets are obscured, they always fear that they are entirely extinguished. Still more ridiculous are the Chiquito Indians, who say that the sun and moon are cruelly torn by dogs, with which they think that the air abounds, when they see their light fail; attributing their blood red colour to the bites of these animals. Accordingly, to defend their dear planets from those aërial mastiffs, they send a shower of arrows up into the sky, amid loud vociferations,

at the time of the eclipse. But, who would believe that the Peruvian Indians, so much more civilized than the rest, should be foolish enough to imagine, that when the sun is obscured, he is angry, and turns away his face from them, on account of certain crimes which they have committed? When the moon is in darkness, they say she is sick, and are in perpetual apprehension, that, when she dies, her immense carcass will fall down upon the earth and crush all the inhabitants. When she recovers her light, they say she has been healed by Pachacámac, the Saviour of the world, who has prevented her death, that the earth may not be utterly crushed and destroyed by her weight. Other crazy notions are entertained by other Americans concerning eclipses. The Abipones call a comet *neyàc*, the Guaranies *yacitatà tataĩbae*, the smoking star: for what we name the hair, beard, or tail of a comet, they take to be smoke. This star is dreaded by all savages, being accounted the forerunner and instrument of various calamities. The Peruvians have always believed the comet to portend the death of their kings, and the destruction of their provinces and kingdoms. Montezuma, monarch of the Mexicans, having frequently beheld a comet like a fiery pyramid, visible from midnight till sun-set, was greatly alarmed for him-

self and for his people, and shortly after conquered and slain by Cortez.

Let us now return to the superstitions of the Abipones, who think another star, the name of which I have forgotten, portentous, formidable, and destructive. They say that those years in which this star has been seen have always proved bloody and disastrous to their nation. When a whirlwind drives the dust round in a circle, the women throw ashes in its way, that it may be satisfied with that food, and may turn in some other direction. But if the wind rushes into any house with that impetuous whirling, they are certain that one of the inhabitants will die soon. If any live bees be found in the honey-comb, which they bring from the woods, they say that they must be killed out of doors, imagining, that if this be done within the house, they shall never be able to find any more honey.

The Abipones labour under many superstitions, because they abound in jugglers, the teachers of superstition. The most famous at the time that I lived there, were Hanetrân, Nahagalkîn, Oaikin, Kaëperlahachin, Pazanoi-rin, Kaachî, Kepakainkin, Laamaminí, and Pariekaikin, the first, and by far the most eminent of them all, who had obtained a high reputation for his prophecies and other peculiarities of his office. Female jugglers abound to such a de-

gree, that they almost out-number the gnats of Egypt. Their chief endeavour is to inspire their countrymen with a veneration for their grandfather, the evil spirit. On this subject I shall now proceed to discourse.

CHAPTER X.

CONJECTURES WHY THE ABIPONES TAKE THE EVIL SPIRIT FOR THEIR GRANDFATHER, AND THE PLEIADES FOR THE REPRESENTATION OF HIM.

WHEN you read that the Abipones take the devil for their grandfather, you may laugh with me at their folly, and behold their madness with pity and wonder, but, if you be wise, let all this be done in moderation, for still grosser errors have been entertained amongst many nations civilized by laws and arts both human and divine. If you do but look into history sacred or profane, you will allow that there is scarce any thing to which divine honours have not formerly been paid. Such madness and folly in many polished nations should so exhaust our indignation and wonder as to make us judge mildly of the savage Abipones, educated amongst wild beasts, and unacquainted with letters, if they simply dignify the evil spirit with the title of their grandfather, without giving him the name or honours of a divinity. During a seven-years' residence amongst the savages, I never discovered any thing of that nature. If secretly or in our absence they did any thing which a divine would condemn, I

think it proceeded from no religious inclination towards the evil spirit, but only from fear of him, and from the compulsion used by the jugglers; so that they rather merit the imputation of stupidity than of blasphemy.

Not only the Abipones, but likewise the Mocobios, Tobas, Yapitalakas, Guaycurus and other equestrian people of Chaco, boast themselves grandsons of the evil spirit, partakers no less of their superstition than of their madness. But how different are the opinions entertained by the southern equestrian tribes, who wander up and down the region of Magellan! They are all acquainted with the devil, whom they call Balichù. They believe that there is an innumerable crowd of demons, the chief of whom they name El El, and all the inferior ones Quezubû. They think, however, every kind of demon hostile and mischievous to the human race, and the origin of all evil, regarding them in consequence with dread and abhorrence. The Puelches, Picunches, or Moluches, are unacquainted even with the name of God. These last ascribe all the good things they either possess or desire to the sun, and to the sun they pray for them. When a priest of our order told them that God, the creator of all things, and amongst the rest of the sun, should be worshipped before the work of his own

hands, they replied; “ Till this hour, we never knew nor acknowledged any thing greater or better than the sun.” The Patagonians call God *Soychù*, to wit, that which cannot be seen, which is worthy of all veneration, and which does not live in the world; hence they call the dead *Soychuhèt*, men that dwell with God beyond the world. They seem to hold two principles in common with the Gnostics and Manichæans, for they say that God created both good and evil demons. The latter they greatly fear, but never worship. They believe every sick person to be possessed of an evil demon; hence their physicians always carry a drum with figures of devils painted on it, which they strike at the beds of sick persons, to drive the evil demon, which causes the disorder, from the body. The savages of Chili are ignorant of the name and worship of God, but believe in a certain aërial spirit, called *Pillan*, to whom they address supplications that he will scatter their enemies, and thanksgiving, amidst their cups, after gaining a victory. *Pillan* is also their name for thunder, and they worship this deity chiefly when it thunders. The devil, which they call *Alveè*, they detest with their whole hearts. Hence, as they think life the best of all things, when any of them dies, they say that the evil

spirit has taken him away. The Brazilians and Guaranies call the devil *Aña*, or *Añanga*, and fear him on account of a thousand noxious arts by which he is signalized. In Virginia, the savages call the devil *Okè*, and pay him divine honours. Since numerous and neighbouring savages regard the devil with fear and contempt, I cannot imagine why the Abipones give him the affectionate and honourable appellation of their grandfather. But there is no need of reason and argument to induce the savages to embrace the absurdest opinions, and to take what is doubtful for certain, what is false for perfectly true. The lies of a crafty juggler, the dreams of a foolish old woman, listened to with attentive ears, are more than enough to make them swear that the devil is their grandfather, or any thing still more absurd.

Why they believe the Pleiades to be the representation of their grandfather, remains to be discussed. On this subject also I can advance nothing but conjecture, nor can any thing certain be derived either from the Abipones or from the historians of America. The seven daughters of Lycurgus were placed by Jove amongst the stars, because they educated Bacchus in the island of Naxos, and distinguished by the name of Pleiades, as poets feign. What if we say that the Abipones, who are so fond

of drinking-parties, worshipped those stars, because they were the nurses of Bacchus? But this pleasant idea would suit conversation better than history. It deserves attention, that, though various nations have paid divine honours to the sun, moon, and other stars, we cannot find a syllable respecting the worship of the Pleiades in any part of holy writ; unless, indeed, you say that they were adored by those nations mentioned in the 17th Chap. and the 3d verse of Deuteronomy: "That they go and serve other Gods, and worship them, the sun and moon, and all the host of heaven." For, as St. Jerome observes, the "whole host of heaven" means all the stars, including, of course, the Pleiades amongst the rest.

After long and frequent consideration of these things, it appears most probable to my mind, that the savages of Paraguay derived the knowledge and worship of the Pleiades from the ancient Peruvians; who, although they venerated God the creator and preserver of all things, (under the name of Pachacamac,) are nevertheless said to have adored the sea, rocks, trees, and, what is of most importance to the present subject, the Pleiades, whom they called Colcà. The Inca Manco Capac, their ruler and chief lawgiver, afterwards substituted new superstitions for old ones. He decreed, that di-

vine honours should be paid to the sun. To it alone divine veneration and sacrifices were paid, though the moon also, which they call the consort of the sun, and certain stars, which they call the handmaids of the moon, were honoured with silver altars and adoration to a certain extent, but inferior to that paid a divinity. Amongst the stars they thought the Pleiades worthy of a distinguished place, and chief honour, either from the wonderful manner in which they are placed, or from their singular brightness. After the Spaniards obtained dominion over Peru by force of arms, it is credible that the Peruvians, to avoid this dreadful slavery, stole away wherever they could, and that many of them migrated into the neighbouring Tucuman, and thence, for the sake of security, into the deserts of Chaco, close by; where, amongst other superstitions they may have taught the inhabitants a religious observance of the Pleiades. But since the Abipones, you will object, cannot even express the name of God in their native tongue, and respectfully address the evil spirit by the title of their grandfather, why did they not learn from the Peruvians the name and worship of God, with a hatred and contempt for the evil spirit? The latter certainly entertained such a reverence for the God Pachacamac, that they thought it a

part of their religion not to utter his name except on very important occasions, and whenever they did, to accompany the mention of it with great marks of reverence. On the other hand, they held the devil, whom they called Cupay, in much contempt. Why did not the Peruvians impart that reverence for God, and contempt for the evil spirit to the Abipones, at the same time that they instructed them in a religious observance of the Pleiades? Because vice is more easily learnt than virtue, as healthy persons are sooner infected by the sick, than sick ones cured by the healthy. Yet, if you persist in denying that the knowledge of the Pleiades was brought from Peru, I will oppose you no longer; but what hinders us from believing that it crept into Paraguay from the neighbouring Brazil, where the Tapuyas, formerly a fierce and numerous nation, greatly venerated the rise of the Pleiades, and worshipped those stars as divinities with singing and dancing. As no memorials are at hand from which any thing determinate can be elicited on this subject, I have thought fit to adduce all these conjectures, opinions, and probabilities which may seem in any way to relate to the evil spirit, the infamous grandfather of the Abipones, and to the Pleiades the representation of him.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE DIVISION OF THE ABIPONIAN NATION, OF THEIR PAUCITY, AND OF THE CHIEF CAUSES THEREOF.

To look for policy in savages will appear to you like seeking a knot in a bulrush, or expecting water from a flint. The Abipones, a nation obstinately attached to their ancient liberty, lived at their own pleasure, impatient of all controul. Their own will was their sole law. Nevertheless, as bees, ants, and every kind of animal, by natural instinct, observe certain peculiarities of their species, in like manner the most ferocious Indians pertinaciously retain, even to this day, certain customs, the ordinances of their nation, handed down to them by their ancestors, and regarded by them as laws. I shall proceed to treat of the political, economical, and military regulations of the Abipones, of their customs and magistrates.

The whole nation of the Abipones is divided into three classes: the Riikahès, who inhabit extensive plains; the Nakaigetergehes, who love the lurking-holes of the woods; and lastly, the Yaaucanigas, who were formerly a distinct

nation, and used a separate language. In the last century, the Spaniards, whom they had gone out to slaughter, surprized them by the way, and almost destroyed them all. A few who survived the massacre, with the widows and children of the slain, joined the neighbouring Abipones, and both nations, by inter-marriages, coalesced into one; the old language of the Yaaucanigas falling into disuse. The Abiponian tribes pursue the same manner of life, and their customs and language, with the exception of a few words, are alike. Wondrous unanimity, and a constant alliance in arms, reigned amongst them as long as they had to deal with the Spaniards, against whom, as against a mutual foe, they bear an innate hatred, and whose servitude they resist with united strength. But though bound by the ties of consanguinity and friendship, impatient of the smallest injury, they eagerly seize on any occasion of war, and frequently weaken each other with mutual slaughter.

Like the other American savages, some of the Abipones practise polygamy and divorce. Yet they are by no means numerous; the whole nation consisting of no more than five thousand people. Intestine skirmishes, excursions against the enemy, the deadly contagion of the

measles and small-pox, and the cruelty of the mothers towards their offspring, have combined to render their number so small. Now learn the cause of this inhumanity in the women. The mothers suckle their children for three years, during which time they have no conjugal intercourse with their husbands, who, tired of this long delay, often marry another wife. The women, therefore, kill their unborn babes through fear of repudiation, sometimes getting rid of them by violent arts, without waiting for their birth. Afraid of being widows in the lifetime of their husbands, they blush not to become more savage than tigresses. Mothers spare their female offspring more frequently than the males, because the sons, when grown up, are obliged to purchase a wife, whereas daughters, at an age to be married, may be sold to the bridegroom at almost any price.

From all this you may easily guess that the Abiponian nations abound more in women than in men, both because female infants are seldomer killed by their mothers, because the women never fall in battle as is the case with the men, and because women are naturally longer lived than men. Many writers make the mistake of attributing the present scanty population of America to the cruelty of the Spaniards, when they should rather accuse that

of the infanticide mothers. We, who have grown old amongst the Abipones, should pronounce her a singularly good woman who brings up two or three sons. But the whole Abiponian nation contains so few such mothers, that their names might all be inscribed on a ring. I have known some who killed all the children they bore, no one either preventing or avenging these murders. Such is the impunity with which crimes are committed when they become common, as if custom could excuse their impiety. The mothers bewail their children, who die of a disease, with sincere tears; yet they dash their new-born babes against the ground, or destroy them in some other way, with calm countenances. Europeans will scarce believe that such affection for their dead children can co-exist with such cruelty towards them while they are alive, but to us it is certain and indubitable. After our instructions, however, had engrafted a reverence for the divine law in the minds of the Abipones, the barbarity of the mothers gradually disappeared, and husbands, with joyful eyes, beheld their hands no longer stained with the blood of their offspring, but their arms laden with those dear pledges. These are the fruits and the triumphs of religion, which fills not only Heaven but earth with inhabitants. When polygamy and di-

voice, the iniquitous murdering of infants, and the liberty of spontaneous abortion were at length, by means of Christian discipline, abolished, the nation of the Abipones, within a few years, rejoiced to see itself enriched with incredible accessions of both sexes.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE MAGISTRATES, CAPTAINS, CACIQUES, &c. OF THE ABIPONES, AND OF THEIR FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

THE Abipones do not acknowledge any prince who reigns with supreme power over the whole nation. They are divided into hordes, each of which is headed by a man, whom the Spaniards call *capitan*, or *cacique*, the Peruvians *curáca*, the Guaranies *aba rubicha*, and the Abipones *nelařeyřàt*, or *capitâ*. This word *capitan* sounds very grand in the ears of the Americans. They think they are using a very honourable title when they call the God, or King of the Spaniards, *capitan latènc*, or *capitan guazù*, the great captain. By this word, indeed, they mean to designate not only supreme power, and eminent dignity, but also every kind of nobility. Sometimes miserable looking old women, wretchedly clothed, and rich only in wrinkles, to prevent us from thinking them of low birth, will say *aym capitâ*, I am a captain, I am noble. I was astonished at hearing the savages buried in the woods of Mbaeverà, and cut off from all intercourse with the Spaniards, address their caciques by the names of *Capitâ*

Roỹ, Capitâ Tupânychichu, Capitâ Veraripotschiritù, neglecting their own word, *aba rubicha*; so universal and honourable is the title of captain amongst the savage nations. Should an Abipon meet a Spaniard dressed very handsomely, he would not hesitate to call him captain, though he might be of low rank, and distinguished by no dignity or nobility whatever. Moreover, in Paraguay, Spaniards of the lowest rank, who live in the country, are extremely ambitious of the title of captain, and if you do not call them so every now and then, will look angry, and refuse to do you any kind of service, even to give you a drop of water if you are ever so thirsty. The Christian Guaranies have the same foolish mania for titles. After having laboured hard for two or three years in the royal camps, they think themselves amply repaid for their toils and wounds, if, at the end of the expedition, they return to their colony honoured by the royal governour with the title and staff of a captain. At all times even when employed, barefoot, in building or agriculture, they ostentatiously hold the captain's staff in their hands. When they are carried to the grave, this wooden ensign is suspended from the bier. When a man is at the point of death, and just going to receive extreme unction, he puts on his military boots and

spurs, takes his staff in his hand, and in this trim awaits the priest, and even approaching death, as if in the intent of frightening the grim spectre away. On the domestics' expressing their surprize at the unusual attire of the dying man, he sternly and gravely observes, that this is the manner in which it becomes a captain to die. Such is the signification and the honour attached to the word captain in America.

Amongst the Guaranies, who have embraced the Christian religion, in various colonies, the name and office of cacique is hereditary. When a cacique dies, his eldest son succeeds without dispute, whatever his talents or disposition may be. Amongst the Abipones, too, the eldest son succeeds, but only provided that he be of a good character, of a noble and warlike disposition, in short, fit for the office; for if he be indolent, ill-natured, and foolish in his conduct, he is set aside, and another substituted, who is not related to the former by any tie of blood. But to say the truth, the cacique elected by the Abipones has no cause for pride, nor he that is rejected for grief and envy. The name of cacique is certainly a high title amongst the Abipones, but it is more a burden than an honour, and often brings with it greater danger than profit. For they neither revere their cacique as a master, nor pay him tribute or

attendance as is usual with other nations. They invest him neither with the authority of a judge, an arbitrator, or an avenger. Drunken men frequently kill one another; women quarrel, and often imbrue their hands in one another's blood; young men, fond of glory or booty, rob the Spaniards, to whom they had promised peace, of whole droves of horses, and sometimes secretly slay them: and the cacique, though aware of all these things, dares not say a word. If he were but to rebuke them for these transgressions, which are reckoned amongst the merits, virtues, and victories of the savages, with a single harsh word, he would be punished in the next drinking-party with the fists of the intoxicated savages, and publicly loaded with insults, as a friend to the Spaniards, and a greater lover of ease than of his people. How often have Ychamenraikin, chief cacique of the Riikahes, and Narè, of the Yaaucanigas, experienced this! How often have they returned from a drinking-party with swelled eyes, bruised hands, pale cheeks, and faces exhibiting all the colours of the rainbow!

But although the Abipones neither fear their cacique as a judge, nor honour him as a master, yet his fellow-soldiers follow him as a leader and governour of the war, whenever the enemy is to be attacked or repelled. Some, however,

refuse to follow him, for what Cæsar said of the German chiefs is applicable to the Abiponian cacique: *Authoritate suadendi magis, quam jubendi potestate audiatur.* As soon as a report is spread of the danger of an hostile attack, the business of the cacique is to provide for the security of his people; to increase the store of weapons; to order the horses to be fetched from the distant pastures to safer places; to send out watchers by night, and scouts in every direction, to procure supplies from the neighbours, and to gain their alliance. When the enemy is to be attacked, he rides before his men, and occupies the front of the army he has raised, less solicitous about the numbers of the enemy, than the firmness of his troops: for as with birds, when one is shot, the rest fly away, in like manner the Abipones, alarmed at the deaths or wounds of a few of their fellow-soldiers, desert their leader, and escape on swift horses, wherever room for flight is afforded them, more anxious about their own safety than about obtaining a victory. Yet it must be acknowledged that this nation never wants its heroes. Many remain intrepid whilst their companions fall around them, and though pierced with wounds and streaming with blood, retain even in death the station where they fought. Desire of glory, ferocious study of revenge, or

despair of escape, inspires the naturally fearful with courage, which a Lacedemonian would admire, and which Europe desires to see in her warriors.

Moreover, being lovers of liberty and roving, they choose to own no law, and bind themselves to their cacique by no oaths of fidelity. Without leave asked on their part, or displeasure evinced on his, they remove with their families whithersoever it suits them, and join some other cacique; and when tired of the second, return with impunity to the horde of the first. This is quite common, and a matter of surprize to no one that knows how fleeting is the faith, how mutable the will of the Indians. Should a report be spread by uncertain or suspicious authors, that the enemy are coming in a few days, it is enough. Numbers, dreading the loss of life more than of fame, will desert their cacique, and hasten with their families to some well-known retreats. Lest however they should be branded with the name of deserters and cowards, they say they are going out to hunt. Hence, whenever we priests had to defend the new colonies filled with savage assailants, and almost destitute of inhabitants to repel them, we generally made more use of craft and threats than of force. The danger, or the fear of it, being dissipated, these fugacious heroes at length came home, no

one daring to accuse them of cowardice, though no one could be ignorant that fear prompted their departure, security their return.

Whenever a cacique determines upon undertaking an excursion, a public drinking-party is appointed. Heated with that luscious beverage, prepared from honey or the alfaroba, they zealously offer their services to the cacique, who invites them to war, sing triumph before the victory with festive vociferations, and, (who would believe it?) diligently execute when sober, what they promised in a state of intoxication. That love is kindled by love, as fire by fire, and that friends are gained by liberality, are trite proverbs in Europe, and have been experienced by us in our long commerce with the Abipones. A cacique who seldom gives a repulse will have numerous, obedient, and affectionate hordesmen. Kind words or looks, the marks of good-will, avail but little amongst the savages, unless accompanied with beneficence. They require at the cacique's hands whatever they take it into their heads to wish for, believing that his office obliges him to satisfy the petitions of all. If he denies them any thing, they say he is not a captain, or noble, and insolently bestow upon him the disgraceful appellation of wood-Indian — *Acami Lanañaik*. The cacique has nothing, either in his arms or his

clothes, to distinguish him from a common man, except the peculiar oldness and shabbiness of them; for if he appear in the street with new and handsome apparel, just taken out of his wife's loom, the first person he meets will boldly cry, Give me that dress, *Tach caué grihilalgi*; and unless he immediately parts with it, he becomes the scoff and the scorn of all, and hears himself called covetous and niggardly. Sometimes, when they came to ask a great favour of me, they would stroke my shoulder, and say in a sweet tone, You are indeed a captain, Father; by which honourable appellation they wished me to understand that it was unlike a captain to refuse a man any thing. As those things which they asked me for were not always in my possession, nor could indeed be found in any shop at Amsterdam, I told them I was no captain, that they might bear a refusal with good humour, and attribute it to poverty, not to ill-nature. But it was all in vain. They construe a Father's excuse into a falsehood, and exclaim, not without much laughter on both sides, What a liar, what a miser you are! I found that those caciques had abundance of followers who were active and successful in the acquirement of booty, free from sordid avarice, and fond of displaying an unbounded liberality towards their hordesmen. Kaapetraikin and Kebachin had

crowds of soldiers in their service, because they were distinguished for dexterity and assiduity in depredation; the same men, when decrepit with extreme age, inadequate to undertaking excursions, and consequently poor, found none but relations continue in their hordes.

I must not omit to mention that the Abipones do not scorn to be governed by women of noble birth; for at the time that I resided in Paraguay, there was a high-born matron, to whom the Abipones gave the title of *Nelaÿecatè*, and who numbered some families in her horde. Her origin, and the merits of her ancestors, procured her the veneration of others. The Catholic kings themselves, and their governours, acknowledge the rank of the caciques of every nation, and dignify them with the title of nobility, prefixing the word *Don* to their names, according to the Spanish fashion. It is also customary, throughout the whole of Spanish America, for the Indian caciques, after they have received baptism, and sworn allegiance to the Catholic king, to retain, and transmit to their posterity the dominion they possessed when savage, over the savages subject to their power: which is also observed amongst the Guaranies, with this provision, however, that the caciques themselves and the Indians under their authority, are obliged to

obey the corregidor, and other magistrates of the town. In every Guarany town, there are a number of caciques, who, if men of abilities, are often promoted to the office of magistrates, that the Indians may not suspect the Europeans of despising their nobility. There were five caciques in the town of St. Joachim, over which I presided. Their names were Don Ignatius Paranderi, Don Miguel Yeyù, Don Marco Quirakerà, Don Joseph Xavier, and Don Miguel Yazukà; which last performed the office of corregidor for many years. Though a native of the woods, he was both exceedingly attached to Christian discipline, and intrepid in guarding it; indeed he was above all praise; which is certainly very uncommon and wonderful, as, to say the truth, we have often found the caciques more stupid than the common people, and less skilful in the public employments of the town. Who, therefore, can blame the Abipones, if, setting aside the privilege of birth, they elect a cacique, who, though of obscure origin, is distinguished for military valour?

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE FOOD, JOURNEYS, AND OTHER PARTICULARS OF
THE ECONOMY OF THE ABIPONES.

THE wild Abipones live like wild beasts. They neither sow nor reap, nor take any heed of agriculture. Taught by natural instinct, the instructions of their ancestors, and their own experience, they are acquainted with all the productions of the earth and the trees, at what part of the year they spontaneously grow, what animals are to be found in what places, and what arts are to be employed in taking them. All things are in common with them. They have no proprietors, as with us, of lands, rivers, and groves, who possess the exclusive right of hunting, fishing, and gathering wood there. Whatever flies in the air, swims in the water, and grows wild in the woods, may become the property of the first person that chooses to take it. The Abipones are unacquainted with spades, ploughs, and axes; the arrow, the spear, the club, and horses, are the only instruments they make use of in procuring food, clothing, and habitation. As all lands do not bear all things, and as various productions grow at various

times of the year, they cannot continue long in one situation. They remove from place to place, wherever they can most readily satisfy the demands of hunger and thirst. The plains abound in emus, and their numerous eggs, in deer, tigers, lions, various kinds of rabbits, and other small animals peculiar to America, and also in flocks of partridges. Numbers of stags, exactly like those of our country, frequent the banks of the larger rivers. Innumerable herds of wild boars are almost constantly to be seen in marshy places, which they delight in, in the neighbourhood of a wood. The groves, besides antas, and tamanduas, contain swarms of monkeys and parrots. The lakes and rivers, which abound in fish, produce water-wolves, water-dogs, capibaris, innumerable otters, and flocks of geese and ducks. I do not mention the great multitude of tortoises, as neither the Abipones nor Spaniards eat them in Paraguay. At stated times of the year, they collect quantities of young cormorants, on the banks of rivers, and reckon them amongst the delicacies of the table. Were none of these things to be procured, tree fruits and hives of excellent honey would never be wanting. The various species of palms alone will supply meat, drink, medicine, habitation, clothes, arms, and what not,

to those that are in need. Under the earth, and even under the water, grow esculent roots. Two species of the alfaroba, commonly called St. John's bread, throughout great part of the year, produce extremely wholesome, and by no means unsavoury food, both meat and drink. See the munificence of God even towards those by whom he is not worshipped! Behold a rude image of the golden age! The Abipones have it in their power to procure all the appurtenances of daily life, with little or no labour, and though unacquainted with money of every kind, are commodiously supplied with all necessaries; for if a long drought have exhausted the rivers, they will find water even in the most desert plains, under the leaves of the *caraquatà*, or they can suck little apples, which are full of a watery liquor like melons, and grow under the earth, or dig a well in the channel of a dried-up river, and see water sufficient for themselves and their horses spring up from thence. A Spaniard, in the wilds of America, will pine with thirst, either from being ignorant of these things, or impatient of the labour of obtaining them.

As the supports of life are not all found collected together in one place, nor will suffice for a long time, or a great number of hordesmen, the Abipones are obliged to change their residence,

and travel about continually. Neither rugged roads, nor distances of places, prevent them from a journey; for both men and women travel on horses which are swift and numerous there, and if they are in haste, traverse vast tracts of land every day. I shall now describe the equipment of the horse, and the method of riding. The bit which they use is composed of a cow's horn fastened on each side to four little pieces of wood placed transversely, and to a double thong which supplies the place of a bridle. Some use iron bits, of which they are very proud. The major part have saddles like English ones, of a raw bull's hide stuffed with reeds. Stirrups are not in general use. The men leap on to their horse on the right side. With the right hand they grasp the bridle, with the left a very long spear, leaning upon which they jump up with the impulse of both feet, and then fall right upon the horse's back. The same expedition in dismounting, which would excite the admiration of a European, is very useful to them in skirmishes. They use no spurs even at this day. For a whip, they make use of four strips of a bull's hide twisted together, with which they stimulate new or refractory horses to the course, not by the sense of pain, but by the fear excited by the cracking of the whip. The

saddles used by the women are the same as those of the men, except that the former, more studious of external elegance, have theirs made of the skin of a white cow. When an Abiponian woman wants to mount her horse, she throws herself up to the middle upon its neck, like men in Europe, and then separating her feet on both sides, places herself in the saddle, which has no cushion; nor does the hardness of it offend her in journeys of many days; from which you may perceive that the skin of the Abipones is harder than leather, being rendered callous by their constantly riding without a cushion. Indians who ride much and long without saddles, frequently hurt and wound the horse's back, without receiving any injury themselves. I will now describe their manner of travelling when they remove from one place to another. The wife, besides her husband's bow and quiver, carries all the domestic furniture, all the pots, gourds, jugs, shells, balls of woollen and linen thread, weaving instruments, &c. These things are contained in boar-skin bags, suspended here and there from the saddle; where she also places the whelps, and her young infant if she have one. Besides these things, she suspends from the sides of the saddle a large mat, with two poles, to fix a tent wherever they like, and a bull's hide to serve for a boat in crossing rivers.

No woman will set out on a journey without a stake like a palm branch, broad at each side and slender in the middle, made of very hard wood, and about two ells long, which serves admirably for digging eatable roots, knocking down fruits from trees, and dry boughs for lighting a fire, and even for breaking the heads and arms of enemies, if they meet any by the way. With this luggage, which you would think a camel could hardly carry, are the women's horses loaded in every journey. But this is not all. You often see two or three women or girls seated on one horse: not from any scarcity of beasts, all having plenty, but because they are sworn enemies to solitude and silence. As few horses will bear more than one rider, unless accustomed to it, they immediately throw the female trio, but generally without doing them any injury, except that these Amazons, when seen sprawling like snails upon the ground, excite the mirth of the spectators, and amidst mutual laughter, try to scramble again on to the rustic steed, as often as they are thrown off.

The company of women is attended by a vast number of dogs. As soon as they are mounted, they all look round, and if one be missing out of the many which they keep, begin to call him with their usual *nè nè nè*, repeated as loud as possible a hundred

times, till at last they see them all assembled. I often wondered how, without being able to count, they could so instantly tell if one were missing out of so large a pack. Nor should they be censured for their anxiety about their dogs; for these animals, in travelling, serve as purveyors, being employed, like hounds, to hunt deer, otters, and emus. It is chiefly on this account that every family keeps a great number of dogs, which are supported without any trouble; plenty of provender being always supplied by the heads, hearts, livers, and entrails of the slaughtered cattle; which, though made use of by Europeans, are rejected by the savages. The fecundity of these animals in Paraguay corresponds to the abundance of victuals. They scarce ever bring forth fewer than twelve puppies at a birth. When the period of parturition draws nigh, they dig a very deep burrow, furnished with a narrow opening, and therein securely deposit their young. The descent is so artfully contrived with turnings and windings, that, however rainy the weather may be, no water can penetrate to this subterranean cave. The mother comes out every day to get food and drink, when she moans and wags her tail as if to excuse her absence to her master; at length, at the end of many days, she shows her whelps abroad, though she cer-

tainly cannot boast of their beauty: for the Indian dogs have no elegance of form, they are generally middle-sized, and of various colours, as with us. They are neither so small as the dogs of Malta and Bologna, nor so large as mastiffs. You never see any of those shaggy curly dogs, which are so fond of the water, and so docile, except amongst the Spaniards, who have them sent over in European ships. But though the Indian dogs do not excel in beauty, they are by no means inferior to those of Europe in quickness of scent, in activity, vigilance, and sincere affection for their masters. In every Abiponian colony, some hundred dogs keep continual watch, and by the terrible howling and barking which they nightly utter in chorus, at the slightest motion, perpetually disturbed our sleep, but never secured us from being surprized by the enemy; a troop of whom would often steal into the colony, whilst the whole of the dogs maintained a profound silence. Yet none of the Abipones ever blamed them, foolishly imagining them bewitched by the magic arts of the enemy's jugglers. It may be reckoned amongst the blessings of Paraguay, that it is unacquainted with madness in dogs, or any kind of cattle, and that hydrophobia is unknown here. This must be accounted a singular benefit of Providence, and one of the wonders of nature

in a country where beasts are frequently distressed both with the burning heat of heaven, and with long thirst, for want of water, which is not to be got for many leagues. But let us now take leave of the female riders, and of the dogs that accompany them, and direct our attention to the Abipones, their husbands.

The luggage being all committed to the women, the Abipones travel armed with a spear alone, that they may be disengaged to fight or hunt, if occasion require. If they spy any emus, deer, stags, boars, or other wild animals, they pursue them with swift horses, and kill them with a spear. If they can meet with nothing fit to kill and eat, they set fire to the plain which is covered with tall dry grass, and force the animals, concealed underneath, to leap out by crowds, and in flying from the fire to fall into the cruel hands of the Indians, who kill them with wood, iron, or a string, and afterwards roast them. Should every thing else be wanting, the plains abound in rabbits, to afford a breakfast, dinner, or supper. To strike fire, they have no occasion for either flint or steel, the place of which is supplied by pieces of wood, about a span long, one of which is soft, the other hard. The first, which is a little pierced in the middle, is placed underneath; the harder wood, which has a point

like an acorn, is applied to the bole of the softer, and whirled quickly round with both hands. By this mutual and quick attrition of both woods, a little dust is rubbed off which at the same moment catches fire and emits smoke; to this the Indians apply straw, cow-dung, dry leaves, &c. for fuel. The soft wood used for this purpose is taken either from the tree *ambaỹ*, from the shrub *caraquatà*, or from the cedar; but the harder, which they whirl round with the hand, comes from the tree *tataỹi*, which affords a saffron-coloured wood, as hard as box, and fit for dying clothes yellow, together with mulberries very like those of our own country.

Whenever they think fit to sleep at noon, or pass the night by the way, they anxiously look out for some place affording an opportunity of water, wood, and pasture. If there arise any suspicion of a hostile ambuscade, they hide themselves in lurking holes, rendered inaccessible by the nature of the place. You would say that they and their families are at home, wherever they go, for they carry about mats to serve for a house, as a snail does its shell. Two poles are fixed into the ground, and to them is tied a mat, twice or thrice folded to exclude the wind and rain. That the ground upon which they lie may not be wetted by a heavy shower, they providently dig a little channel at the side

of their tent, that the waters may flow off, and be carried elsewhere. They generally send a tame mare with a bell about her neck to a drove of horses, when they are sent to pasture; for they will never go out of sight of her, and if dispersed up and down the plain, through fear of a tiger, return to her as to their mother; on which account the Spaniards call this mare *la madrina*, and the Abipones, *latè*, which means a mother. For the same reason, on a few of the horses they place shackles of soft leather, that they may crop the grass without wandering far from the tent, and be at hand, if it be found necessary to travel in the night. Not only the men, but even very young women cross rivers without ford, bridge, or boat, by swimming. The children, the saddles, and other luggage are sent over on a bull's hide, called by the Abipones, *ñatacè*, and by the Spaniards, *la pelota*, and generally made use of in crossing the smaller rivers. I will describe the rude structure of it. A hairy, raw, and entirely undressed hide is made almost square, by having the extremities of the feet and neck cut off. The four sides are raised like a hat, to the height of about two spans, and each is tied with a thong, that they may remain erect, and preserve their squareness of form. At the bottom of the *pelota*, the saddles and other luggage are

thrown by way of ballast, in the midst of which the person that is to cross the river, sits, taking care to preserve his balance. Into a hole in the side of the pelota, they insert a thong instead of a rope, which a person, swimming, lays hold of with his teeth and with one hand, whilst he uses the other for an oar, and thus gently draws the pelota along the river, without shaking or endangering the person within in the least, though a high wind may have greatly agitated the waves. If the coldness of the water cramps the man that drags the pelota, so that he is disenabled from swimming, and would otherwise be drowned, he will be carried safely along with the pelota to the opposite bank, by the force of the waves. If rivers of a wider channel and a more rapid stream are to be crossed, the swimmer holds the tail of the horse, which swims before, with one hand, to support himself, and drags the pelota with the other. In so many and such long journies, I practised this sort of navigation almost daily, and not unfrequently repeated it often on the same day. At first it appeared very formidable and dangerous to me. But instructed by frequent practice, I have often laughed at myself and my imaginary danger, and always preferred a hide in crossing a river, to a tottering skiff or boat, which is constantly liable to be

overturned. If many days' rain has wetted the hide, and made it as soft as linen, boughs of trees are placed under the four sides, and the bottom of the pelota, which supports the hide, and strengthens it to cross the river in safety. American captains of Spanish soldiers will not swim, although they know how, that they may not be obliged to strip before their men. To reach, therefore, the opposite shore, they sit upon a pelota, which, scorning the assistance of another person, they impel forwards by two forked boughs for oars.

The Abipones enter even the larger rivers on horseback: but when the ford begins to fail, they leap from their horse into the water. With their right hand they hold the reins of the horse, and row with the same; in their left they grasp a very wide spear, at the end of which they suspend their clothes in the air, that they may not be wetted. Every now and then they give the horse a blow, if he suffers himself to be carried down with the stream, to bring him back to the right course, and make him strain to the appointed part of the opposite shore, which should be neither marshy nor weedy, nor of a very high bank, so that it may afford an easy ascent. It was laughable to see the crowds of savages swimming at my side, with nothing but their heads above water, yet conversing as plea-

santly as others would on the green turf. How often have I crossed those tremendous rivers sitting on a hide in the midst of them! You would have called them so many Neptunes, so familiar were they with the water. Their boldness exceeds the belief of Europeans. Whenever they had a mind to go from St. Ferdinand to Corrientes, they swam across that vast sea, which is composed of the united streams of the great Paraguay and the great Parana, with their horses swimming beside them, to the great astonishment of the Spaniards: for in this part the river is formidable to ships even, from its width, depth, and incredible rapidity, and often filled myself and my companions with terror when we sailed upon it, whilst I resided in that colony. Formerly those savage plunderers, whenever they hastened home with a great number of beasts taken from the Spaniards, prudently crossed this immense river towards the South, going from island to island; by which means they had time to recruit themselves and their beasts, after the fatigue of swimming, in each of the islands. It will be worth while to describe the manner in which many thousands of horses, mules, and oxen, are sent across great rivers to the opposite shore. The herd of beasts is not all driven by one person, but divided into companies, each of

which is inclosed behind and on both sides, by men on horseback, to keep them from running away: to prevent which, some erect two hedges, wider at the beginning, and narrower at the shore itself, through which the beasts are driven, so that more than two or three cannot enter the river at a time. The tame oxen and horses are sent first into the water, and the wild ones follow without delay. Great care must be taken, that they be not deprived of the power of swimming, by being too much crowded. Behind and on both sides the beasts are watched by Indians, either swimming, or conveyed in a little bark, that they may make straight for the opposite shore: for when left alone, they suffer themselves to be carried down by the stream, and float to those places which forbid all access, on account of the high banks, marshes, or trees, by which they are impeded. If an ox or a horse be whirled round in swimming, it will be sucked up by the water, unable to exert itself any longer. To prevent this, the Abipones, even in the midst of the river, mount those oxen, that are either sluggish or refractory, and taking hold of their horns with both hands, sit upon their backs, striking their sides with both feet, till, in spite of themselves, they are guided to the opposite shore. When arrived at land, fear gives way to rage,

and they attack every thing that comes in their way, with their threatening horns. You will hardly believe that I always found fierce bulls less dexterous in crossing rivers, than cows, which, on account of the greater timidity of their nature, are more obedient to the driver, and strain more eagerly to the shore. Oxen tied by the horns to a tolerably large boat often swim across in perfect security: for as the heads of the animals are suspended on each side the boat, their bodies scarcely find any difficulty in swimming. In this manner I sent twenty oxen at a time from the estate, to the colony of the Rosary, across the river Paraguay. More or fewer oxen may be tied to the bark, according to the size of it. Sometimes the herd of beasts is surrounded by long barks or skiffs on every side, lest, when weary of swimming, they should float down with the stream, and wander from that part of the shore that had been fixed on for their ascent. But the Abipones, not needing these precautions of the Spaniards, could successfully transport crowds of swimming oxen across any rivers, themselves swimming beside them. This expertness of the Abipones in swimming across rivers, I have long desired to see in European armies, which are often prevented from attacking the enemy, by the intervention of some

large river, though every thing conspired to yield them an easy victory, if the soldiers could cross the river by swimming, without the noise of bridges or boats. But, alas! out of a numerous army, how few are able to swim! Much service has indeed been rendered the Austrian camp, by the Croatian forces, who, not waiting for boats or bridges, have so often surprized the enemy on the opposite shore, apprehending no hostilities.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE FORM AND MATERIALS OF CLOTHING, AND OF
THE FABRIC OF OTHER UTENSILS.

THOSE persons are egregiously mistaken, who imagine that all the Americans, without distinction, wear no other clothes than those in which they were born. This error seems to have arisen from the misrepresentations of pictures or engravings, in which every American Indian is pourtrayed like a hairy Satyr, or like one of the Cyclops, Brontes, or Steropes, or naked Pyracmon. I do not deny that there do exist in America nations entirely destitute of clothing; but that this nakedness is common to them all, is very far from being true. The Payaguas are abominated by the other Indians, because they are unacquainted with dress and with modesty. They think themselves elegantly attired when they are painted with various colours from head to foot, and loaded with glass beads. We found that the Mbayas had plenty of clothes, but made a bad use of them: for they cover those parts of the body which may safely be exposed to the eyes of all, and bare those which modesty commands to be con-

cealed. The Abipones, when I asked them their opinion of the Mbayas, said they thought them like dogs, because they were as impudent. My companions too, who dwelt amongst them, complained much to me of their shamelessness and public indecencies. The women, however, of both nations wear that degree of clothing which modesty requires. In the woods called Mbaeverà, or Mborebiretâ, the country of the antas, I found the men clothed up to the middle with a thin veil, and naked every where else; but the female Indians are decently clothed from the shoulders to the heels, with a white cloth which they weave themselves. I observed the same amongst the wood-Indians who wander on the shores of the Tapiraguaỹ and the Yeyuy, crowds of whom were brought by the Jesuits to the new colony of St. Stanislaus. An old Indian woman and her daughter fifteen years of age, whom I found in the woods betwixt the rivers Mondaỹ and Empalado, wore nothing but a net woven of the hemp caraquatà, in which they slept at night, so that the same dress, which was certainly too transparent, served them both for bed and clothing.

I can truly say of the Abipones, that whilst they were in a state of barbarism, and roamed up and down like brutes, they were all decently, and, in their fashion, elegantly clothed. They

will not suffer a female infant, a few months old even, to remain naked. We have often vainly desired to see this decency imitated by the Spaniards in Paraguay, especially those of the cities Asumpcion and Corrientes. How often do grown women allege the excessive heat of the sun as an excuse for throwing off their clothes, without the least regard to modesty, in the public street! For this they are frequently reprehended by preachers, both in public and private. Do you wish to be made acquainted with the kind of clothing which the Abipones wear? They use a square piece of linen, without any alteration, or addition of sleeves, thrown over their shoulders, tying one end of it to the left arm, and leaving the right disengaged. They confine this woollen garment, which displays various colours, and flows from the shoulders to the heels, with a woollen girth. In leaping on to a horse they keep back their dress with their knees, that they may not be quite bare: for they know of no such things as shoes, stockings, or drawers, and are for that reason better prepared to swim rivers, and ride on horseback. Besides this vest which I have described, they throw another square piece of linen over their shoulders, by way of a cloak, which, tied in a knot under the neck, both defends them against the cold, and gives them a

respectable appearance. When they are hewing down a tree, and are afraid of being fatigued, they will sometimes throw off their clothes, if they be out of sight. Some strip themselves quite naked when they are going to join battle with the savages, partly that, being lighter, they may be so much the more expeditious in avoiding their adversaries' weapons, partly, that they may appear to despise wounds. In long journeys, they generally go bareheaded amidst rain, heat, and wind. Some, however, tie a piece of red woollen cloth round their forehead, which is a great defence against the heat of the sun and pains in the head. They greatly prize a European hat, especially the young men, who likewise are much delighted with Spanish saddles, with spurs, and iron bridles. The women wear the same dress as the men, adjusted in rather a different manner.

The clothing of the Abipones is the chief employment of the women, who are commendable for their assiduity, and almost avidity in labour: for not to mention the daily business of the house, they shear sheep, spin the wool very neatly, dye it beautifully, by the aid of alum, with any colours they may have at hand, and afterwards weave it into cloth, adorned with a great number of lines and figures, and with a variety of colours. You would take it for a

Turkey carpet, worthy of noblemen's houses in Europe. The loom and the instruments of which it consists are confined to a few reeds and sticks. The American women seem to have a natural talent for making various useful articles. They can mould pots and jugs of various forms of clay, not with the assistance of a turning machine, like potters, but with their hands alone. These clay vessels they bake, not in an oven, but out of doors, placing sticks round them. They cannot glaze them with lead, but they first dye them of a red colour, and then rub them with a kind of glue to make them shine. There is never any snow, and very little frost, in the region inhabited by the Abipones: but when the South wind blows hard, the air becomes very piercing, and sometimes intolerably so to persons thinly clad. The Abipones shield themselves from the cold with a cloak made of otters' skins. This garment, which is likewise square, is laboriously and elegantly made by the women: whose business it is to strip off the skins of the otters, after they have been caught by dogs, and then fix them to the ground with very slender pegs, that they may not wrinkle. After being dried, they are painted red, in square lines like a dice box. The Indian women cannot dress hides like cur-

riers, but after having well rubbed and softened them with their hands, they sew them with a very thin thread, with so much skill, that the seams escape the quickest eye, and the whole cloak looks like one skin. For needles they use very small thorns, with which they pierce the otters' skins, as shoemakers do leather with an awl, so that the slender thread of the *caraquatà* can be passed through it. This cloak is commonly used both by men and women, when the air is cold; but the old people of both sexes will not part with a hair of these otters' skins, even in the hottest weather. Some of the poorer sort appear clothed in the skins of stags, does, and tigers. All the Americans, who are not entirely devoid of modesty, cover themselves with skins to keep out the cold. Others substitute, or wear in addition, the many coloured feathers of birds, sewed together with singular art; but this is more for the sake of adorning than of covering the body. The savages who inhabit the mountains, generally make threads of the *caraquatà*, or of the bark of the tree *pinô*, with which they weave a kind of cloth to serve in part for a covering. The Abiponian widows, whilst they mourn for their husbands, cover their shorn heads and their shoulders with this same kind of cloth. When

the Abipones are bathed in sweat, the otters' skins, from not being dressed, exhale, I confess, a by no means balsamic odour. On coldish nights they are used for counterpanes. These skins and cloaks, when worn by use, generally serve to wrap and cover infants, and, when they have no linen in the house, to bind up wounds.

In former ages the Americans preferred nakedness to clothing so greatly, that they refused or threw away the garments offered them by the Europeans. Now, however, the ardour with which the Paraguayrian Indians seek fine dresses exceeds belief. Give them a handsome hat, some pieces of red linen or cloth, or a string of glass-beads, and they will pay you the profoundest homage and obedience. Day and night did the Abipones pester us with the following petition: Give me a dress, father! *Payè! Tachcaué hihilalk, or aapaâaik.* There is no surer method of gaining the hearts of the Indians than giving them clothes. No American colony will abound in Christian inhabitants, unless it also abound in sheep and oxen; the wool of the former being necessary to clothe, and the flesh of the latter to feed the bodies of the Indians. If both or either of these articles be wanting, they will return to their

retreats, and think themselves richer in being foes than friends to the Spaniards. For, as I have often heard them complain, they found war with the Christians more to their advantage than peace. In times of declared enmity, they acquired by arms what, when peace was established, they failed of obtaining by prayers. The most eloquent teacher of God's word will do but little good in Paraguay, unless he be liberal in clothing and feeding his disciples. Should an angel descend from Heaven to make the Abipones acquainted with God and his commandments, if he should come empty handed, unprovided with clothes, food, and other gifts, it would be all in vain, he would scarce obtain a hearing. Were the blackest demon to come up from hell, and offer them chests full of clothes, food, knives, scissars, rings, and glass-beads, he would be called captain, and find all the Abipones tractable and obedient. If you ask me why the Americans have not all been induced to embrace Christianity, I will tell you the reason. It is chiefly owing to the pernicious examples of the old Christians, and to their want of liberality to the Indians; the former deter them from embracing our religion, while the latter renders them apostates to it. Another cause is to be found in the

extreme, and almost incredible scarcity of priests to instruct them, and indeed of all things. After perusing the latter part of my history, you will perhaps be better inclined to credit what I say.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ABIPONES.

THE Abipones, in their whole deportment, preserve a decorum scarce credible to Europeans. Their countenance and gait display a modest cheerfulness, and manly gravity tempered with gentleness and kindness. Nothing licentious, indecent, or uncourteous, is discoverable in their actions. In their daily meetings, all is quiet and orderly. Confused vociferations, quarrels, or sharp words, have no place there. They love jokes in conversation, but are averse to indecency and ill-nature. If any dispute arises, each declares his opinion with a calm countenance and unruffled speech: they never break out into clamours, threats, and reproaches, as is usual to certain people of Europe. These praises are justly due to the Abipones as long as they remain sober: but when intoxicated, they shake off the bridle of reason, become distracted; and quite unlike themselves. In their assemblies, they maintain the utmost politeness. One scarcely dares to interrupt another, when he is speaking. Whilst one man relates some

event of war, perhaps for half an hour together, all the rest not only listen attentively, but assent at every sentence, making a loud snort, as a sign of affirmation, which they every now and then express with these words: *quevorken*, certainly, *cleerà*, very true, and *chik akalagritan*, I don't in the least doubt it. *Ta yeegàm*, or *kem ekemat!* are exclamations of wonder. With these words, uttered with great eagerness, they interrupt the preacher in the midst of his discourse, thinking it a mark of respect. They account it extremely ill-mannered to contradict any one, however much he may be mistaken. They salute one another, and return the salute in these words: *La nauichi?* Now are you come? *La ñauè*, Now I am come. But in general, for the sake of brevity, both parties only use the word *Là*, pronounced with much emphasis. The same manner of saluting is usual to the Guaranies, who say *Ereyupà?* Are you come? *Ayù angá*, I am come. When tired of a conversation, they never depart without taking leave of the master of the house. The one who sits nearest to him, says: *Ma chik kla leyà?* Have we not talked enough? the second accosts the third, and the third the fourth, in the same words, till at length the last of the circle, seated on the ground, declares that they have talked enough: *Kla leyà*, upon

which they all rise up together at one moment. Each then courteously takes leave of the master of the house in these words, *Lahikyegarik*: now I am going from you; to which he replies, *Lamicheroù*: now you are going from me. The plebeian Indians say *Lahik*, now I am going. When at the door of the house, that is, at the place where they go out, for they have no doors, they turn to the master, and say, *Tamtaâra*, I shall see you again, an expression commonly made use of in our country. They would think it quite contrary to the laws of good-breeding, were they to meet any one, and not ask him where he was going: so that the word *Miekaùè?* or *Mickauchitè?* where are you going? resounds in the streets.

The men think polygamy and divorce allowable, from the example of their ancestors, and of other American nations; but very few of the Abipones indulge in this liberty. Repudiation is much more common than a plurality of wives. But very many are content with one wife during the whole of their lives. They think it both wicked and disgraceful to have any illicit connection with other women; so that adultery is almost unheard-of amongst them. Both boys and girls display a native hilarity in their countenances, yet you never see them in company, or talking together.

Some time after my arrival, I played on the flute in the open street. The crowd of women were delighted with the sweetness of a musical instrument they had never before seen; and the youths flocked in numbers to hear it; but as soon as they approached, the women every one disappeared. The custom of bathing in a neighbouring stream is agreeable to them, and practised every day, except when the air is too cold. But do not imagine that, as syrens and dolphins are seen sporting on the same waves in the ocean, males and females swim and wash in the same part of the lake, or river. According to the Abiponian custom, the different sexes have different places assigned them. Where the women bathe, you cannot find the shadow of a man. Above a hundred women often go out to distant plains together to collect various fruits, roots, colours, and other useful things, and remain four or eight days in the country, without having any male to accompany them on their journey, assist them in their labours, take care of the horses, or guard them amidst the perils of wild beasts, or of enemies. Those Amazons are sufficient to themselves, and think they are safer alone. I never heard of a single woman being torn to pieces by a tiger, or bitten by a serpent: but I knew many men who were killed in both ways.

I do not deny that the Abipones have been savage, inhuman, and ferocious, but only against those whom they believed to be their enemies. Before peace was established, they afflicted all Paraguay, for many years, with fire, slaughter, and rapine; but this they looked upon as the privilege of war, and indeed a thing to be gloried in, because they always found or suspected the Spaniards their enemies. They thought they were only repelling force by force, and returning injuries for injuries, slaughters for slaughters; which they deny to be wrong or dishonourable; seeing the same so frequently done, in time of war, by the Spaniards to the Portuguese, and by the Portuguese to the Spaniards. Led by their example, they insisted upon it that they should not be called assassins, and thieves, but soldiers, whose duty it is to offend their adversaries, and defend themselves and their possessions to the utmost of their power. The heads of the Spaniards severed from their shoulders, they called their trophies, and preserved as testimonials of their valour. The innumerable herds of cattle, the thousands of horses, in short whatever they took from the Spaniards, they called booty justly obtained in war. They always disown the name of robbers, in the plea that all the cattle of the Spaniards, by right, belongs to them; because, born on lands which

the Spaniards forcibly wrested from their ancestors, and which, in their opinion, they at this day unjustly usurp. To eradicate these errors, we all ardently strove to instil into their ferocious minds an affection and friendship for the Spaniards; but our efforts were not crowned with success. Although they burnt with hereditary hatred to the Spaniards, yet, in their very manner of killing them, they displayed a sort of humanity. They inflicted death, but thought it unworthy of them, after the mortal blow, to torture, excruciate, tear, and mangle them, like other savages; though they were wonderfully solicitous about cutting off their heads, by displaying which they thought to testify their valour to their countrymen at home. They generally spared the unwarlike, and carried away innocent boys and girls unhurt. They used to feed infants, torn from their mothers' breasts, with the juice of fruits and herbs, during a long journey, and carried them home uninjured. If ever mothers, or their children, were slain, it was done by youths thirsting for the blood of the Spaniards, or by grown men enraged at the deaths of their countrymen whom the Spaniards had slain.

The Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, or Mulattoes, taken by them in war, they do not ill-use like captives, but treat with kindness, and in-

dulgence; I had almost said like children. If a master wants his captive to do any thing, he signifies it in an asking, not a commanding tone. *If you please*, he gently says, or *take compassion on me*, and *bring me my horse*, *Amamàt gröhöchem*, or *Grcáuagiikàm*, *yañerla ahöpegak tak nahörechi ena*. I never saw a captive, however dilatory or hesitating in performing his master's orders, punished either with a word or a blow. Many display the tenderest compassion, kindness, and confidence towards their captives. To clothe them, they will strip their own bodies, and though very hungry, will deprive themselves of food to offer it them, if they stand in need of it. An old woman, wife of the chief Cacique Alaykin, has frequently got the horse ready and saddled it, in my presence, for a Negro captive of her's. Another old woman, mother of the Cacique Revachigi, gave up her bed for many nights to a sick boy, one of her captives, and, lying miserably on the floor herself, watched day and night in attendance upon him. By this kindness and wish to gratify, they bind their captives so firmly to them, that they never think of taking advantage of the daily opportunities afforded them of flight, being perfectly well satisfied with their situation. I knew many, who, after being ransomed, and brought back to their own country,

voluntarily returned to their Abiponian masters, whom they follow both to the chase and to the combat; little scrupulous about shedding the blood of Spaniards, though Spaniards themselves. What a subject for lamentation have we here! How many Spaniards by birth, brought up from childhood amongst the Abipones, and instructed in their ceremonies, customs, and a hundred arts of injury, became the destroyers of Paragúay, their native soil! Whenever these men were present at the bloody expeditions of the savages, they were not only companions of the journey, but guides and partakers in all the slaughter, burning, and plundering committed at such times; in a word, instruments of public calamities, in the same manner as the Portugueze, Spanish, and Italian renegadoes, who did so much service to the pirates of Algiers and Morocco, by intercepting the vessels of their countrymen.

Now at this moment I have before my eyes the countenances and wicked actions of many of these captives, whom I knew amongst the Abipones, and who, in desire of injuring the Spaniards, and indeed in savageness, exceeded the savages themselves. The soldiers of St. Iago, whilst resting at noon in an excursion to Chaco, happened to cast their eyes upon a skull, and after much debate about whom it

could belong to, clearly discovered that a short time previous, four Spaniards had been slain in that place, and that the perpetrator of the murder was a Spaniard, a captive, and leader of the Abipones, and more formidable to the Spanish nation than any Abipon. Many things worthy of relation will occur respecting this base crew, respecting Almaráz, Casco, Juanico, a Negro of Corrientes, Juan Joseph, an Ytatingua Indian, and above all, respecting Juan Diaz Caëperlahachin. This last, an Abipon by origin, had been taken in war by the Spaniards, when a boy, and afterwards converted to their religion. During twenty years which he spent in the town of St. Iago, in the service of the Spaniard Juan Diaz Caëperlahachin, he evinced much probity, and even piety. Every year, in the last week of Lent, did he publicly mangle his back with a bloody scourge; but after having effected his escape, and got back to his countrymen, he became the scourge of the Spaniards, and shedding torrents of their blood, obtained a high renown amongst his own people, to whom his knowledge of roads and places rendered him eminently useful; for, in expeditions having the slaughter of the Spaniards for their object, no man discharged the offices of scout and leader more gloriously or more willingly than he. Peace being subse-

quently established with the Spaniards, and the colony of Concepcion founded for the Abipones, this man, who was acquainted with many languages, performed the part of interpreter there; abusing which office to his own purposes, he left no stone unturned to render the friendship of the Spaniards suspicious, the religion of Christ, and us, the teachers of that religion, odious to the Abiponian catechumens. Feigning, however, piety and friendship, this crafty knave succeeded in gaining an excellent character amongst the credulous Spaniards and Abipones, though dangerous to both, and perfectly intolerable to us who governed the colony. But lo! the pestilent son had a still more pestilent mother. This woman, the chief of all the female jugglers, a hundred years old, venerable to the people on account of her wrinkles, and formidable by reason of the magic arts she was thought to be acquainted with, never ceased exhorting her countrymen to shun and detest the church, our instruction, and baptism, even when administered to dying infants. Behold! a mother worthy of her son—a bad egg of a bad crow! But the vengeance of God overtook this accursed old woman. Flying from the town, with a band of her hordesmen, she was killed by the Mocobios,

along with many others. Of what death, or in what place Caëperlahachin died, I am still ignorant.

The liberty of wandering at will, the abundant supply of food and clothing, the multitude of horses, the power of being as idle and profligate as they chose, and the completest impunity, where neither law nor censure is to be apprehended, bind the Spanish captives to the Abipones with so sweet a chain, that they prefer their captivity to freedom, forgetful of their relations and their country, where they know that they must live in obedience to the laws, and labour daily, unless they choose to endure stripes and hunger. I have known captives of so bad a disposition that their masters were glad to get rid of them without ransom. In many of the captives you would look in vain for the least trace of a Christian, or even of a man. Very few of the Abipones have many wives at a time, though they account polygamy lawful; the captives, seldom content with one, marry as many Spanish or Indian captives as they can. For the Abiponian women scorn to marry either Spaniards, or Indians of any other nation, unless, by the splendour of their achievements, namely, slaughters and rapine, they be reputed Abipones in nobility. The men too, accounting themselves

more noble than any other nation, never deign to marry the Spanish captives, much less to have any clandestine intercourse with them: so that their virtue would be safer in captivity amongst the savages, than in freedom amongst their own countrymen, could they escape the seductive arts of their fellow captives. In confession, I found most of the female Spaniards, after a very long captivity amongst the Abipones, guilty of no trespass upon the laws of chastity. They all agreed in confessing that no woman need go astray amongst these savages, unless she herself chose it. I can say as much for the continence of the young men, who had been long captives amongst them.

The gentle reader will pardon this digression concerning captives, if indeed it be a digression, because it does much towards establishing a good opinion of the chastity and benevolence of the Abipones, which form the subject of the present chapter, and will be further confirmed by additional arguments. They hospitably entertain Spaniards of the lower order, Negroes or Christian Indians, who have run away from their masters, lost their way, or, by some other means, chanced to enter the hordes of the Abipones, and, in the most friendly manner, offer them food or any thing else they may stand in need of; this they do the more cordially the

more liberally these strangers abuse the Spanish nation; but if they neglect this they are taken for spies, and undergo considerable danger. They diligently watched over the safety of us Jesuits, to whom was committed the management of the colonies. If they were aware of any danger impending over us from foreign foes, they acquainted us with it immediately, and were all intent upon warding it from us. In journies, when rivers were to be crossed, the horses got ready, sudden and secret attacks of the enemy to be avoided or repelled, it is incredible how anxiously they offered us their assistance. See! what mild, benevolent souls these savages possess! Though they used to rob and murder the Spaniards whilst they thought them their enemies, yet they never take anything from their own countrymen. Hence, as long as they are sober, and in possession of their senses, homicide and theft are almost unheard of amongst them. They are often and long absent from their homes, during which time they leave their little property without a guard, or even a door, exposed to the eyes and hands of all, with no apprehension of the loss of it, and on their return from a long journey, find every thing untouched. The doors, locks, bars, chests, and guards with which Europeans defend their possessions from thieves, are things

unknown to the Abipones, and quite unnecessary to them. Boys and girls not unfrequently pilfered melons grown in our gardens, and chickens reared in our houses, but in them the theft was excusable; for they falsely imagined that these things were free to all, or might be taken not much against the will of the owner. Though I have enlarged on the native virtues of the Abipones more than it was my intention to do, I shall think nothing has been said till I have made a few observations relative to their endurance of labour. Who can describe the constant fatigues of war and hunting which they undergo? When they make an excursion against the enemy, they often spend two or three months in an arduous journey of above three hundred leagues through desert wilds. They swim across vast rivers, and long lakes more dangerous than rivers. They traverse plains of great extent, destitute both of wood and water. They sit for whole days on saddles scarce softer than wood, without having their feet supported by a stirrup. Their hands always bear the weight of a very long spear. They generally ride trotting horses, which miserably shake the rider's bones by their jerking pace. They go bare-headed amidst burning sun, profuse rain, clouds

of dust, and hurricanes of wind. They generally cover their bodies with woollen garments, which fit close to the skin; but if the extreme heat obliges them to throw these off as far as the middle, their breasts, shoulders, and arms are cruelly bitten and covered with blood by swarms of flies, gad-flies, gnats, and wasps. As they always set out upon their journeys unfurnished with provisions, they are obliged to be constantly on the look out for wild animals, which they may pursue, kill, and convert into a remedy for their hunger. As they have no cups they pass the night by the side of rivers or lakes, out of which they drink like dogs. But this opportunity of getting water is dearly purchased; for moist places are not only seminaries of gnats and serpents, but likewise the haunts of dangerous wild beasts, which threaten them with sleepless nights and peril of their lives. They sleep upon the hard ground, either starved with cold, or parched with heat, and if overtaken by a storm, often lie awake, soaking in water the whole night. When they perform the office of scouts, they frequently have to creep on their hands and feet over trackless woods, and through forests, to avoid discovery; passing days and nights without sleep or food. This also was the case when they were long pursued by the enemy,

and forced to hasten their flight. All these things the Abipones do, and suffer without ever complaining, or uttering an expression of impatience, unlike Europeans, who, at the smallest inconvenience, get out of humour, grow angry, and since they cannot bend heaven to their will, call upon hell. What we denominate patience is nature with them. Their minds are habituated to inconvenience, and their bodies almost rendered insensible by long custom, even from childhood. While yet children they imitate their fathers in piercing their breasts and arms with sharp thorns, without any manifestation of pain. Hence it is, that when arrived at manhood, they bear their wounds without a groan, and would think the compassion of others derogatory to their fortitude. The most acute pain will deprive them of life before it will extort a sigh. The love of glory, acquired by the reputation of fortitude, renders them invincible, and commands them to be silent.

Most of the observations I have just been making apply both to men and women, although the latter possess virtues and vices peculiar to themselves. All the Americans have a natural propensity to sloth, but I gladly pronounce the Abiponian women entirely free from this foible. Every one must be astonished at their unwea-

ried industry. They despatch the household business with which they are daily overwhelmed, with alacrity and cheerfulness. It is their task to make clothes for their husbands and children; to fetch eatable roots, and various fruits from the woods; to gather the alfaroba, grind it, and convert it into drink, and to get water and wood for the daily consumption of the family. A ridiculous custom is in use amongst the Abipones, of making the most aged woman in the horde provide water for all domestic purposes. Though the river may be close at hand, the water is always fetched in large pitchers on horseback, and the same method is observed in getting wood for fuel. You will never hear one of these women complain of fatigue, however many cares she may have to employ her mind. A noble Spaniard had a captive Abiponian woman in his service many years, and he assured me that she was more useful and valuable to him than three other servants, because she anticipated his orders, and did her business seasonably, accurately, and quickly. They justly claim the epithet of the *devout female sex*. No sooner do they hear the sound of the bell than they all fly to hear the Christian religion explained, and listen to the preacher with attentive ears. They highly approve the law of Christ, because by it no husband is allowed to put

away his wife, or to marry more than one. For this reason they are extremely anxious to have themselves and their husbands baptized, that they may be rendered more certain of the perpetuity of their marriage. This must be understood only of the younger women; for the old ones, who are obstinate adherers to their ancient superstitions, and priestesses of the savage rites, strongly oppose the Christian religion, foreseeing that if it were embraced by the whole Abiponian nation, they should lose their authority, and become the scorn and the derision of all. The young men amongst the Abipones, as well as the old women, greatly withstood the progress of religion; for, burning with the desire of military glory and of booty, they are excessively fond of cutting off the heads of the Spaniards, and plundering their waggons and estates, which they know to be forbidden by the law of God. Hence, they had rather adhere to the institutes of their ancestors, and traverse the country on swift horses, than listen to the words of a priest within the walls of a church. If it depended upon the old men and the young women alone, the whole nation would long since have embraced our religion.

Honourable mention has been frequently made by me of the chastity of the Abiponian women:

it would be wrong to be silent upon their sobriety and temperance. It costs them much labour to prepare a sweet drink for their husbands of honey and the alfaroba: but they never even taste it themselves, being condemned to pure water the whole of their lives. Would that they as carefully abstained from strife and contentions, as they do from all strong drink! Quarrels certainly do arise amongst them, and often end in blood, upon the most trivial occasions. They generally dispute about things of no consequence, about goats' wool, as Horace expresses it, or the shadow of an ass. One word uttered by a scolding woman is often the cause and means of exciting a mighty war. The Abipones, in anger, use the following terms of reproach: *Acami Lanaîaik*, you are an Indian, that is, plebeian, ignoble; *Acami Lichiegaîaik*, you are poor, wretched; *Acami Ahamîaik*, you are dead. They sometimes dreadfully misapply these epithets. Who would not laugh to hear a horse, flying as quick as lightning, but which his rider wishes to incite to greater speed, called *Ahamîaik*, dead? When two women quarrel, one calls the other poor, or low-born, or perhaps lifeless. Presently a loud vociferation is heard, and from words they proceed to blows. The whole company of women crowd

to the market-place, not merely to look on, but to give assistance as they shall think proper. Some defend the one, some the other. The duel soon becomes a battle-royal. They fly at each other's breasts with their teeth like tigers, and often give them bloody bites. They lacerate one another's cheeks with their nails, rend their hair with their hands, and tear the hole of the flap of the ear, into which the roll of palm-leaves is inserted. Though a husband sees his wife, and a father his daughter, bathed in blood and covered with wounds, yet they look on at a distance, with motionless feet, silent tongues, and calm eyes; they applaud their Amazons, laugh, and wonder to see such anger in the souls of women, but would think it beneath a man to take any part in these female battles. If there appears no hope of the restoration of peace, they go to the Father: "See!" say they, "our women are out of their senses again to-day. Go, and frighten them away with a musket." Alarmed at the noise, and even at the sight of this, they hasten back to their tents, but even from thence, with a Stentorian voice, repeat the word which had been the occasion of the combat, and, neither liking to seem conquered, return again and again to the market-place, and renew the fight. It seems to have been a regu-

lation of divine Providence, that the Abiponian women should abstain from all strong liquors, for, if so furious when sober, what would they have been in a state of intoxication? The whole race of the Abipones would have been utterly destroyed.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE ABIPONES.

THE multitude and variety of tongues spoken in Paraguay alone, exceeds alike belief and calculation. Nor should you imagine that they vary only in dialect. Most of them are radically different. Truly admirable is their varied structure, of which no rational person can suppose these stupid savages to have been the architects and inventors. Led by this consideration, I have often affirmed that the variety and artful construction of languages should be reckoned amongst the other arguments to prove the existence of an eternal and omniscient God. The Jesuits have given religious instructions to fourteen nations of Paraguay, and widely propagated the Christian faith, in fourteen different languages. They did not each understand them all, but every one was well acquainted with two or three, namely, those of the nations amongst whom they had lived. Of the number of these was I, who spent seven years amongst the Abipones, eleven amongst the Guaranies. The nations for whom we laboured, and for whom founded colonies, were the Guaranies,

Chiquitos, Mocobios, Abipones, Tobas, Malbalaes, Vilelas, Passaines, Lules, Isistines, Homampas, Chunipies, Mataguayos, Chiriguanes, Lenguas or Guaycurùs, Mbayas, Pampas, Serranos, Patagones, and Yaròs. Moreover, the Guichua language, which is peculiar to the whole of Peru, and very familiar to Negro slaves, to the lower orders amongst the Spaniards, and even to matrons of the higher ranks in Tucuman, was used by many of the Jesuits, both in preaching and confession. Different languages were spoken too in the towns of the Chiquitos, which were composed of very different nations. The languages of the Abipones, Mocobios, and Tobas, certainly have all one origin, and are as much alike as Spanish and Portugueze. Yet they differ not only in dialect, but also in innumerable little words. The same may be said of the Tonocotè language, in use amongst the Lules and Isistines. The language of the Chiriguanes and Guaranies, who live full five hundred leagues apart, is the same, with the exception of a few words, which may be easily learnt in the course of two or three weeks by any one who understands either of them.

Many writers upon America have interspersed sentences of the Indian languages into their histories; but, good Heavens! how utterly de-

fective and corrupted! They have scarce left a letter unmutilated. But these writers are excusable, for they have drawn their information from corrupted sources. Without having even entered America, they insert into their journals the words of savage languages, the meaning and pronounciation of which they are totally ignorant of. Hence it is that the American names of places, rivers, trees, plants, and animals, are so wretchedly mutilated in all books, that we can hardly read them without laughter. Spanish children, by constantly conversing with Indians of their own age, imbibe a correct knowledge of the Indian languages, which, to grown-up persons, is a business both of time and labour. I have known adults who, after conversing many years with the Indians, uttered as many errors as syllables. It is difficult for a European to accustom his tongue to the strange and distorted words which the savages pronounce so fast and indistinctly, hissing with their tongues, snoring with their nostrils, grinding with their teeth, and gurgling with their throats; so that you seem to hear the sound of ducks quacking in a pond, rather than the voices of men talking. Learned men had long wished that a person who understood some American language would clearly expound the system, construction, and whole anatomy of it:

and it is to comply with the desire of these persons that I am going to treat compendiously of the Abiponian language.

Most of the Americans want some letter which we Europeans use, and use some which we want. A letter of very frequent occurrence amongst the Abipones, but which we Europeans are unacquainted with, is one which has the mixed sound of R and G. To pronounce it properly, the tongue must be slided a little along the roof of the mouth, and brought towards the throat, in the manner of those persons who have a natural incapacity of pronouncing the letter R. To signify this peculiar letter of the Abipones, we have written R or G indiscriminately, but distinguished by a certain mark, thus: *Laetaâat*, a son: *Achibiâaik*, salt. The plural number changes R into K, thus: *Laetkâte*, sons. Europeans find much difficulty in pronouncing this letter, especially if it recur several times in the same word, as in *Raâegâanâaik*, a Vilela Indian. *Rellaâanâanè potròl*, he hunts wild horses. *Lapââatâaik*, many-coloured. The Abipones can distinguish an European, however well-skilled in every other part of their language, by the pronunciation of this letter.

The Abipones use the ö, which the Paraguayians write ë with two dots, like the French, Hungarians, and Germans: as *Ahèpegak*, a

horse, *Yahëc*, my face. They make frequent use of the Greek K. They pronounce N like the Spaniards, as if the letter I was added to it: thus, *Español* must be pronounced *Espaniol*. The Abipones say *Menetañi*, it is within; *Yoramcachiñi*, the inner part is good. The legitimate pronunciation of this and other letters can only be learned *vivá voce*.

Great attention must be paid to all the different accents and points, for the omission of a point, or the variation of an accent, gives a word a totally different meaning, thus: *Heét*, I fly; *Hëët*, I speak; *Háten*, I despise; *Hateñ*, I hit the mark. This language abounds in very long words, consisting of ten, twenty, or more letters. The accents repeated in the same word show where the voice should be raised and where lowered: for the speech of this nation is very much modulated, and resembles singing. The accents alone are scarce sufficient to teach the pronunciation. It would not be amiss to subjoin musical notes to each of the syllables, unless a master supersedes the necessity of this artifice by teaching it *vivá voce*. It may be as well to give some examples of accents. *Hamihégemkiñ*, *Debáyakaikin*, *Raregrâgrëmañachiñ*, *Oahérkaikiñ*. These are names of Abipones. *Grcáuagyégarigé*, pity me. *Oaháyegalgè*, free me. *Hapagrañütapagetá*, you teach one another.

Ñicauagrañiapegaâlgé, I intercede for thee. *Hemokáchiñiitápegioà*, thou praisest me. Here are words of twenty letters. You will not find many monosyllables. The tall Abipones like words which resemble themselves in length.

They have a masculine and a feminine gender, but no neuter. A knowledge of the genders is to be gained by use alone. *Grahaulái*, the sun, is feminine with them, like the German *Die Sonne*. *Grauwèk*, the moon, is masculine, as our *Der Monde*. Some adjectives are of both genders, as *Nuà*, which is evil, both masculine and feminine. *Neeù*, good, of both genders. In others every gender has its own termination, as *Ariaiik*, good, noble, *mas.* *Ariayè*, good, noble, *fem.* *Cachergaik*, an old man; *Cachergayè*, an old woman.

The nouns have no cases. A letter prefixed to the noun sometimes indicates the case: as, *Aynè*, I; *M'aynè*, to me; *Akami*, thou; *M'akami*, to thee.

The formation of the plural number of nouns is very difficult to beginners; for it is so various that hardly any rule can be set down. I give you some examples:

<i>Singular.</i>	<i>Plural.</i>
Laetañat, a son	Laetkatè, sons
Lekàt, a metal	Lekachì, metals
Ahèpegak, a horse	Ahèpèga, horses
Yúihák, an ox	Yúihà, oxen

Nekététàk, a goose	Neketéteri, geese
Oachígranigà, a stag	Oachigranigal, stags
Iñieñà, the flower of the alfa- roba, or a year	Iñiegari, flowers, or years
Neogà, a day	Neogotà, days
Eergāik, a star	Eèrgāiè, stars
Aápañàik, linen or woollen cloth	Aapañàikà, pieces of cloth
Yapòt, a brave man	Yapochì, brave men
Lachaogè, a river	Lachaokè, rivers
Letèk, the leaf of a tree	Letegkè, leaves
Ketélk, a mule	Ketelñà, mules
Panà, a root	Panarì, roots
Ìbichigì, angry, <i>sing.</i>	Ìbichigeri, angry, <i>plur.</i>

From these few examples it appears that nouns ending in the same letter have different plurals. Moreover, as the Greeks, beside a plural number, have also a dual by which they express two things, so the Abipones have two plurals, of which the one signifies more than one, the other many: thus *Joalé*, a man. *Joaleè*, or *Joaleña*, some men. *Joaliripì*, many men. *Ahèpegak*, a horse. *Ahèpega*, some horses. *Ahèpegeripì*, many horses.

I wonder that the Abipones have not two words for the first person plural, *we*, like many other American nations. The Guaranies express it in two ways: they sometimes say, *ñandè*, sometimes *ore*. The first they call the inclusive, the second the exclusive. In their prayers, addressing God, they say, We sinners,

ore angaypabiyà; because God is excluded from the number of sinners. Speaking with men, they say, *ñandè angaypabiyà*, because those whom they address are sinners likewise, and they accordingly use the inclusive *ñandè*.

As they have no possessive pronouns, mine, thine, his, the want of them is supplied in every noun, by the addition or alteration of various letters. Amongst the Abipones a great difficulty is occasioned by the various changes of the letters, especially in the second person. Take these examples. *Netà*, a father indeterminate. *Yità*, my father. *Gretaj*, thine. *Letà*, his. *Gretà*, our father. *Gretayi*, yours. *Letai*, theirs.

Naetaîrat, a son, without expressing whose. *Yaetîrat*, my son. *Graetîrachi*, thy son. *Lae-tîrat*, his son.

Nepèp, a maternal grandfather. *Yepèp*, mine. *Grepepè*, thine. *Lepèp*, his.

Naàl, a grandson. *Yaàl*, mine. *Graalí*, thine. *Laàl*, his.

Nenàk, a younger brother. *Yenàk*, mine. *Grenarè*, thine. *Lenàk*, his.

Nakirèk, a cousin german. *Ñakirèk*, mine. *Gnakiregi*, thine. *Nakirek*, his.

Noheletè, the point of a spear. *Yoheletè*, mine. *Grohelichi*, thine. *Loheletè*, his.

Natatîra, life. *Yatatîra*, my life. *Gratatîre*, thine. *Latatîra*, his.

But these examples are sufficient to show the multiplied variety of the second person. Amongst the Guaranies too, the possessives are affixed to the nouns, but this occasions no difficulty, because the mutation is regular: thus, *Tuba*, a father. *Cheruba*, my father. *Nderuba*, thine. *Tuba*, his. *Guba*, theirs. *Taỹ*, a son. *Cheraỹ*, mine. *Nderaỹ*, thine. *Taỹ*, his. *Guaỹ*, theirs. *Che* is prefixed to nouns for the first person, and *Nde* for the second, without variation. Likewise in the plural they say *Ñande*, or *Oreruba*, our father. *Penduba*, your father. *Tuba*, or *Guba*, their father. In all other substantives these particles supply the place of possessives.

The following observation must be made on the possessive nouns of the Abipones. If they see any thing whose owner they do not know, and wish to be made acquainted with, they enquire to whom it belongs in various ways. If the object in question be animate, (even though it only possess vegetable life,) as wheat, a horse, a dog, a captive, &c. they say *Cahami lelà?* whose property is this? to which the other will reply, *Ylà*, mine. *Grelè*, thine. *Lelà*, his. On the other hand, if the thing be inanimate, as a spear, a garment, food, &c. they say *Kahamì kalàm*, to whom does this

belong, and the other will say, *Aimè*, to me. *Karami*, to thee. *Halamè*, to him. *Karamè*, to us, &c.

The pronouns of the first and second persons are subject to no mutations, on account of place or situation. Thus, *Aým*, I. *Akami*, thou. *Akamè*, we. *Akamyè*, you. If *alone* be added, they are altered in this manner: *Aýmátarà*, I alone. *Akamítarà*, thou alone. *Akàm àkalè*, we alone.

But the pronoun of the third person, he, is varied, according to the situation of the person of whom you speak. For if the object of discourse

	<i>Mas. he.</i>	<i>Fem. she.</i>
Be present, he is called,	Eneha	Anahà
If he be sitting,	Híñiha	Háñiha
If lying,	Híriha	Háriha
If standing,	Háraha	Háraha
If walking and seen,	Ehahá	Abaha
If not seen,	Ekaha	Akaha.

He alone is also expressed in various ways.

If he alone is sitting, you say	Yñítarà
If lying,	Irítàra
If walking,	Ehátàra
If absent,	Ekátará
If standing,	Erátàra.

They form the comparative and superlative degrees, not as in other languages, by the addition of syllables, but in a different manner. An

Abipon would express this sentence. *The tiger is worse than the dog, thus: the dog is not bad though the tiger be bad. Nétegink chik naà, oágan nihirenak la naà: or thus, The dog is not bad as the tiger, Netegink chi chi naà yágàm nihirenak.* When we should say, *The tiger is worst, an Abipon would say, the tiger is bad above all things, Nihirenak lamerpëéáoge kenoáoge naà: or thus, The tiger is bad so that it has no equal in badness. Nihirenak chit keoà naà.* Sometimes they express a superlative, or any other eminence, merely by raising the voice. *Ariaik*, according to the pronunciation, signifies either a thing simply good, or the very best. If it be uttered with the whole force of the breast, and with an elevated voice, ending in an acute sound, it denotes the superlative degree; if with a calm, low voice, the positive. They signify that they are much pleased with any thing, or that they approve it greatly, by uttering with a loud voice the words *Là naà!* before *Ariaik*, or *Eúrenék*. *Now it is bad! It is beautiful, or excellent! Nehaol* means night. If they exclaim in a sharp tone, *Là nehaòl*, they mean that it is *midnight*, or the dead of the night: if they pronounce it slowly and hesitatingly, they mean that it is the beginning of the night. When they see any one hit the mark with an arrow, knock down a tiger quickly, &c. and wish to express

that he is eminently dexterous, they cry with a loud voice, *La yáraigè*, now he knows, which, with them, is the highest commendation.

They form diminutives, by adding *avàlk*, *aole*, or *olek*, to the last syllable of the word, thus: *Ahëpegak*, a horse. *Ahëpegeravàlk*, a little horse, *Óénèk*, a boy. *Óénèkavàlk*, a little boy. *Haáye*, a girl. *Haayáole*, a little girl. *Pay*, father, a word for priest, introduced into America by the Portugueze. *Payolèk*, little father, which they used when they wished to express particular kindness towards us. When angry, they only used the word *Pay*. *Kàèpak*, wood. *Kàèperáole*, a little piece of wood, by which they designated the beads of the rosary. *Lenechì*, little, moderate. *Lénechiólek*, or *Lenechiavàlk*. They make very frequent use of diminutives, which, with them, indicate either tender affection or contempt: thus, *Yóale*, a man. *Yoa-leólek*, a little man, a bit of a man. Often with them a diminutive is a stronger expression of love or praise than any superlative: thus, they call a stronger or handsomer horse than ordinary, *Ahëpegeravàlk*. The Spaniards too express a more particular liking for a thing, when they call it *bonito*, than when they simply call it *bueno*, good or pretty.

Most of the American nations are extremely deficient in words to express number. The

Abipones can only express three numbers in proper words. *Iñitára*, one. *Iñoaka*, two. *Iñoaka yekainè*, three. They make up for the other numbers by various arts: thus, *Geyenk ñatè*, the fingers of an emu, which, as it has three in front and one turned back, are four, serves to express that number. *Neènhalek*, a beautiful skin spotted with five different colours, is used to signify the number five. If you interrogate an Abipon respecting the number of any thing, he will stick up his fingers, and say, *leyer iri*, so many. If it be of importance to convey an accurate idea of the number of the thing, he will display the fingers of both hands or feet, and if all these are not sufficient, show them over and over again till they equal the number required. Hence *Hanámbe gem*, the fingers of one hand means five; *Laná m rihe gem*, the fingers of both hands, ten; *Laná m rihe gem, cat gracherhaka anámichirihe gè m*, the fingers of both hands and both feet, twenty. They have also another method of making up for want of numbers. When they return from an excursion to hunt wild horses, or shoot tame ones, none of the Abipones will ask them how many horses have you brought home? but, how much space will the troop of horse which you have brought home occupy? to which they will reply, the horses placed in a

row would fill the whole market-place, or they extend from this grove to the river's bank. With this reply, which gives them an idea of the quantity of horses, they remain satisfied, though uninformed of the exact number. Sometimes they take up a handful of sand or grass, and showing it to the interrogator, endeavour in this way to express an immense quantity. But when number is spoken of, take care you do not readily credit whatever the Abipones say. They are not ignorant of arithmetic, but averse to it. Their memory generally fails them. They cannot endure the tedious process of counting. Hence to rid themselves of questions on the subject, they show as many fingers as they like, sometimes deceived themselves, sometimes deceiving others. Often, if the number about which you ask exceed three, an Abipon, to save himself the trouble of showing his fingers, will cry *Pòp!* many. *Chic leyekalipì*, innumerable. Sometimes, when ten soldiers are coming, the assembled people will exclaim, *Yoaliripì latenk naüeretápek*, a very great number of men are approaching.

But still greater is their want of numerals, which grammarians call ordinals, for they cannot count beyond first: *Era námachìt*, the first. So that the Ten Commandments are reckoned in this way: the first commandment, *Era náma-*

chit; but as they are unable to express *second*, *third*, *fourth*, in their language, instead of these numbers, they place before the commandments, *and another*, *and another*, &c. *Cat laháua*, *cat laháua*, &c. They have, however, words signifying first and last, *Enàm cahèk*, that which goes before, and *Iñagehék*, that which comes last.

They have only two distributive numerals: each *Iñitarapè*, and *Iñóakatapè*, which answers to the Latin, *bini*. *Liñoaka yahat*, means twice. *Ekútarapek*, and sometimes *Haúe ken*, once. This is the extent of the Abiponian arithmetic, and the whole of their scanty supply of numbers. Scarce richer are the Guarany Indians, who cannot go beyond the number four. They call One, *Peteÿ*. Two, *Mokoÿ*. Three, *Mbohápì*. Four, *Irundÿ*. First, *Iyipibae*. Second, *Imomokoyndaba*. Third, *Imombohapìhaba*. Fourth, *Imoimrundÿhaba*. **Singuli*, *Peteÿteÿ*. *Bini*, *Mokoÿmokoÿ*. *Terni*, *Mbohápìhapì*. *Quaterni*, *Irundÿrundÿ*. Once, *Peteÿyebi*. Twice, *Mokoÿyebi*, &c. The Guaranies, like the Abipones, when questioned respecting a thing exceeding four, immediately reply, *Ndipapahabi*, or *Ndipapahai*, innumerable. But as a knowledge of numbers is highly necessary in the uses of civi-

* I give the original Latin in this and other places, where the English does not fully express the meaning.

lized life, and above all, in confession, the Guaranies were daily taught at church to count in the Spanish language, in the public explanation, or recitation of the catechism. On Sunday, the whole people used to count from one to a thousand, in the Spanish tongue, in the church. But it was all in vain. Generally speaking, we found the art of music, painting, and sculpture, easier learnt than numbers. They can all pronounce the numbers in Spanish, but are so easily and frequently confused in counting, that you must be very cautious how you credit what they say in this matter.

For the conjugation of verbs, no paradigm can be given; as the singular number of the present tense of the indicative mood differs in almost all words, and is more difficult to learn than the augments of the Greek verbs. The second person particularly takes new letters, not only in the beginning, but also in the middle, and the end, as will appear from the examples which I shall lay before you.

	<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
<i>I love</i>	Rikapìt	<i>We love</i>	Grkapitàk
<i>Thou lovest</i>	Grkàpichì	<i>Ye love</i>	Grkápichii
<i>He loves</i>	Nkàpit	<i>They love</i>	Nkapitè
<i>I know</i>	Riáraige	Graúraigè	Yaraige
<i>I remember</i>	Hakaleènt	Hakaleènchì	Yakaleènt

<i>Id.</i>	Ñetúnetá	Nichuñütá	Netúnetá
<i>I teach</i>	Hápagřaná- třan	Hapagřana- třañi	Yápagřana- třan
<i>I hasten</i>	Rihahagalgè	Grahálgali	Yahálgalgè
<i>I die</i>	Riğà	Gregachì	Yiğà
<i>I am drowned</i>	Riigaráñi	Gregácháñi	Ygárañi
<i>I leap</i>	Riahat	Rahachi	Rahát
<i>I fear</i>	Rietachà	Gretachi	Netacha
<i>I desire</i>	Rihè	Grihi	Nihè
<i>I fly</i>	Natahegem	Natáchihegem	Natahegem
<i>I am drunk</i>	Rkíhogèt	Grkíhogichì	Lkíhogèt
<i>I am slow</i>	Riaàl	Graali	Naal
<i>I am strong</i>	Riahòt	Grihochi	Yhòt
<i>I am well</i>	Rioàmkatà	Groemkètà	Yoámkatà
<i>I kick</i>	Hachàk	Hachañè	Rachak
<i>I eat</i>	Hakeñè	Kiñigi	Rkeñe
<i>I vomit</i>	Rièmaletapèk	Gremalitápèk	Némaletapèk
<i>I sleep</i>	Aatè	Aachi	Roatè
<i>I am ashamed</i>	Ripagàk	Grpágarè	Npagàk
<i>I aim at the mark</i>	Hatenetálgè	Hachínitalgè	Yatenetalgè
<i>I value</i>	Riápategè	Grpáchiigè	Yapategè
<i>I am whipped</i>	Hamèlk	Hamelgi	Yamèlk
<i>I drink</i>	Ñañàm	Ñañami	Nañàm
<i>I make</i>	Haèt	Eichì	Yaèt
<i>I obey</i>	Riahapèt	Grahapichi	Nabapet
<i>I come to</i>	Ñauè	Nauchì	Nauè

But these few are sufficient to show the infinite changes of almost all verbs. I refrain from giving more examples which I have in my head; for it is not my intention to teach you the Abiponian language, but to show you the strange construction of it, and to avoid fatiguing

your ears with so many long savage words. From the little which I *have* written, you will collect that the inflexions and variations of the second person in particular can only be learnt by use, not by rules. The other tenses of the indicative mood, and indeed all the moods of every conjugation, give little trouble to learners, being formed simply by adding a few syllables, or particles, to the present of the indicative: for instance:—

Present tense. *Rikapit*, I love.

The imperfect is wanting.

Preterite. *Rikapit kan*, or *kanigra*, I have loved.

Preterpluperfect. *Kánigra gehe rikapit*, I had loved formerly.

Future. *Rikapitàm*, I will love.

You add the same particles to the second and third persons, without changing them in any other respect: thus—

Grkapichi, thou lovest.

Grkapichi kan, thou hast loved.

Grkapichi kanigra gehe, thou hadst loved.

Grkapichiam, thou wilt love.

For the syllable *am* is what distinguishes the present from the future.

The imperative mood undergoes no mutation either in the present or future tense. Thus, hasten thou; *Grahálgali*, which is also the second person of the indicative, thou hastenest. *Eichi*, do thou: *Grkapichi*, love thou:

or *Grkapichiam*, which likewise signifies thou wilt love. They sometimes prefix the particle *Tach* to the second person of the imperative, and *Ták* to the third: thus *Tach grahápichè* obey thou. *Tach grakatrâni*, say thou. *Ták hanek*, let him come: which also denotes the present of the potential; thus: *Ták hanek Kaámelk*, the Spaniard may come for me. Prohibition is expressed by the future with the addition of the particle *tchik* or *chigè*, according to the following letter. Thus, thou mayst not kill, *Chit kahamatrañiam*. Thou mayst not lie, *Chit Noaharegraniam*.

The optative, or subjunctive, is formed of various particles, placed before or after the present of the indicative: as I shall show by examples.

Chigriek, would that. *Chigriek grkapichi g'Dios eknam caogarik*: Would that thou wouldst love God the Creator. *Kèt*, if. *Kèt greenrâni*, *G'Dios grkapichi kèt*: If thou wert good thou wouldst love God. *Kèt*, if, is repeated both in the condition and the conditioned.

Amla, after that. *Amla grkapichi g'Dios, Dios `lo nkapíchieôdm*: After thou hast loved God, God will love thee. *Postquam amaveris Deum, Deus amabit te*.

Ehenhà, until. *Ehenhà na chigrkápichi*

g'Dios, chitl gihè groamketápekàm: Until, or as long as thou dost not love God, thou wilt never be quiet. *Donec vel quamdiu non amaveris Deum, non eris unquam quietus.*

Amamach, when. Amamach rikápichieñoa, lo grkápichioam: When thou lovest me, I will love thee. *Quando amaveris me, amabo te.*

Kèt mat, if. Kèt mat nkápichirioà, là rikapitla kèt: If they had loved me, I would have loved them. *Si amassent me, amassem illos.*

Tach, that. Tach grkápichioa, rikapichieñoàm: Love me, that I may love thee. *Ama me, ut amem te.*

The Abipones seem to want the infinitive, the place of which they supply in other ways, as I shall more plainly show by examples, thus: now I wish to eat: *Là rihete m'hakéñe. Rihe, or rihete, I wish, and hakéñe, I eat, are both put in the same mood, tense, and person; the letter M placed between them makes, or supplies the place of our infinitive. I cannot go, Haoahen m'ahik. Haoahen and ahik, are both in the first person of the present of the indicative, M only being placed between. Thou knowest not how to teach me: Chig graañoaige m'riapa grañi. Wilt thou be baptized, or, as the Abipones say, wilt thou have thy head washed? Mik mich grehech m'nakarigi gremarachi?*

They elude the necessity of an infinitive, of

gerunds, and supines, by various modes of speech peculiar to themselves. It may be as well to illustrate this by some examples. When we say, Can I go? an Abipon would express it in this way: I will go. There is no difficulty, or is there any difficulty? *Lahikam. Chigeeka loaik*, or *Mañigà loaik?* Thou oughtest to go, an Abipon would render thus: *Yoamkatà kèt, lame*: It is right that thou shouldst go. Thou oughtest not to go, or it is not convenient: *Mich grehech m'amè? oagan chik yoamk*: Wilt thou go? though that is not convenient. How skilful this man is in swimming! an Abipon would express thus: What a swimmer this man is! *Kemen úlařankachak yóale!* I shall be strong by eating: *Rihotam am hakeñe*: I shall be strong whilst I eat. I come to speak to thee: *Hëë-chiapegrari; kleranam kaúe, la nauè*: I will speak to thee; that was the reason why I came now. The boy is wont to tell lies: *La noaharegřan kén oenek*. The particles *kén* and *aage* signify custom. An Abipon would also express the above sentence in this way: *Noaharegřan oenek: la lahërek*: The boy tells lies: now it is his custom. I am accustomed to pray: *Klamach hanáyaagè m'hëëtoalá*.

The passive voice in affirming has no particular form, but is expressed by some passive

participle, or by active verbs. When we say that a thing is lost or ended, they say that the thing has perished, ceased, does not appear, &c. *Yúihak oaloà*, or *chitlgihe*: The ox hath perished, or does not appear. In denying, the passive is explained by an active verb only, with the addition of the particle *chigat*, or *chig'ichiekat*: thus: It is not known: *Chigat yaraigè*. *Yaraigè* is the indicative mood, present tense, third person singular, of the active verb. That is not eaten: *Chigat yaik*. That is not usurped: *Chigat eygà*. I was not informed: *Chigat ripachigui*. The horses were not well guarded, therefore they perished: *Machka chigat nkehayape enò ahèpega, maoge oaloéra*. The stars cannot be counted: *Chigichiekat nakatñi eergræ*. What is not known, ought not to be told. *Am chigat yaraige, chigichiekat yaratapekam, &c.*

Of many active verbs, both active, and passive, but not future participles are formed. *Rikapit*, I love, *amo*. From it are formed: *Ykapicheât*, beloved by me, or my beloved; *a me amatus, meus amatus*. *Grkapicheâchi*, thy beloved, *tuus amatus*. *Lkapicheât*, his beloved: *suus amatus*. From this comes the feminine. *Ykapichkatè*, my beloved; *mea amata*. *Grkapichkachi*, thy beloved; *tua amata*. *Lkapichkatè*, his beloved, *illius amata*. I am beloved by all;

ego sum amatus ab omnibus: Lkapicheraté Kenoa-taoge. From this participle are derived, *Kapicheña*, love, *amor*. *Ykapicheña*, my love; *amor meus*. *Kapichieraik*, loving, a lover, *amans*, *amator*.

Rikaùagè, I pity, I feel a kindness for any one. Its passive participle is, *Ykaúagêrat*, kindly affected by me. Substantive, *Ykaúgêra*, my good-will. *Kauagêrankatè*, the instrument, manner, or place of good-will, or the benefit. itself. *Kauagêrankachak*, benevolent, compassionate. *Ykaúagek*, kindly regarded by me. *Grkaúagigì*, kindly regarded by thee.

Hapagêranatêran, I teach. *Napagêranatêranak*, the master who teaches. *Napagêranatek*, the scholar who is taught. *Napagêranatêranêrek*, teaching, instruction. *Napagêranatrankatè*, the place where, or the matter which the scholar is taught.

We now enter a labyrinth of the Abiponian tongue, most formidable to learners, where, unless guided by long experience, as Theseus was by Ariadne, you will not be able to walk without risk of error. I am speaking of those verbs which grammarians call transitive, or reciprocal. In our language, the action of one person, or thing, upon another, is easily described by the pronouns themselves, *I*, *thou*, *he*,

we, you. The Abipones, on the contrary, neglecting the use of the above pronouns, effect this by various inflections of the verbs, and by here and there combining new particles with them. This shall be made plainer by examples. *I love thee, thou lovest me, he loves me or thee. We love him, ye love us or them.* The Latins, in this manner, express mutual love, to which purpose the Abipones use much circumlocution, and various artifices, thus: *Rikapit*, I love. *Rikapichieñoà*, I love thee. *Grkapichioà*, thou lovest me. *Nkapichioà*, he loves me. *Nkapichieñoà*, he loves thee. *Grkapitaè*, we love him. *Grkapitla*, we love them. *Matníkapitalta*, I love myself. *Nikapichialta*, thou lovest thyself. *Grkapitáutá*, we love one another. But would that this were a paradigm of all the verbs! Others take other particles, and changes of syllables, thus:

Rikauagè, I pity. *Rikauágyégarigè*, I pity thee. *Grkauagiyyè*, thou pitiest me. *Grkauág yegarik*, thou pitiest us. *Nkauágigyè*, he pities me. *Nkauág yegarigé*, he pities thee. *Nkauágegè*, he pities him. *Grkauágeképegetáá*, we pity one another. *Ñikáukáltaá* I pity myself.

Hapagîranatîran, I teach. *Neapagîran*, I teach myself. *Hapagîrankatápegetà*, we teach one

another. *Hapagrani*, I teach thee. *Riápagrâni*, thou teachest me. *Riapagrân*, he teaches me. *Yapagrân*, he teaches him.

Hamelk, I whip. *Hámelgi*, I whip thee. *Riámelgi*, thou whippest me. *Riamelk*, he whips me. *Gramelgi*, he whips thee. *Yamélk*, he whips him.

Hakleenté, I remember. *Hakleenchitápegârari*, I remember thee. *Hakleenchitapegüi*, thou rememberest me. *Yákleentetápegüi*, he remembers me. From these instances, you will perceive the variation in transitive verbs, as sometimes *eñoà*, sometimes *yégarige*, sometimes *rañi*, or other particles, must be added to the different persons. Believe me, the learning of them is extremely tedious to Europeans, and can only be effected by long acquaintance with these savages. Other Americans also use these transitive verbs, but their form is the same, whether mutual action or passion is expressed. Thus the Guaranies say, *Ahañhù*, I love. *Orohañhù*, I love thee. *Ayukà*, I kill. *Oroyukà*, I kill thee. *Amboé*, I teach. *Oromboe*, I teach thee, &c. What can be easier or more expeditious than this?

They sometimes express the relative who, by *eknam*, or, in the plural number, *enonam*, thus: *Dios eknam Kaogarik*: God who is the creator.

Hemokáchin nauáchiekà, enonam yapochi: I esteem soldiers who are brave. Sometimes, in the manner of the Latins, they suppress the relative who, and supply its place by a participle, or adjective. *Riákayà netegingà oakaika, kach quenò ahamâaeka*: I abominate biting and dead dogs.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONCERNING OTHER PECULIARITIES OF THE ABIPONIAN
TONGUE.

AT this moment, I am doubtful whether to call the language of the Abipones a poor or a rich one: after I have told you what words they want, and what they abound in, you yourself shall decide on this point. The Abipones are destitute of some words which seem to be the elements of daily speech. They, as well as the Guaranies, want the verb substantive to be. They want the verb to have. They have no words whereby to express *man, body, God, place, time, never, ever, everywhere, &c.* which occur perpetually in conversation. Instead of I am an Abipon, they say *Aymè Abipon*, I Abipon; instead of thou art a plebeian, *Akami Lanaîaik*, thou plebeian. They often substitute some neuter verb for an adjective and verb substantive, like the Latins, who say *bene valeo* as well as *sum sanus*. Thus, I am strong, *Riahòt*, thou art strong, *Grihochi*, he is strong, *Yhòt*. I am brave, *Riapòt*, thou art brave, *Grapochi*, he is brave, *Yapòt*. I am fearful, *Riakalò*, thou art fearful, *Grakaloi*, he is fearful, *Yakalò*. Let the

Spaniard come, I shall be brave: *Tach hanék Kaámelk, la riapotam*. See how well the Abipones do without the verb *to be!* as also the verb *to have*. I have many horses: *Ayte yla ahëpega*: many horses mine. I have many fleas: *Netegink loapakate enò! Pop*. I have no meat: *Chitkaeká lpabè*. I have no fishes: *Chigekoà nòayi*. *Hekà* has the same meaning with the Abipones that *datur* or *suppetit* has with the Latins, *es giebet* with the Germans, and *hay* with the Spaniards. *Chitkaekà* is a negative, and signifies that there is no meat, fishes, &c. In the plural number it changes to *chigekoà*. Is there food? *Meka kanák?*

Neogà means a day, and likewise time. *Grauek*, the moon, is taken for a month. *Yñieña*, the flower of the alfaroba, also denotes a year. Hence, when they wish to ask any one how old he is, they say, How many times has the alfaroba blossomed during your life-time? *Hegem leyera yñiegari?* which is a very poetical expression. For the body they name the skin or bone, thus taking the part for the whole. *Yoalè* means only a husband; it is however used to signify a man. In the same way the Guaranies use the word *Aba*, which denotes a husband, and the Guarany nation, as they have no word for man. *Aba che* has three meanings, I am a *Guarany*, I am a *man*, or I am

a *husband*; which of these is meant, must be gathered from the tenor of the conversation. Perhaps there are nowhere more virgins than in the country of the Abipones, yet they cannot express a virgin except by a paraphrase, as *haayè* simply means a young girl. For never, they say *chik* or *chit*, thus, I shall never go hence: *Chik rihukàm*. They more frequently say, *Chitlgihe rihukàm*. *Chitlgihe* means, there appears no time in which I shall go hence. They express *eternal* by interminable, thus: Life eternal, *Eleyîra chit kataikañi*, the life which is not finished. We used the Spanish word for God, whose name they are ignorant of: *Dios*, *eknam Kaógarik*, or *Naenatîanak hipigem, kachka aalò*. God, who is the maker of all things, or the creator of heaven and earth. *Kauè* signifies to make; *Kaógarik*, a maker. They call eggs *Tetarik l'kauetè*, the hen's work.

They cannot express *everywhere* in one word, but explain it in this way: God is in heaven, in earth, and there is not a place in which he is not; *Menetahegem quem hipigém, menetañi quen aalò, ka chigekòr amà, chig enaè*. I omit innumerable other words which they want, but which they make up for in various ways. Many things which we always express with one and the same word, they distinguish with various names; or entirely transform, by clothing the original word

with new particles. After having exposed the poverty of this language by examples, I ought briefly to make you acquainted with its richness, in the same manner.

It contains an incredible number of synonyms, thus: *Kachergaik*, *Kamer̄gaik*, *Kerēraik*, and *Laykamé*, all signify an old man. *Elōraik*, *Egargaik*, *Aham̄raik*, and *Chitkaeka Lach*, dead. *Nahamat̄rek*, *Nuichiēra*, *Noélakierék*, and *Anegla*, war. *Kiñierat*, *Hanáak*, *Nakà*, and *Naek*, food. *Lemārat* and *Lapañik*, the head. *Hipigem* and *Ohajenk*, heaven. *Chigriāraik*, *Taagè*, *Uriakà Ntà*, *Chig ñetun*, and *Akamitañi*, I know not, which last is the same as if one should reply to a question, *Thou thyself know'st it*, thus acknowledging his own ignorance. They sometimes repeat the words of the interrogator, to show that they do not know what he asks about. They call a wound generically *Lalaglet*. If it be inflicted by the teeth of a man or a beast, they call it *Naagek*; if by a knife or a sword, *Ni-char̄hek*; if by a lance, *Noarek*; if by an arrow, *Nainek*. *They fight*, if the kind of fight be not expressed, would be rendered *Roélakitapegetà*; if they fight with spears, *Nahámretà*; if with arrows, *Natenetápegetà*; if with fists, *Nemarke-tápegetà*; if with words alone, *Ycherikáleretaà*; if two wives fight about their husband, *Nejé-tentà*. They signify that a thing is ended or

finished in divers ways. The sickness is ended, would be rendered *Láyamini*; the rain, the moon, the cold is ended, *Lánámreuge neetè, grauek, latarà*; the war is ended, *Nahálañi aneglà*; the Spanish soldiers are ended, that is slaughtered; *Lanamichiriñi Kaáma yoalirípi*; my patience is ended, *Lanámouge yapik*; the storm is ended, *Layamhà*; he hath ended his office, his magistracy hath expired, *La yauerelgè*; end, or finish thy work, *Grahálgali, laamachi graénategi*; now the thing is finished, *Layam ayam*; at the end of the world, *Amla hanamr̄ani*. If a battle is fought with arrows, it is called *Noatārek*; if with spears, *Noaarāan̄rek*, or *Nahamat̄rek*; if with fists alone, *Nemarket̄rek*. This word reminds me of a ludicrous occurrence. A certain Bavarian lay-brother of our's stayed some time in the new colony of St. Ferdinand to build a hut for the Missionaries. Whilst he was employed in building, he daily had the Abipones for spectators, and heard them talk, without understanding a syllable of what they were saying. As he continually caught the words *Nahamat̄rek*, *Noatārek*, and many others ending in *t̄rek*, one day at dinner he said to Father Joseph Brigniel, an Austrian, with much simplicity, "Never trust me, if the language of the Abipones isn't as like German as one egg is to another; I often hear them say *Trek, Trek*."

The Abiponian tongue might not improperly be called the language of circumstances, for it affixes various particles to words to denote the various situations of the subject of discourse: either *hegem*, above; *añi*, below; *aigìt*, around; *hagam*, in the water; *óuge*, out of doors; *alge*, or *elge*, on the surface, &c. The thing will be made plainer by examples: we use the same word *is* when we say, God *is* in heaven, *is* on earth, *is* in the water, *is* every where. The Abipones always add some new particle to the verb, to indicate situation, thus: *Dios meneta-hegem ken hipigèm*, God dwells above in heaven: *menetañi ken ađloà*, dwells below in the earth: *meñetàhagàm ken enařap*, dwells in the water, &c. Here the particles *añi*, *hegem*, and *hagam* are affixed to the verb *méneta*. But now attend to something else. How great is the variation of the verb to follow*! I follow a person coming, *Hauíretaiğit*. I follow one departing, *Hauiraà*. I follow with my hand what is beneath me, *Hauirañi*, what is above me, *Hauirihegeméege*. I do not follow with my eyes, *Chit heonáage*. I do not follow with my understanding, (I do not comprehend,) *Chig ñetunétaigìt*. I follow, I hit with an arrow, *Ñaten*. Some going out follow others, *Yáueráatà*, or *Yauirétapegetà*,

* *Assequor*.

I have followed, or perceived what another meditates or purposes in his mind, *La háui lare-nat̄ran̄ck lauel*. I have followed or obtained what I desired, *La háui eka kan ahel̄ran̄rat kiñi*. Hear other examples: I fear, *Rietachà*. I fear water, *Rietachahagam*. It lightens, *Rkáhagelk*. It lightens afar off, *Rkáhagelkátaiçit*. It shines, *Richàk*. It shines on the surface, *Richákatalgè*. The brightness spreads wide, *Richakataugè*. I open the door towards the street, *Hehòtougè lahàm*. I open the door towards the window, *Hehòtoà lahàm*. If I should open two doors at the same time, *Hehòtetelgè lahàm*. Shut the door, *Apëëgi lahàm*. I die, *Rüigà*. I am dying, *Rüigarañi*, I die of suffocation, *Rüigarañi*, &c. &c.

We now come to speak of other particles, the use of which is very frequent amongst the Abipones.

They prefix *là*, now, to almost all words. Now the old woman weeps, *Là reòkatarì cacher-gayè*. Now I am terrified, *Là rielk*. Now I drink, *Là nañam*.

Tapèk, or *Tari*, annexed to the last syllable of a verb, denote an action which is undertaken now: *Hakirioḡran*, I plough land. *Hakirioḡranetapèk*, now, whilst I speak, I am ploughing. *Haoachin*, I am sick. *Haoachinetari*, I am sick at this very time.

Kachit, I make. *Añaiñaik ahèpegak*, a tame

horse. *Araîraikachit ahëpegak*, I make a horse tame. *Riélk*, I fear. *Riélkachit nihirenàk*, a tiger put me in fear. *Ayerhègemegè*, a high thing. *Ayercachihègemegè*, I make a thing high, I put it in a high place.

Ârat, or *ran* has the same signification as the former in certain verbs. *Rpaè enaârap*, hot water. *Hapaêrat enaârap*, I heat water. *Laà*, great, large. *Laâraârat*, I increase. *Lenechi*, little, small. *Lenechitaârat*, I diminish. *Haoatè*, I sleep. *Haoacheâran akîravàlk*, I make a little infant sleep.

Ken denotes custom or habit. *Roélakikèn*, he is accustomed to fight.

Aagè affixed to the substantives *Lahërek*, work, or *Yaâraîrêk*, knowledge, likewise denotes custom. *Nèoga latènk nañametapek*; *gramackka lahërekaage*, or *Mat yaâraîrêk aage*, he drinks all day: this, to wit, is his occupation; it is his knowledge; in a word his custom.

It signifies the material of which any thing is made. *Nichigehérit* is a cloak made of otters' skins, for *Nichigehè* is the Abiponian for otter. *Káepèrit*, a place fortified with stakes fixed in the earth, (which the Spaniards call *la palisada*, or *estacada*,) *káepak*, signifying wood.

Hat indicates the native soil of certain trees, or fruits. *Nebokehat*, a wood where palms

grow. *Neboke* is a kind of palm. *Nemelkehat*, a field sowed with wheat, which is called *nemelk*. The Guaranies make use of the same compendious expression, substituting *ti* for the particle *hat*, thus: *Abati*, maize. *Abatiti*, a maize-field. *Petĩ*, tobacco. *Petĩndi*, a place where tobacco is grown. For the sake of the euphony, to which the Guaranies are particularly attentive, *ndi* is substituted for *ti*.

Ik. The names of almost all trees end in this syllable. *Apèhe*, the fruit chañar. *Apehik*, the tree. *Oaik*, the white alfaroba. *Roak*, the red. The trees which produce it, *Oáikik*, and *Roai-kik*. Though the alfaroba is also called *Hámáp*.

Êki signifies the vessel, place, or instrument in which any thing is shut up, kept, or contained. *Nañamêki*, a cup, from *nañàm*, I drink. *Neetêki* signifies the same thing: for *ñeèt* and *nañàm* are synonymous. *Katañamêki*, an oven, a chafing-dish, from *Nkáatèk*, fire. *Keyeêñamêki*, a tub in which clothes are washed with soap, for *keyañamêki* is their word for soap.

Lajt has almost the same signification as the former particle. *Yabogék lajt*, a snuff-box, *yabogék* being Abiponian for snuff. *Ahèpegrlajt*, a fold for horses.

Lanà is a very useful word, and often serves as a sacred anchor, which beginners, slightly

acquainted with the language, catch hold of to make themselves understood. It means that which is the instrument, means, or part of performing any thing. This shall be elucidated by examples. The Abipones constantly chew tobacco leaves mixed with salt, and the saliva of old women, calling it medicine. They come at all hours, and say, *Tach kaúe Pay` npeetèk yoetà`*: Father, give me tobacco leaves, my medicine. Having obtained this, they presently add, *Tach kaúe achibirâik noetà` lanà`*: Give me also salt, which serves to compose this medicine. Another comes and says: *Tachkaúe latařan lřahè lanà`*: Give me a knife to cut my meat with, or *Tachkaúe këepe yëeriki lanà`*: Give me an axe to build my house with. Persons better acquainted with the language generally abstain from the use of this word *lanà`*, in place of which they make noun substantives of verbs, by which the instrument or means of doing a thing is admirably expressed. Thus, *Noetarèn*, I am healed. *Noetarenátařanřát*, medicine. *Noetaranatařankatè*, a medical instrument. *Hakirio-gran*, I plough. *Kiriogrankatè*, a plough. *Ñahategřan*, I shear. *Ahategkatè*, scissars, or snuffers, which, as it were, shear the wick. *Géhayà*, I behold. *Geharlatè*, a looking-glass. *Rietachà*, I fear. *Netachkatřanřát*, an instrument of terror. They facetiously call remarkably ugly

faces by this name as if they were a terror to the eyes.

Latè, indicates the place of action, thus: *Nahamátâlatè*, the place of the fight. *Kiñieâlatè*, the place where one eats, that is, the table.

They ingeniously invented names borrowed from their native tongue, for things introduced from Europe, or made by Europeans. They did not like either to appear poor in words, or to contaminate their language by adopting foreign ones, like the other Americans who borrow words from the Spaniards. Horses, which the Spaniards call *cavallos*, the Guaranies call *cavayù*, and oxen, which the Spaniards call *nobillos*, they call *nobì*. The Abipones, on the contrary, call a horse *ahèpegak*, an ox, *yúihàk*, and a bull, *yúihàk lepà*, an uncastrated ox, a name derived from their own language, though, before the coming of the Spaniards, they were unacquainted with these animals. They call a church *loakal lëeriki*, the house of images, or *natamenrêki*, where thanks are given to God. A gun is expressed by *netelânre*, which means a bow from which arrows are cast. Perhaps it is derived from the word *nectè*, a storm, because a gun resembles the thundering of a storm. Gunpowder is called *netelânre leênra*, the flour of the gun; a book, *lakatka*, which means a word, tongue, speech. They call a letter, or any

sheet with letters written or printed on it, *elorka*, by which name they also designate the otters' skins painted by women with red lines of various forms, of which cloaks are made to keep out the cold. They call water-melons, *Káama lakà*, the food of the Spaniards. They express a soul, a shadow, echo, and an image, all by the same word, *loákal*, or *lkihì*. The Latins also used the word *imago*, for an echo. Valerius Flaccus, in the third book of the Argonautics, says :

*Rursus Hylam, et rursus Hylam per longa reclamat
Avia, responsant sylvæ, et vaga certat imago.*

Echo is a representation of voice, as an image is that of the figure. Cotton, the material of which cloth is made, they call *aapañaik*, cloth ; wheat, *etantà lpetà*, the grain of bread ; and bullets, *netelñanñe lpetà*, the grain of the gun, or *Káamà lanañha*, the arrows of the Spaniards. A lute or harp is called *litigi*, which means the loins of an animal ; all metals, *lekàt*, and silver money, *lekacháole*, little metals ; hell, *aalò labachiñi*, the centre of the earth, or *Keevét lëeriki*, the devil's house ; a shirt, *yelamñkie* ; stockings or boots, *lichil lelamñkiè* ; breeches, *ykiemañha* ; shoes, *yachrháñlatè* ; a hat, *ñoarà* ; a fillet, mitre, or any covering of the head, *yetapehè* ; glass-beads, *ekelñaye*. I omit the rest.

Metaphors are familiar to these savages.

When they have the head-ache they cry *Là yívichigi yemañat*, now my head is angry. When fatigued with manual labour, *Là yívichigi yauigña*, now my blood is angry, they exclaim with a smile. When in anger, they say, *Là ànahegem yauel*, now my heart hath risen. When impatient at any inconvenience, they vociferate: *Là lanamouge yapik*, now my patience is ended, now I will bear this no longer.

Although the Guaranies and many other people of America have none but post-positions in their language, the Abipones use prepositions likewise. Thus the Guaranies, in making the sign of the cross, say: *Tuba haè layña, hae Espiritu Santo rera pïpe*. Amen. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. For *pïpe* means *in*, and *rera* *name* with them. The Abipones, on the contrary, say: *Men lakalátoèt Netà, kat Náitañat, kachka Espiritu Santo*. Amen. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, &c. *Men* signifying *in*, and *lakalátoèt*, a *name*. *Men*, *mek*, *kèn*, or *en kerà*, signifies *in* or *at*, either with or without motion. *Men aaloo, men hipigem*, in the earth, in heaven. *Lahik ken nepàrk*, now I go to the plain. *Là rihi mek Kaáma loetà*, now I remove to the lands of the Spaniards. They are unacquainted with the preposition *with* which denotes society: they would express the

sentence, I will go with thee, in this manner: *Gra-hautapekam*, I will accompany thee: or thus, *Là me? Clachkehin*, wilt thou go away? I also. The Lord with thee: *Dios Gnoakàra hiñitañoat*: The Lord is associated with thee. *Haraà* is a preposition signifying the instrument with which a thing is done. *Yóale yahámat nihirenak naraà lohélete*: The Indian killed the tiger with a spear. *Yágàm* means, as, or like. *Roahà yágàm netegink*: He attacks like a dog.

Adjectives themselves are generally used instead of adverbs; both, according as they relate to past, or future, are variously inflected, like verbs: thus, *ariaik* and *neèn* signify both good and well. *Kemen ariaik kàn!* how good, or how well he was. *Kàn* is the sign of the past tense. *Ariaekam*, it will be good or well. *Am* is the sign of the future, and *kitè* means now. *Kitekàn*, it was now. *Kitàm*, it shall be now presently. If you wish to enquire about a thing past, you must say: *hegmalagè*, when? If about a future thing, *hegmalkàm*. For the past, they will answer, *nehegetoè*, long since; *há-kekemàt*, now, at this point of time; *chigahák*, not yet; *kitnéoga*, to day; *kitnéegin*, or *kitnehaól*, this night; *gnaàma*, yesterday. For the future, *amà*, *amlayeêge*, *chitlkihe*, after a long interval of time; *amlà*, afterwards; *am richigni*, to morrow; *amékére láhaua*, the day after to-morrow; *am náama*, in the evening.

And is expressed by *Rachka*, *Rach*, or *Rat*, according to the letters that follow. All universally call no, *ynà*: but yes is expressed variously, according to the age and sex of the speaker. Men and youths say, *hée*; all women, *hàà*. Old men affirm by a loud snort, which can only be expressed *vivá voce*, though you could not do it easily and clearly without danger of hoarseness. The louder the snort the stronger the affirmation.

Eùrigri, *eòrat*, and *miekaengen*, mean why, for what reason. *Miéka énegen nkaué, nauichi enà?* What was the reason that you came? *Men* is a particle of interrogation, having the same signification as the Latin *an*. *Men leerà?* Is it true? *Klerà*, it is certain. *Chigera*, it is not true. Or if they doubt of the truth of the thing, they will reply, *Eùriñigi*. Sometimes, when they suspect another of relating what is not true, they join the past with the future, and ironically say, *Kánigra leeràm*, formerly, that will be true. *Kánigra* is the past, and *leeràm* the future.

The letter *M* prefixed to a word denotes interrogation, thus: *M'ayte nauachieka?* Are there many soldiers? *M'oachiñi*, Art thou sick? If the first letter following *M* be a consonant or an *H*, it is dropped, *M'anekam ena?* Will he come hither? The *H* is entirely omitted in the

verb *hanekám*, will he come, and it is pronounced *manekám*. *Mauichi kenà?* Hast thou come hither? The letter *N* is dropped in the verb *nauichi*, and *M* substituted, so that it is called *mauichi*. *Mik* alone, or *mik mich*, are forms of interrogation; as *Mik mich grihochi?* Art thou in good health? Sometimes an interrogation is expressed by the accent alone, and by the raising of the voice. *Layàm nauichi?* Art thou come at length? *Origeena* and *morigi* are words of interrogation, expressing, at the same time, doubt: *Morigi npágàk oenèk?* Perhaps the youth is ashamed? *Hegmi hínnerkam?* What is it after all? *Orkéénam*, I do not know what it can be.

Latàm means almost. *Latàm riýgerañi:* He was very near being drowned. *Latàm riahámat ýúihàk:* the ox had almost killed me. *Yt*, or *ych*, means only, alone. *Tachkáúe yt lenechiavàlk:* Give me only a little of any thing. *Mat*, or *gramachka*, means lastly. They use this word, in affirming any thing with serious asseveration, or with boasting. *Gramachka Abipon yapochì;* lastly the Abipones are brave. *Eneha mat yoale:* this, lastly, is the man. *Chik*, *chit*, and *chichi*, are words of prohibition, as *ne* with the Latins. *Chik grakalakitřani:* Thou shouldst not doubt. *Chichi nouharegřani:* Thou shouldst not lie. *Klatùm keèn* means although, and

oagan, yet, however. *Eneha klatùm keèn èúének*, *oagan netackaik*: Though this man is beautiful, yet he is cowardly. *Tán* means *because*, and *máoge*, therefore. *Tán aýte apatáye ken nepark*, *máoge chik àtèkan*: Because there are many gnats in the plain, therefore I have not slept. *Men, men*, mean as, so. *Men netà, men naetaâat*, As the father, so the son.

They have various exclamations of wonder, grief, joy, &c. *Kemen apalaik akami!* How stingy and tenacious of thy own property thou art! *Kemén naáchik*, or *Kímili naáchik!* Oh! how useful this will be to me! is their way of thanking you for a gift; for neither the Abipones nor Guaranies have any word whereby to express thanks. What wonder, since gratitude is unknown, even by name, among them, that they do not display it their actions? For, as some one observed, they think benefits like flowers—only pleasant as long as they are fresh. One repulse entirely effaces the memory of former benefits from the minds of the Indians. The Guaranies, on receiving a gift, use the same phrase, and say, *Aquiyebete ángà*: This will be useful to me. The Abipones, after obtaining what they ask, sometimes thanked the giver with nothing but the word *Kliri*: This is what I wanted. In wonder or compassion, they exclaim, *Kem ekemat!* *Ta yeegàm!* or

Ndêrè! (which they usually say when astonished at any sudden novelty,) and *Tayretà!* Oh! the poor little thing!

But these examples are sufficient to show you the asperities, difficulties, and strange construction of the Abiponian tongue. Were I to embrace every thing necessary to the thorough understanding of it, I should fill a volume. Father Joseph Brigniel, the first civilizer of that nation, was also the first to turn his attention towards learning, and afterwards explaining this language. He translated the chief heads of religion, and the regular church prayers, into the Abiponian tongue, for the use of the whole nation. It is incredible what pains he took in this study; and his patience, and the retentiveness of his memory, were absolutely iron. Though he spoke Latin, German, French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as the language of the Guaranies, whose apostle he had formerly been, with elegance and fluency, being well versed in six different languages, yet he found it a difficulty to gain even a smattering of the Abiponian tongue. He left no stone unturned to fish out the names of things, and the inflexions, and force of the words. But though he was extremely eager to obtain a knowledge of the language, and spared no pains in the pursuit, masters and books were

both wanting. There were, indeed, Spaniards who, having been taken captives by the Abipones in their boyhood, had learnt the Abiponian tongue, but they had generally forgotten the language of their own country; while those who fell in captivity amongst the savages, after they had grown up, had learnt their language so ill that they scarce spoke a word without blundering. By degrees they forget their own language, but are incapable of properly acquiring any other. The same may be said in regard to the Abipones, who have returned to their own people after being for some time captives amongst the Spaniards. You will, therefore, sooner learn to err than to speak from the captives. But if we were able to hire any one of them to instruct us who was tolerably well acquainted with both languages, Good heavens! what troubles had we not to undergo! When asked what the Abipones called such or such a thing, he would reply in so low and dubious a tone, that we were not able to distinguish a syllable, or even a letter. If we asked him to repeat the same word two or three times over, he grew angry, and would not speak. Scarce was the hour of instruction ended, when he required the reward for the few words he has pronounced: one day a knife; the next a pair of scissars; the next glass-beads; the next

something of more value. If we denied him what he asked, he would never visit us again; if we gave it, he was daily emboldened to ask things of still more value. Great is the misery of the scholar when masters are either scarce or too dear. I do not deny that, by daily conversation with the Indians, I learnt the names of those things which are present to the eyes; but invisible things, which relate to God and the soul, can only be learnt by conjecture and very long use. When horses, tigers, or arms, are talked of, you will find any of the Abipones a Demosthenes or a Tully: if the question turn on the affections and functions of the mind, and the practice of virtue, they will either give you answers darker than night, or remain silent.

When we were studying the Guarany tongue, grammars and three dictionaries were published by Fathers Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, and Paulo Restivo, a Sicilian, which saved us a great deal of time and labour. By their assistance our progress was so much accelerated that, at the end of three months, we were permitted to confess the Guaranies by order of four of the older Jesuits, who, at the command of the superiors, closely examined our knowledge in the language. But as the assistance of books was wanting amongst the Abipones, Joseph Brigniel made up for the deficiency by

all possible arts and industry. If any new word or elegance could be gathered from the conversation of the savages, he carefully wrote it down, and at length composed a dictionary, which, in course of time, grew to a hundred and fifty sheets. It was afterwards copied out, corrected, and considerably enriched by members of our society. It is easy to add to what is begun; for the successors, sitting on the shoulders of those that preceded them, see farther, and more than they. Pizarro penetrated into Peru, and Cortez into Mexico, but not till Columbus, who first saw America, had shown them the way. The Jesuit Brigniel first discovered the track to be pursued amid the dim shades of a savage language, made himself a guide to the rest, and, to express myself in few words, merits eternal fame for having kindled a light amidst darkness, by pointing out the rude lineaments of grammar rules.

The Abiponian language is involved in new difficulties by a ridiculous custom which the savages have of continually abolishing words common to the whole nation, and substituting new ones in their stead. Funeral rites are the origin of this custom. The Abipones do not like that any thing should remain to remind them of the dead. Hence appellative words bearing any affinity with the names of the de-

ceased are presently abolished. During the first years that I spent amongst the Abipones, it was usual to say *Hegmalkam kahamátek?* When will there be a slaughtering of oxen? On account of the death of some Abipon, the word *kahamátek* was interdicted, and, in its stead, they were all commanded, by the voice of a cryer, to say, *Hegmalkam négerkatà?* The word *nihirenak*, a tiger, was exchanged for *apañi-gehak*; *peúe*, a crocodile, for *kaeprhak*, and *Kaá-ma*, Spaniards, for *Rikil*, because these words bore some resemblance to the names of Abipones lately deceased. Hence it is that our vocabularies are so full of blots, occasioned by our having such frequent occasion to obliterate interdicted words, and insert new ones. Add to this another thing which increases the difficulty of learning the language of the Abipones. Persons promoted to the rank of nobles are called *Hëcheri*, and *Neleÿeycatè*, and are distinguished from the common people even by their language. They generally use the same words, but so transformed by the interposition, or addition of other letters, that they appear to belong to a different language. The names of men belonging to this class, end in *In*; those of the women, who also partake of these honours, in *En*. These syllables you must add even to substantives and verbs in talking with them.

The sentence, This horse belongs to Captain Debayakaikin, would be rendered by an Abipon, speaking the vulgar tongue, in this manner : *Eneha ahëpegak Debayakäikin lela*. But in the language of the Hëcheri you must say, *Debayakaikin lilin*. They salute a plebeian with *Là nauichi?* Art thou come? to which he replies *Là ñauè*, I am come. If a noble person is addressed, he must be saluted in these words : *Là náuirin*, Art thou come? and he, with much importance, and pompous modulation of his voice, will reply, *Là ñauerinkie*, I am come. Moreover, they have some words peculiar to themselves, by which they supersede those in general use. Thus, the common people call a mother, *Latè*, the nobles, *Lichiá*. The former call a son *Laétaârat*, the latter *Illalèk*, not to mention other instances. Both in the explanation of religion, and in common conversation, we chose to use the vulgar tongue, because it was understood by all.

I have said that there are three kinds of Abipones, the *Riikahes*, the *Nakaikétergehes*, and the *Yaaukanigas*. All of them, however, speak the same language; all understand each other, and are understood. Yet each of these classes has some words peculiar to itself. The *Riikahes* call gnats *ayte*; the *Nakaikétergehes* *apatáye*. Both names are extremely suitable to gnats, for

ayte means many, and *apatáye* is derived from *napàta*, a mat, which they use to cover their tents with; and so great is the multitude of gnats in the lands of the Abipones that the inhabitants seem not only covered but oppressed by them. To drink with the Riikahes is expressed by *neèt*, with the Nakaiketergehes by *nañàm*. The latter call a head *Lapañik*, the former *Lemañat*. The Yaaucanigas, in the use of words, sometimes imitate one, sometimes the other; but in a few they differ from both. The rest call the moon *Grauèk*, but they, by antonomasia, name it *Eergñaik*, a star. The rainbow is called by the rest, *Oáhetà*, but by the Yaaucanigas, *Apich*. But this variety creates neither difficulty nor wonder. The Teutonic language is used by many nations, but how greatly does it differ in different provinces, not only in dialect but also in words! How different is Tuscan from the languages spoken at Milan, Savoy, and Venice! How different is Castilian from the languages of Arragon, Andalusia, Navarre, and Valencia!

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE WEDDINGS OF THE ABIPONES.

WHENEVER an Abipon thinks fit to choose a wife, he must bargain with the parents of the girl about the price to be payed for her. Four or more horses, strings of beads made of glass or snail-shells, a woollen garment of various colours, woven like a Turkish carpet, a spear furnished with an iron point, and other articles of this kind, are paid by the bridegroom. It frequently happens that the girl rescinds what had been settled and agreed upon between the parents and the bridegroom, obstinately rejecting the very mention of marriage. Many girls, through fear of being compelled to marry, have concealed themselves in the recesses of woods or lakes; seeming to dread the assaults of tigers less than the untried nuptials. Some of them, just before they are to be brought to the bridegroom's house, fly to the chapel, and there, hidden behind the altar, elude the threats and the expectation of the unwelcome bridegroom.

Let us suppose the Abiponian bride to have acquiesced in her parents' wishes with regard to

her marriage; without the observance of other ceremonies usual elsewhere, she is conducted, not without pomp, to the tent of her spouse. Eight girls hold up a beautiful garment like a carpet in their hands, by way of a shade, under which the bride goes, full of bashfulness, with her eyes fixed upon the ground, preserving a pensive silence, spectators being scattered around. After having been received by her spouse, and kindly saluted, she is brought back by her hordesmen to her father's house, in the same manner, and with the same attendants as she left it; whence, in a second and a third journey, she brings the gourds, pots, pans, and the weaving-machine, under a shade, to her husband's tent, and after a very short conversation returns to the house of her parents, where the bridegroom is forced to go to take his food and pass the night: for the mothers are so careful of their daughters, that even when they are married they can hardly bear to part from them, and deliver them immediately into the power of another. After they have satisfied themselves of the probity of their son-in-law, or after the birth of a child, they suffer them to live in a separate house. These are the scanty rites of the Abiponian nuptials, which however are sometimes gladdened by a computation on the part of the men. Sometimes a drum is

struck by a boy seated on the top of a tent to proclaim the nuptials. The bride's being covered with a skreen when she is conducted to the bridegroom's house, resembles the Roman fashion of veiling the heads of the women, when they were given to their husbands, with a yellow or flame-coloured veil, whence the word nuptials.

Gumilla relates, in his History of the river Orinoco, that there is one nation which marries old men to girls, and old women to youths, that age may correct the petulance of youth. For, they say, that to join young persons equal in youth and imprudence in wedlock together, is to join one fool to another. The marriage of young men with old women is a kind of apprenticeship, which after they have served for some months, they are permitted to marry women of their own age.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE ABIPONES.

WE know that a plurality of wives, or the repudiation of them, was familiar to the Hebrews and other nations, and that it is tolerated even now amongst the Mahometans and Chinese. The Greeks and Romans did not universally, nor at all times object to it. What wonder then that the custom of polygamy and divorce should be common to many savages of America, since it is upheld by the practice of the ancients? You should not however imagine that the whole nation of the Abipones follow after the steps of the other nations in that respect. The major part are contented with one and the same wife, though I cannot deny that divorce is as frequent amongst them as the changing of the dress in Europe; yet I have known many who kept the same wife all their lives. But if any Abipon marries several women, he settles them in separate hordes, many leagues distant from one another, and visits first one, then the other, at intervals of a year. If he keeps many in the same house, which is very seldom the case, endless quarrels, blows, and battles, are sure to

ensue, about the prerogative of governing the family, and the favour of their husband. *Nejenta*, as I said before, is a word appropriated to express a contest between two wives about their husband; any other sort of fight is called *Roé-lakitápegeta*.

Let us now speak of the reason that occasions divorce. It is very common amongst them to reject wives to whom they have formerly united themselves, at their own pleasure, and with impunity, so that divines have very properly doubted the reality of the marriage of savages, as it seems to want the perpetuity of the nuptial tie. If their wives displease them, it is sufficient; they are ordered to decamp. No farther cause or objection is sought for; the will of the husband, who dislikes his wife, stands in the place of reason. Should the husband cast his eyes upon any handsomer woman, the old wife must remove merely on this account, her fading form or advanced age being her only accusers, though she may be universally commended for conjugal fidelity, regularity of conduct, diligent obedience, and the children she has born. None of the men of most authority have either the right or the inclination to defend the divorced, or control the divorcer. But, appointing a drinking-party, wherein the memory of

injuries is refreshed in the minds of the intoxicated guests, the relations fiercely avenge the dishonour done to the repudiated wife. Often, too, women just cast off by one man are immediately married by another. I have observed elsewhere that the younger women highly approve the law of Christ, and are anxious that themselves and their husbands should be baptized, because the perpetuity of their marriage is thereby secured, and their husbands prevented from changing or increasing the number of their wives. This licence of divorce produces, as I have already related, bloody murders of children, and the incredible diminution of the whole nation.

You will find many things worthy of reprehension, but at the same time not a few deserving of praise, in the married state of the Abipones. I will inform you of those most worthy of mention. Though the paternal indulgence of the Roman pontiffs makes the first and second degrees of relationship alone a bar to the marriage of the Indians, yet the Abipones, instructed by nature and the example of their ancestors, abhor the very thought of marrying any one related to them by the most distant tie of relationship. Long experience has convinced me, that the respect to consanguinity, by which they are deterred from marrying into their own families,

is implanted by nature in the minds of most of the people of Paraguay. In this opinion I was greatly confirmed by the Cacique Roỹ, leader of the savages in the woods of Mbaeverà, who, when I was explaining the heads of religion to the surrounding multitude, and happened to make mention of incestuous nuptials, broke out into these words—" You say right, Father! Marriage with relations is a most shameful thing. This we have learnt from our ancestors." Such are the feelings of these wood savages, though they think it neither irrational nor improper to marry many wives, and reject them whenever they like.

Another admirable trait in the character of the savage Abipones is their conjugal fidelity. You never hear of this being shaken, or even attempted. Husbands are many months absent from their homes, whilst their wives remain in the midst of a horde of men without danger or even suspicion. What the Greeks have fabled of Penelope, who continued faithful to her husband Ulysses during an absence of twenty years, is the true history of the Abiponian women. But if an Abipon entertains the slightest suspicion of his wife's virtue, he does not digest it in silence, but takes ample vengeance on the person suspected though not convicted of the injury.

Amongst the other good qualities of the mar-

ried people amongst the Abipones, may be reckoned the tender affection which they display towards their offspring, in feeding, clothing, and taking care of them. To tutor the boys from their earliest age in the arts of riding, swimming, hunting, and fighting, is the chief care of the fathers. The girls are diligently instructed by their mothers in the domestic duties of females, and early inured to labour and inaccommodation. But this is worthy of censure in them, that however disobedient or refractory their children may be, they never have the courage to correct them with a word, much less with a blow. Alaykin, chief Cacique of the town of Concepcion, whenever he visited me, held a little boy five years of age upon his lap. This child, who was as restless as a young ape, would sometimes pull his father's nose or his hair, and sometimes struck his face. The old man, pleased at this, would cry—"Look, Father! can you ever doubt that this fearless boy will sometime come to be a famous soldier or captain, since he is not afraid of me, a leader so victorious and so formidable to the Spaniards?" The same boy would throw bones, horns, or any thing else he could lay hold on, at his mother, when she came to call him home. The warlike father interpreted the child's insolence, which he ought to have pu-

nished, as the mark of an intrepid mind, and rewarded it with laughter, and even with praise. The too unbounded love which they bear their children incapacitates the savages from doing any thing to cause them pain. But every one knows that the immoderate fondness of parents is a frequent injury to children in Europe.

CHAPTER XX.

GAMES ON THE BIRTH OF THE MALE CHILD OF A
CACIQUE.

THE love implanted in the minds of all nations towards their prince never shows itself more clearly than when the birth of an heir is announced. Festive fires, theatrical games, joyous acclamations, songs, paintings, sculpture, elegant dances, and various other things attest the public joy. This custom of the Europeans, the savage and warlike Abipones in their fashion imitate. They make public show of rejoicing for some days, when informed of the birth of a Cacique's son. As soon as a report is spread of the birth of the son of a Cacique, the whole crowd of girls, bearing palm boughs in their hands, repair to the house of the infant amid festive acclamations; they run round the roof and sides of it, shaking the palm boughs, by which percussion they happily augur that the child will become famous in war, and the scourge of his enemies. The use of the palms, and the other ceremonies which follow all have relation to this. The strongest of the women is covered from the loins to the legs, with a sort

of apron made of the longer ostrich feathers. That woman has every day the most business to perform; for in company with the other girls, she visits all the huts, and with a hide, twisted in the form of Hercules's club, whips, puts to flight, and pursues all the men that she finds in every house, and those that are met by the way are soundly beaten by the girls, with the palm boughs. The first day is passed in this running up and down, amidst the laughter of the flagellated men. Next day the girls, who are distributed into bands, wrestle with one another, and the boys do the same in a separate place. On the third day they are called out to dance, the boys on one side, and the girls on the other. They all join hands till a circle is formed, an old woman, the directress of the dance going round striking a gourd: and when after a whirling for some time, they grow giddy, they rest at intervals, and then renew their dancing, which contains nothing worthy of admiration, but the patience displayed on the part both of the spectators and of the performers, and is perfectly devoid of art. On the fourth day, the woman with the apron of ostrich feathers traverses the town, surrounded by girls, challenging the stoutest and strongest woman she finds in every house, to contend with her in the street; and now throwing her adversary, now

being herself thrown, affords an amusing spectacle to the assembled people. During the remaining days, (for those games last eight days,) either the former sports are renewed, or the men joyfully indulge in public drinking-parties, wherein songs are alternately sung to the sound of drum. Of the other games, on the occasion of some person's being admitted to the rank of captain, of the celebration of any signal victory, of the death of a noble, the removal of the bones of the dead, the shaving of a widow's hair, &c. we shall discourse elsewhere. Of this I am quite certain, that the Abipones Nakaiketergehes, or wood-Abipones, are much more observant of national rites and ceremonies than the rest. It is incredible what time and labour it cost us to abolish the national rites of this ferocious nation, which the example of their ancestors had hallowed in their eyes. An oak a hundred years old, which has stuck its roots deep into the ground, is not felled at a blow. But now, from nuptial and natal games, let us proceed to things of a more gloomy character, to diseases, physicians, and medicines.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE DISEASES, PHYSICIANS, AND MEDICINES OF THE
ABIPONES.

I HAVE long since described the Abipones to be stout, vigorous, and robust ; and unless I am much deceived, have already proved in chapter the seventh, that the diseases, which in Europe fill houses with sick persons, and graves with dead bodies, are unknown here. Epilepsy, gout, lethargy, madness, jaundice, diseases in the joints, complaints in the kidneys, elephantiasis, iliac disorders, &c. are names strange and foreign to the Abipones. You scarce hear once in three years of any of them dying of a fever, pleurisy, or consumption. Sickness is more rare amongst them than an Aurora Borealis, or an eclipse with us. I never heard any of them complain of tooth-ache except an old woman, who soon stopped the pain with a few drops of vinegar. I do not wonder that the savages should be exempt from so common a complaint, as they are accustomed from childhood to chew tobacco leaves mixed with salt and the saliva of old women, and reduced into the form of an unguent. It is not improperly, therefore, that

they call tobacco *noctà*, their medicine: for they are constantly eating honey, both in a solid and liquid state, which is the certain destruction of the teeth; so that the Indians must suffer continual torment from them, or soon be deprived of them altogether, were not the bad effects of the honey counteracted by the acrimony of the salt and tobacco. Experience shows that persons who smoke or chew tobacco every day will preserve their teeth sound. I have seen Spaniards of the higher orders in Paraguay either chew or smoke tobacco, and take delight in it as of certain utility to the health. But the Paraguayrians have another remedy against the tooth-ache. The pods of the cacào are steeped for some time in brandy. Cotton dipped in this liquor is applied to the tooth, which, if not hollow, is well moistened with that brandy, which should be held a long time in the mouth. If you repeat this several times, both the swelling and the pain will entirely cease. My own frequent experience, joined with that of others, has taught me the efficacy of this noble medicine, which is celebrated even in Europe. The freshest and most juicy pods must be chosen for the purpose, for what virtue will the old decayed ones yield, which are destitute of oil? The milder drinkable brandy should be used, not that fiery liquor which chemists call

spirits of wine. Some prick the gum of the tooth with the spine of the fish raya, and by eliciting blood, allay the pain. Others again reduce tigers' claws and alum first into a calx, and then into a powder, by laying them on hot coals, and after they are well mixed up together, apply them to the hollow of the tooth. By the adoption of this method, many, beside myself, have found not only the pain, but the cause of the pain so entirely removed, that it never returned afterwards. Tooth-ache is a frequent and dreadful affliction to Europeans in Paraguay, on account of the scarcity or unskilfulness of surgeons. In extracting the diseased tooth, they pierce and lacerate the whole gum near it, which causes extreme pain, together with much effusion of blood. That the Abipones never need the aid of these torturers, is a truly enviable part of their felicity. I never saw a toothless person amongst them. The teeth, which they have made strenuous use of all their lives, generally go with them to the grave.

Whenever they feel themselves unwell, although the complaint be in the foot or the elbow, they always say that their heart pains them. The same is the case with the Guaranies. If you say to the sick man, what ails you, what is the matter with you? he immediately

replies with a groan, it is in my heart: so that it is very difficult to understand from the Indians what their complaint is, and where it is situated, unless it be betrayed by other signs. Loathing of food for ever so short a time is, in their opinion, a certain indication of sickness. If an Abipon, from having overloaded his stomach, abstains from food for a little while, the women immediately augur the worst respecting him, and make no end of their lamentations, saying every now and then with a groan, *Chik rkeñe*, he does not eat. As soon as the sick person takes ever so little food, though the disorder be not yet subdued, they think him out of danger, so that *Là rkeñe*, he eats now; and *Lá-yamini*, or *Là natatéuge*, now he is recovered, now he revives, are with them synonymous. Moreover, as the Abipones are but very seldom sick, so very few of them die when they are sick. I do not doubt but that in the frequent conflicts they have with enemies and tigers, numbers fall yearly by the nails of the one, and the claws of the other. In most of the remainder, extreme old age is generally the fatal disease. In a word, greatest part of the Abipones die when they are satiated with life, when, weary of the burden of years, they long for death as the rest and solace of their miserable existence. This circumstance occasions

the common error that they should never die at all were the Spaniards and the jugglers banished from America; for, to the arms of the former, and to the arts of the latter, they attribute the deaths of all their countrymen. A wound inflicted with a spear often gapes so wide that it affords ample room for life to go out and death to come in; yet if the man dies of the wound, they madly believe him killed, not by a weapon, but by the deadly arts of the jugglers. The relations leave no stone unturned, not only diligently to investigate, but severely to punish the authors of the death, and of the sorcery. They are persuaded that the juggler will be banished from amongst the living, and made to atone for their relation's death, if the heart and tongue be pulled out of the dead man's body immediately after his decease, roasted at the fire, and given to dogs to devour. Though so many hearts and tongues are devoured, and they never observe any of the jugglers die, yet they still religiously adhere to the custom of their ancestors, by cutting out the hearts and tongues of infants and adults of both sexes, as soon as they have expired. How firmly this mad notion, that men are killed by magical arts alone, is rooted in the minds of the Abipones, you may learn from the following facts, of which I myself was a spectator. In the

colony of St. Ferdinand, a Yaaucaniga, famed amongst his countrymen both for high birth and military prowess, and on that very account ready for any audacious action, was much afflicted at the untimely death of his little daughter. He knew that she had been weak and diseased from her birth, yet was fully bent upon finding out the magical author of her death. A foreign Indian woman married to an Abipon appeared to him, from the representations of certain old women, who bore her a grudge, to be the perpetrator of the crime. Infuriated by the supposed injury, and the desire of vengeance, he fell upon the innocent unsuspecting woman at the approach of night, as she was spinning at the fire; he pierced her shoulder-blade with a spear with such force, that the point came out in the middle of her bosom, and stained the child she was suckling with its mother's blood. The woman was middle-aged, very fat, and full-breasted. She swam in her own blood, which spouted from every vein. The horrid nature of the wound threatening certain death, the heads of our holy religion, which she had formerly learnt, were briefly recalled to her memory; she received baptism, and was admonished to forgive her murderer. Having thus attended to the salvation of the poor woman's soul, we applied all our thoughts towards retarding her death,

though we thought no medicine capable of saving her life. The blood which flowed, mixed with milk, being wiped up, the wound was washed with hot wine, and anointed with hen's fat. Numbers of people assembled to witness this mournful spectacle. Mixed with the crowd came a juggler physician, who gave the husband of the wounded woman a horn, desiring him to discharge his urine into it, and was immediately and plentifully obeyed. He gave the warm urine to the woman to drink, who made no hesitation, but swallowed it to the last drop. The juggling Hippocrates then turned to my companion and said: "Do you know why I prescribed fresh urine? In order that the wounded woman may vomit up the blood trickling from the wound to the inmost parts of the body, which would otherwise putrefy, and cause the lungs and other parts to putrefy also." The event verified his prediction. The woman was cleared by vomiting. The deep wound, being daily anointed with hen's fat, and having the leaves of the cabbage, which we call *süsse kraut*, applied to it to prevent inflammation, healed in a few days, and, excepting the scar, no inconvenience, trouble, or pain resulted from it. The surgeons of our country will doubtless laugh at the application of hen's fat, and perhaps question its efficacy in

curing wounds; let them laugh, deride, doubt and despise, with my hearty good-will. I confidently oppose the experience of my own eyes, to their doubts and laughter. My arm, which was pierced with an arrow armed with five barbs, by the Natakebit savages, the nerve which directs the middle finger being injured at the same time, was happily cured in fourteen days by this remedy alone. With this fat I have cured men wounded both with arrows and spears; and with the same remedy I entirely healed an Abiponian woman whose leg had been wounded by an axe, in consequence of which, as all medicine had for some days been neglected, the foot was swelled in a dreadful manner. It would be endless to relate all the cures that have been worked with hen's fat.

The jugglers are commonly thought to be the authors of diseases, as well as of death, and the sick Abipones imagine that they shall recover as soon as ever those persons are removed. A tragic event will render this foolish persuasion more undoubted. An Abipon of the town of St. Jeronymo, called Ychohàke, elevated by the memory of his own great deeds, and those of his brother, the Cacique Ychoalay, wasted away with a slow disease. It never entered his head to seek the cause in the noxious humours in which he abounded. To

discover which of the jugglers it was that had afflicted him with this sickness, was his daily and nightly endeavour. On this affair he consulted some old women, who pronounced a Toba, of the name of Napakainchin, to be the cause of the disease. The sick man immediately devotes the accused to death, for the preservation, as he thought, of his own life. In the dead of the night, he came upon him unawares, as he was sleeping in his tent; he plunged the iron point of his spear into his body, pierced his left side with a powerful blow, broke two of his ribs, and clove his shoulder with a weapon. At the cries of the wounded man, people assembled, whilst the assassin escaped by flight. We were called to the assistance of the poor wretch. Seeing him bathed in blood, and pierced with three wounds, we imagined that he would expire immediately. The bystanders told us that unless we removed him into our house, the person who put him in this condition would return to dispatch him with fresh wounds. According to their advice, he was conveyed into our house. Slipping by the way out of the hands of the carriers, he fell to the ground with fresh, and imminent danger of his life; for he was very large, and of weight proportionable to such great bulk. The place where he was laid in our house, as it had

neither door nor fastening, was fortified by the Abipones with hides on every side, that Ychohàke might not gain access, if he came to complete the murder. And, in fact, as the Indians foretold, in half an hour, he came furnished with a dagger to hasten the death of the dying man; but being bravely repulsed by Father Joseph Brigniel, whose companion I then was, returned without accomplishing his purpose. The wounded man was baptized, and by means of our cares and medicines, amongst which hen's fat was the principal, happily recovered in the course of a few weeks. Napakainchin's wife and children gladly imitated his example, and embraced the Christian religion. A little after, the whole family, apprehending fresh danger from the same Ychohàke, removed to the neighbouring town of St. Xavier.

Do not imagine the history of the sick and crazy Ychohàke finished. After struggling with the disease for some months, with increased suspicions of some witchcraft being practised upon him, he took it into his head to accuse a woman, supposed to be acquainted with the black art, of his ill state of health. About mid-day, he attacked the unsuspecting female, and as he endeavoured to strike off her head, the weapon glanced aside, and cut her left cheek, which, falling to her breast with the

ear hanging to it by a piece of skin, bathed the child at her breast with blood. The smiter was kept off by the people who crowded to the assistance of the woman. I could scarce refrain from tears at the cruel spectacle; but not having it in my power to punish the wretch who had committed the outrage, turned all my attention towards succouring the soul of the outraged. We had a negro somewhat skilled in the art of surgery; him I ordered to sew the cheek in three places to the head, the woman enduring the pricks of the needle without a groan, whilst the rest were filled with horror at the sight. The whole wound was washed with warm urine, anointed with hen's fat, and gently bound with a piece of linen dipped in a decoction of herbs. As no bandages to fasten the linen could be found, I used the girdle which I wore. The whole evening during which this passed, and the next night, the faithful Abipones watched diligently for the security of the woman that she might not sustain any further injury. For that Indian eagerly longed for her death, as the means of procuring the recovery of his own health. But the wound healing sooner than we had expected, the danger that the poor creature could not always remain concealed was removed, by her privately retreat-

ing to the town of St. Ferdinand. Divine Providence seems to have dictated her flight; for the Cacique Ychoalay, who was absent from the town at the time of the event, when informed by me of Ychohàke's cruelty, and requested to restrain his brother, replied that he should come immediately, not to restrain his brother, but to kill that woman, whom he had long thought infamous for her magic arts, and to be feared by all. And indeed, being very firm in his resolves, he would have put his threats into execution without a doubt, had he found the woman in the town. For, in former years, when they wandered up and down the plains, he turned out of his horde all women suspected of sorcery, and pierced many of them, though perhaps perfectly innocent, with a spear, that they might never deceive any one again; being often condemned both on the score of credulity and cruelty.

But this bloody tragedy, at length, had a happy termination. The Indian Ychohàke ceased at length to live and to be feared, and you will be surprised to hear that one, who, in his lifetime, had been so mad in his suspicions of sorcery, grew sane in his last moments. Having received baptism, at his own desire, conscious of approaching dissolution he de-

lighted much in the presence of the priest, whom, as he came in the early part of the night, he persuaded to repose for a while at his own house, promising to let him know when he felt his death approach. He kept his word: he calmly expired the night before Trinity Sunday, whilst the priest was suggesting every thing consolatory to the dying man, and his relations were all weeping around him. He caused us to entertain great hopes of his obtaining a happy immortality on many accounts. For, indignant at the lamentations of his weeping domestics, he said they should remember he was going to visit the great house of the Creator of all things, the high father, the greatest captain. Ever intent on appeasing the Almighty, he testified sorrow and remorse for the many murders he had committed, of Christians and others. He repeatedly desired his wife not to follow the custom of their ancestors in slaying his horses and sheep at his grave; leaving them, and all his other property, to his little daughter. All this manifests that he held his ancient superstitions in abhorrence, and had embraced Christianity with his whole soul. I have related this to show you that all the misery resulting from deaths and disorders is attributed by the Abipones to the magical

arts of the jugglers ; whom, nevertheless, at other times they revere as physicians and saviours, of which more hereafter. Much remains to be said of diseases which ought not to be unknown to Europe.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF A CERTAIN DISEASE PECULIAR TO THE ABIPONES.

DURING an eighteen years' acquaintance with Paraguay and its inhabitants, I discovered a disease amongst the Abipones Nakaiketergehes, entirely unknown elsewhere. This disease affects the mind more than the body, though I should think it occasioned by the bad temperature of the former. They sometimes begin to rave and storm like madmen. The credulous and superstitious crowd think them reduced to this state by the magic arts of jugglers, and call them *Loapaîaika*. These persons, agitated, as I think, by the intemperature of black bile, and filled with gloomy ideas, betray their madness chiefly at sun-set. The distracted persons suddenly leap out of their tents, run into the country on foot, and direct their course straight to the burying-place of their family. In speed they equal ostriches, and those who pursue them on the swiftest horses can hardly overtake and bring them home. Seized with fury in the night, they burn with the desire of committing slaughter somewhere; and for this purpose

snatch up any arms they can lay hold of. Hence, as soon as a report is spread through a town of any one's being seized with this kind of madness, every body takes up a spear. The hordesmen, as they can neither calm the furious man, nor keep him at home, suffer him to go out into the street, armed with a stick, and accompanied with as many people as possible. A crowd of boys assembling to behold the spectacle, they make a circuit about all the streets. The insane person strikes the roof and mats of every tent again and again with the stick, none of the inmates daring to utter a word. If through the negligence of his guards, or his own cunning, he gets possession of arms, Heavens! what a universal terror is excited! a terror not confined to women and unwarlike boys, but felt by men who account themselves heroes; for they say it is wrong and irrational to use arms against those who are not in possession of their senses. The women, therefore, with their children used to crowd to the court-yard of our house which was fortified with stakes against the assaults of savages, and through fear of the insane person, pass hours, nay whole nights there.

Persons seized with this madness take scarcely any food or sleep, and walk up and down pale with fasting and melancholy: you

would imagine that they were contemplating some new system of the figure of the earth, or studying how to square the circle. By day, however, they betray no signs of alienation of mind, nor are they to be feared before evening. A person of this description, who was very turbulent at night, visited me in the middle of the day. In familiar conversation I asked him who it was that disturbed the rest by his furiousness every night. He replied with a calm countenance, that he did not know. The Spaniard, my companion, seeing him take his leave, said, "This is the man you have long wished to know. This is he that raves at night." Yet I could discover nothing indicative of derangement either in his countenance or manners. Another insane person of the kind, whom I knew, met me as we were both riding in the plain, and joined company with me. But, pretending business, I put spur to my horse and hastened home. Twice when I was shutting the door of my hut, and once when I was tying a horse to a stake to feed, I should have been destroyed by a madman, had not persons come to my succour and averted the danger. Sometimes many persons of both sexes began to rave at once; sometimes one, and often no one was in this deplorable state. This madness lasted eight, fourteen, or more days, before tranquil-

lity and intellect were restored. All the Abipones subject to this malady, whom I have known, were uniformly of a melancholy turn of mind, always in a state of perturbation from their hypochondriac or choleric temper, and of a fierce, threatening countenance. When this bile was excited by bad air, or immoderate drinking, it is neither strange nor surprising, that derangement and raving madness ensued. The stupid or ignorant alone attribute that to magic art, which is solely to be ascribed to the fault or strength of nature.

We have found the fear of death a powerful antidote to the licence of raving amongst the Abipones. Within a few days the number of mad persons increased unusually: one of them in the dead of the night got through the fence, and was stealing into our house, but was carried away by people who came to our assistance. Alaykin, the chief Cacique, being informed of our danger, called all the people into the market-place next day, and declared, that if any one henceforward took to raving, he should immediately put to death all the female jugglers, as well as the insane themselves. From that time I never heard of any more tumults occasioned by these furious persons. Might not some of them have feigned madness in the first instance, because they

loved to be objects of terror to their hordesmen, and to be pointed at with the finger? I never can believe with the savages, that a magical charm was the cause of their insanity.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF MEASLES, SMALL-POX, AND THE MURRAIN IN CATTLE.

THE physician Roderigo Fonseca observes, “The plague was never seen either in the East or West Indies, but we know that in America a million Indians were destroyed by the small-pox not many years back, when no Spaniard took the infection. This disease was introduced amongst them by a Negro.” I say nothing of the East Indies, being an utter stranger to them, but every one agrees that no plague ever raged in America: if you have read the contrary in any historian, remember that catarrh, ague, and diarrhea, if long and widely prevalent, are called the plague by the lower orders of Spaniards. The small-pox and measles too are not improperly denominated the plague by the Indians. We have also frequently experienced a murrain in cattle fatal to horses, oxen, and above all to mules; a disease induced not by the pestilence of the air, but by the badness of the pastures, or the scarcity of water. This sort of disorder may be truly called contagious, the mere contact with sick or dead bodies being infectious. Swelling of the head, and blood

trickling from the nostrils were symptoms of the reigning disorder; the same signs too indicated the bites of serpents in animals. Mutilating the ear, and cutting the vein of the fore foot, were admirable remedies against the poison of that disease in mules, especially if salt were given them to lick. The paunches of the oxen slain to feed the Indians are daily thrown out, along with the bowels, into an open place, where all the horses and mules eagerly crowd to lick the garbage, because a sort of salt and nitre is created by the blood of which they are excessively fond. Therefore, whilst this dreadful murrain raged in our territories we daily sprinkled those entrails with salt, the salubrity of which is proved by the circumstance, that whilst numbers died in the neighbouring estates, very few sickened, and many recovered with us in the town of St. Joachim.

It is beyond all controversy, that small-pox is the true plague of the Americans, and that it has been lately introduced into America, either by Europeans or Negroes. Hence the just complaint of the Indians. "The Europeans are fine people, truly! They have made liberal compensation for the infinity of gold and silver they have taken from us, by leaving us the plague of the small-pox." Indeed it is a well known fact that the number of Indians who have died of this

disease during the two last centuries, defy all calculation. In the thirty Guarany towns some thirty thousand persons died of the small-pox in the year 1734.

It is not true that the Spaniards and other Europeans in America are exempted from small-pox; but it cannot be doubted that the Indians take it sooner, and more frequently die of it. I am of opinion that their habit of body has less strength to repel or overcome that poison. They generally eat half-raw and unsalted meat; they always go with their heads and feet bare; they drink nothing but water, and that not of the best kind, except at a few festive drinking parties in the course of the year; all which tend to weaken the stomach. The heat of the sun, and the constant use of maize, cause a ferment in their blood which, on the accession of small-pox, very frequently proves fatal. This must be understood of the pedestrian Indians only, for the Abipones, and other equestrian Indians, who do not labour under those miseries to which the pedestrians are subject, generally have the small-pox in a milder form.

In the year 1765 this plague carried off great numbers in the Spanish colonies. Having swept away about twelve thousand persons in the thirty Guarany towns, it spread to the distant hordes of the savages scattered throughout Chaco, and

though almost all took the infection, yet few died in proportion to the number of the sick. I speak of the equestrians, who were saved by the strength of their constitutions. In the town which I founded for the Abipones, one woman only escaped the contagion, yet out of the many hundreds that took the disease, twenty alone fell victims to it.

Often no mention is made of the small-pox for many years amongst the Indians; but this calm is the sure forerunner of an approaching storm. We have always found the small pox break out first in the colonies of the Spaniards, and spread from thence to the farthest hordes of the Indians; who, having learnt from the experience of their ancestors, to dread this disease as their death, separate from their hordesmen as soon as ever they have the least suspicion of its approach, and fly, some one way, some another, in precipitate haste. Upon this occasion they travel not in a straight line, but by various meanders and windings. That this method is superstitiously observed by the Lules, Isistines, Vilelas, Homoampas, and Chunipies, I was told by Fathers who had resided long amongst them. Through fear of the contagion, fathers desert their sick sons, and sons their fathers. They leave a pitcher of water, and some roasted maize at the sick

man's bed, and consult their own safety by flight. I should wrong the Abipones were I to say that they imitate them in these particulars. They do indeed turn their backs on the spot where the pestilence prevails, and crowd to their lurking-places in the woods; but on these occasions, they travel straight onwards, as usual, nor ever neglect their sick friends and relations, studiously performing the duties of humanity. Their endurance of pain and inconvenience at such times is likewise deserving of commendation. Even whilst the disorder rages with malignant heats I never heard them womanishly crying or complaining. They account the least groan a dishonour, and, to maintain the character for fortitude, endeavour to endure the bitterness of disease in silence.

I generally found this disorder most fatal to persons of a melancholy, choleric habit, or of advanced age, and to women in a state of pregnancy. To those upon whom, after a feverish heat, the small-pox slowly broke out, in whom it was blackish, thick, depressed, and spotted in the middle, or mixed with red and confluent, I presaged great danger and speedy death;—a prediction generally verified by the event. When the small-pox and swelling quickly disappear, all hope of the patient's recovery disappears likewise. I generally observed that per-

sons of a cheerful disposition, fair complexion, and less advanced period of life, underwent little trouble and danger from this disease. The burning of the throat, occasioned by the small-pox breaking out there, together with the cough and sort of quinsy it produces, are highly dangerous, and frequently fatal to the Indians. Water, mixed with sugar and citron-juice, is very refreshing to persons afflicted in this manner; a decoction of plantane leaves is also of use to rinse the throat, and sometimes for the purpose of washing the eyes. The old physicians advised persons in the small-pox to stay within doors, and keep themselves well covered, lest the spots which are ready to come out should be repressed to the inward parts. The Abipones, on the contrary, after taking the small-pox, passed days and nights in the open air, or in huts half closed, and admitting the air on every side. Whilst flying to the recesses of the woods they received the cold air into their whole bodies: might not this be the reason why, out of so great a number of sick persons, so very few died of the small-pox? For I have since learnt that modern physicians think the open air wholesomer for persons in the small-pox than the heat of a room; therefore I now no longer wonder at this disease proving fatal to so many

thousands of Guaranies, who, after being seized with it, always lie near the fire in a close room, almost smothered with blankets, and would have thought it fatally dangerous to breathe the fresh air even for a moment. The habits of the Abipones, in time of small-pox, were totally opposite, and it seldomer proved fatal to them. To corroborate this assertion I will relate an event worthy the consideration and wonder of physicians.

One of my Abipones, who was burning with feverish heat, the forerunner of small-pox, secretly procured a horn full of brandy which he drank to the last drop. Mounting his horse, in a state of complete intoxication, he swam across a river in the night, and arrived in safety at a plain, three miles and a half distant, where his fellow-hordestmen were dwelling, for fear of the contagion. When informed of these things, I was in great apprehension of the immediate death of the imprudent savage, and flew to succour both his soul and body. Unexpectedly good news were announced: that same night the small-pox broke out upon him, neither thick nor malignant. In a very few days he recovered, and was at liberty to ride where he liked. He was about thirty years old, of a lively temper, strong constitution, and high fame amongst his countrymen, for the number

of Spaniards he had slain. Here it may be observed that the Americans, who have had the genuine small-pox, do not fear the return of it. At five years of age I had the small-pox so slightly, that I was marked in ten places only, and was ill but two days. Yet that this short sickness is, by the law of nature, sufficient, I was fully persuaded, after living many months, day and night, with Indians who had the disorder, without taking the infection.

Almost the same observations may be made on measles as on small-pox. It rages at intervals, spreads, and cuts off vast numbers in America. Whilst I resided in the town of St. Joachim, out of two thousand Indians so many were laid up with this disorder, that often none were left to supply the sick with food, water, wood and medicines. The offices due to the minds and bodies of the sick kept Father Joseph Fleischauer and myself occupied day and night for some months. That pestilence carried off two hundred persons, out of which number there were very few infants, and no old men, most of them being persons in the flower of their age. The tertian ague sometimes spreads like a contagion amongst the Indians, but is more troublesome than dangerous, and prevails only in those places where stinking ditch water is in constant use. For the same reason ter-

tian ague is very prevalent in many Spanish towns, especially in Tucuman. In the colony of Concepcion, on the banks of the river Inespin, which supplied the inhabitants with sweet and very wholesome water, no person was ever seized with the tertian ague. In the colonies of St. Ferdinand and the Rosary, which were surrounded with marshes and lakes, the Abipones were destitute of river water, and consequently hardly ever free from agues. In the colony of the Rosary the fever prevailed so much for the space of some months, that no one escaped it, not even myself, though at other times secure amidst persons infected with this disorder. That none of the savages might die suddenly without receiving baptism, I daily visited all the sick, and at length caught the quotidian ague, though the Indians only laboured under the tertian. The fever daily increased at sun-set, and did not leave me till morning. This feverish agitation, at the end of seven and twenty days, was succeeded by the tertian, after two fits of which I happily recovered. What I suffered, in my utter want of all necessaries, and what danger I underwent, need not be told here.

Just as I am about to conclude my discourse on contagious disorders, a circumstance occurs to my mind worthy the critical examination of

physicians. Whilst I was at the Cordoban estate of St. Catharine belonging to the Jesuits, at the approach of night, we beheld a fiery meteor, which bore the appearance of a very wide beam, and rolled sparkling through the midst of heaven to the opposite horizon. The Spanish strangers afterwards declared that it was visible to the whole province, and judged it portentous. We, who had learnt a sounder philosophy, gazed at that sudden splendour as calmly as at a firework, though it did in reality prove calamitous, being either the cause or the sign, or, at any rate, the concomitant of a deadly catarrh which prevailed over the whole of Tucuman, and in two years carried off a great number of Spaniards and Negroes. Almost at the same time when the fiery exhalation was seen, this epidemic disease, as they say, began. Though this dangerous pestilence visited all the cities without distinction, yet I think it raged with particular violence in the estates. Travelling from Cordoba to Sta. Fè, I met crowds of Spaniards carrying horns filled with the urine of sick persons for the inspection of the Cordoba empirics; for there are no real physicians in the whole provinces. You would hardly believe what faith the lower orders of Spaniards place in the inspection of urine, and how much they are deceived in this matter.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THE PHYSICIANS AND MEDICINES OF THE ABIPONES.

RESTRAIN your laughter, friendly reader, when you hear that the Abipones honour their physicians with the title of *Keebèt*, which same word has the several significations of the devil, a physician, a prophet, and a malevolent sorcerer. From which it appears how widely the office of physician extends with them, and what various kinds of knowledge it embraces. They revere physicians as the representatives of their grandfather, the evil spirit, and, believing them gifted by him with the art of healing diseases, dignify them with his honourable title of *Keebèt*. But I openly pronounce these Abiponian physicians worthy of contempt and ridicule, for they never learnt even the rudiments of medical science, never entered a school of the kind, nor ever acquired the least smattering of pharmacy, botany, anatomy, or nosology. These knaves deserve to be flogged every day of their lives by the angry Galen, and spit upon by Æsculapius, Hippocrates, and the whole tribe of physicians. For they thrust frauds instead of medicines, words instead of deeds upon the credulous Abi-

pones, and are as well able to create as cure diseases, as ignorant in preparing a medicine as in composing a charm, and better skilled in weaving deceits than in relieving pains.

It is remarkable in the Abiponian physicians that they cure every kind of disease with one and the same medicine. Let us examine their method of healing. They apply their lips to the part affected, and suck it, spitting after every suction. At intervals they draw up their breath from the very bottom of their breast, and blow upon that part of the body which is in pain. That blowing and sucking are alternately repeated. If the whole body languishes, if it burns with malignant heat, if it is seized with measles or small-pox, four or five of these harpies fly to suck and blow it, one fastening his lips on the arm, another on the side, a third and fourth on the feet. If a child cries, or refuses the breast, the mother gives him to a juggler to be sucked. This method of healing is in use amongst all the savages of Paraguay and Brazil, that I am acquainted with, and, according to Father Jean Grillet, amongst the Galibe Indians. I have known matter sucked from an ulcer and blood from a wound with utility, the materials of the corruption that would have ensued being by this means exhausted. Spaniards or Indians, when stung by

a serpent, get some friend to suck the part affected, that the poison may be extracted before it spreads over the limbs. I do not therefore blame the Abipones for having their wounds, ulcers, and serpent-bites sucked: their superstition lies in suffering that office to be performed by none but the jugglers, and in believing the faculty of healing imparted to them by their grandfather. Though they at the same time believe that one excels another in the salubrity of his lips and breath, and in his healing powers. Another point in which this sucking is to be condemned is, that they use it as an universal remedy against every disease. I knew an European in Paraguay eminently versed in the medical art, who, from having made successful use of the herb fumitory, obtained the name of Doctor Fumitory. In the town of St. Thomas there was an Indian healer of the sick, who, when asked what medicine he gave to such or such a patient of his, uniformly replied, "I gave him vervain, Father." Having found this herb do good to one individual, he indiscriminately prescribed it to all sick persons under whatever disease they laboured. The Abipones, still more irrational, expect sucking and blowing to rid the body of whatever causes pain or inconvenience. This belief is constantly fostered by the jugglers with fresh artifices. For when

they prepare to suck the sick man, they secretly put thorns, beetles, worms, &c. into their mouths, and spitting them out, after having sucked for some time, say to him, pointing to the worm or thorn, "See here the cause of your disorder." At this sight the sick man revives, when he thinks the enemy that has tormented him is at length expelled: for as imagination is often the origin of sickness, it may also be that of health. Moreover, it is not surprising that after many days sucking the pain should be relieved, which would have ceased of its own accord, by the benefit of time alone. I do not deny that the Abipones generally recover; but for that they are indebted to their natural strength, not to the juggler who sucked them. To him, however, they religiously ascribe the praise and the glory of their recovered health; to him they give horses, arms, garments, or any thing belonging to the convalescent person. Neither is it from gratitude that they do this, but from fear; being firmly persuaded that the disease will return again unless they reward the physician to the utmost of their ability. Alas! how many infants have we seen fainting, pale, languid, dying, and soon dead from having their little bodies exhausted by constant sucking! The savage mothers must be certainly mad, since they still persist in this insane practice,

after seeing so many children die in consequence of it.

Amongst the Payaguas there exists a law that if any of them dies of a disease, the physician who undertook his cure shall be put to death by the arrows of the assembled people; and being desperately addicted to revenge, they are steadfast in the execution of this cruel law. During my residence in the city of Asumpcion, an unhappy physician atoned for the death of his patient by his own. Were this law in force amongst the Abipones, fewer of them would profess themselves followers of Galen; they would shun the dangerous profession of medicine, and physicians would cease to grow like funguses in a night. Of this I am quite sure, that in every Abiponian horde there are more physicians than sick persons: deterred by no danger of loss of fame or life, and certain of reward, they besiege the beds of the sick, and suck away their strength in every disease. When questioned on the patient's danger, they make the happiest forebodings. If the event turn out contrary to their prognostics, they have always a ready excuse: the disease was a fatal one, or their skill was baffled by the magical arts of some other juggler; the matter rests here, for it would be a crime to doubt the excuse of a juggler.

Though sucking is the chief and almost only cure in use amongst the Abipones, yet they have some dream-like ideas of our remedies. At times, when oppressed by the heat of the sun, or inflamed with a feverish burning, they will draw blood by piercing their arm or leg with a knife. Medicinal herbs, of which their country produces so great a variety, they scarce know by name, yet are desirous of being thought well skilled in the mysteries of nature. Hence, not so much in the desire of restoring the sick person, as of increasing their own reputation, they would sometimes prescribe the leaves of a tree, or the roots of some little known plant, on which the druggist might safely write *quid pro quo*, these remedies being generally of such a nature, that they are more likely to miss than be of any service. At the end of a fatiguing journey, I fell ill in the town of Concepcion. A woman, of high repute for skill in the healing art, comes and gives me a large dark root, promising me the complete restoration of my health, if I would drink it well boiled in water. I shuddered at the medicine, but still more at the old hag that prescribed it.

The Guarany tongue is as rich as the Abiponian is poor in the names of wholesome plants, and not a few of the Guaranies are well acquainted with the use of them. In the town

of St. Joachim I knew an Indian named Ignacio Yaricà, eight years an attendant upon the sick, whose dexterity and success I could not but admire. He would set a broken limb, and entirely heal it in a very short time by means of swathes of reeds and four little herbs. The woods of America also produce a kind of dark green ivy, which twines itself round the branches of trees, and is called by the Spaniards *suelda con suelda*. This plant cut small, boiled in water, and bound with linen on to the limb, soon and happily consolidates it. In the city of Corrientes, a Spanish matron was cured of a sprained foot, by merely wrapping it in the fresh skin of a puppy. The Abipones are totally ignorant of medicines for purging the bowels, causing perspiration, removing bile, and dispelling noxious humours. They will not even bear the mention of an enema. In the town of St. Jeronymo, a Spanish soldier who professed the art of medicine, being requested by Father Brigniel to attend upon a sick Abipon, declared the necessity of an injection. No sooner did the sick man feel the syringe applied to him, than he started furiously out of bed, snatched up a lance, and would have slain the soldier physician, had he not saved himself by hasty flight. Sudden terror giving way to rage, the old Spaniard, whilst we were laughing,

poured forth a volley of curses on his ungrateful patient. "You had better call up a devil from hell, Fathers," said he, "to cure this beast. When I offered him medicine, the savage tried to kill me: he opposes a lance to a syringe. Who could contend with such unequal arms?" The Guaranies have the same repugnance to the use of the syringe. The Indians use snuff as a medicine, stuffing it into their ears, when they find them badly affected by the rain or wind. The jugglers vauntingly affirm, that they have it in their power to perform cures by words alone. Sitting on the sick man's bed they sing extemporaneous verses, as magical charms, either to reconcile the evil spirit, or to call up the shades of the dead by whose assistance they hope to remove all diseases. But away with this superstitious nonsense. The Abiponian physicians show how little they confide in their own arts, when, on being seized with a disorder, they neglect to consult their colleagues, and prefer the aid of any European who will prescribe for them. At the time that I dwelt amongst the Abipones, the most famous in the art of medicine was Pariekaikin, the chief of the jugglers, who, on being seized with pleurisy, called on me to heal him in preference to any of his colleagues. Calciné hartshorn, boiled in barley-water, re-

stored him to health, and gained me the reputation of a physician amongst the Abipones. Nothing will procure you the good-will of the savages so soon as skill in the healing art. They think that he who understands the natures and remedies of diseases can be ignorant of nothing. They will believe him in matters of religion, and be tractable and obedient to him. Our Saviour himself inspired mortals with wonder, by healing bodies as well as souls. In imitation of him, when we were employed in the instruction of the savages, we endeavoured to supply the want of physicians, surgeons, and druggists, by easily obtained remedies, by reading medical books, and by other means, in order to wean that miserable people from their jugglers, whom we accounted the chief obstacles to the propagation of the holy religion.

It is incredible how well the sick are taken care of in the Guarany towns. Indians are appointed to attend upon them, more or fewer, according to the number of inhabitants. These men have some knowledge of herbs and common remedies, though they are not allowed to use any medicine without consulting the missionary. They carry in their hands a staff marked with a cross, and are hence called cross-bearers. It is their business to go about dawn to visit the sick in the district appointed to

each, and to enquire whether any one has fallen ill lately. In the evening they make their report to the missionary in the presence of all, before he performs divine service, and are informed by him what remedies are to be used and what sacraments administered to each. At mid-day boiled meat with the best wheat bread is sent from his kitchen to the houses of all the sick, which are sometimes thirty, more or less, in number. All the sick are visited once every day, and sometimes oftener, by the missionary, accompanied by two boys. In short we never suffered any thing of use to the minds or bodies of the sick to be wanting. Moreover there resided amongst the Guaranies two or three lay-brothers of our order, European surgeons, tolerably skilled in the art of medicine; but on account of the great distance of the towns from one another, they were not always at hand to offer their assistance when it was needed.

Upon us, therefore, whose proper business it was to attend upon the minds of the sick, devolved the care of healing their bodies. We always ascribed it to the mercy of God when trifling remedies banished great diseases, for we had but a very scanty store of drugs. How useful to the sick in various ways were sulphur, alum, salt, tobacco, sugar, pepper, the fat of hens, tigers, oxen, sheep, &c. and gun-powder! scarce

a day passed that the sick did not ask for one of these things. Three gourds were always in readiness filled with as many ointments: one green, made of suet, and thirty different herbs; the second black; the third yellow. Each of these was destined to a separate purpose. We also had at hand plenty of sanative herbs, and the barks of trees famed for medicinal virtues. Numerous animals, moreover, supply the Americans with medicine. I will mention a few. A cataplasm of crocodiles' fat heals bruises. The stomach of the same when dried, ground to powder, and drank with water, is said to relieve the pain of the stone. The Spaniards and Indians wear a crocodile's tooth suspended from their neck or arm, and believe that it will defend them from the bites of serpents. Persons bitten by serpents scrape some dust from a crocodile's tooth, and drink it mixed with water. The little stones found in the stomach of the crocodile when ground to powder, and drank, alleviate the pains of stone in the kidneys. Calcined tigers' claws, mixed with alum calcined also and reduced to powder, are a potent remedy for the tooth-ache. Tiger's fat instantly expels worms from the head or any other part of the body, if laid on the place where they attempt egress. Common house-flies often creep through the mouth or nose into the heads of

sleeping persons, and there breed worms thick in the middle, terminating in a red point at each end, but white every where else, about as long as the nail of the little finger, and surrounded with circles like rings. Within a few hours they multiply to an incredible degree, and gnaw that part of the head where they lie. The inconvenience occasioned by their numbers, or want of food, obliges them to attempt an exit wherever it can be effected. A reddish spot on the surface of the skin is a mark of the intended eruption. The circumference of this spot must be anointed with tiger's fat, the detestable stench of which induces the worms to redouble their efforts, pierce through the bones and flesh, and break entirely out. I was astonished to see more worms than could be contained in my cap, proceed from the head of an Indian in the town of St. Joachim. Nor can I understand how one man's head is capable of receiving or supporting such a number of maggots. But from this we may conclude the incredible compression of the worms in so small a space. They make a passage between the eyebrows, but so narrow, that only one at a time can go out, and they succeed one another without interruption; the slender wound soon heals, a little gap in the flesh remaining like a scar. The Indian doubted not to attribute his re-

covery to tiger's fat, which I prescribed for other persons with equal success. You shall now hear a still more singular fact. That rattle which a certain poisonous serpent has annexed to its tail, is a noble medicine: for when reduced to powder, and placed on hollow teeth, it softens them so that they fall out of themselves without any sense of pain. It is also useful in other complaints.

In order to obtain a knowledge of the nature of diseases, and of medicinal herbs, we diligently studied the books of physicians and herbalists; by which means, as we often were of service to the sick, we wrought so far with the Abipones, that whenever they were seized with any disorder they placed all their hopes on our assistance, to the neglect of their jugglers. When I distrusted myself and felt anxious for the life of my patient, I never rashly prescribed any medicine. To defend him from the injuries of the air, and to prevent him from eating or drinking any thing improper in his situation, was my chief care. I afforded him as much wholesome food as I could, from my own provisions. If these regulations were of no avail, I gave him a medicine that had been tried by long use, and which, if it did no good, could at any rate do no harm. The savages, won by our courtesy and kindness, suffered themselves to be baptized;

for at first, whenever they fell sick, the dread of baptism induced them to fly to the lurking-holes of the woods, or cause others to carry them there. During the latter years, almost all of them reposed the greatest confidence in us, and entertained the utmost good-will towards us, and if they remembered our having ever cured them with any medicine, desired to have it given to their hordesmen when they fell ill. From one instance you may judge of others. In the northern parts of Paraguay there grows a nut, called *Piñon del Paraguay* by the Spaniards, and by physicians *nux cathartica*, because it causes both vomiting and purging. It ridiculously deceived the first Spaniards who visited Paraguay. Delighted with its sweetness they eagerly ate this fruit, and to the great amusement of all, found what they had taken for food to be a medicine, which attacks the human body with double arms, and expels noxious or superfluous humours by two ways. We gave three or four of these nuts to the Abipones, for whom we thought purging necessary, and they all received great benefit from the use of them. Hence, whenever they felt any weight on their stomachs, they asked us for this medicine of their own accord. The same was the case with regard to other remedies. The old women, who obstinately adhered to

former customs, raved when they found their medicines laughed at, and the fountain of their gains dried up. The jugglers, who had sucked the bodies, and drained the property of the sick, were despised by their countrymen as a set of worthless drones.

The Patagonians, and other southern savages, think the body of a sick person to be possessed of an evil demon. Their physicians carry about drums, with horrible forms depicted on them, which they strike by the sick man's bed, either to consult the demon concerning the nature of the disease, or to drive it from the body of their patient. If any one dies of a disease, the relations persecute the physician most terribly, as the author of his death. If a Cacique dies, they put all the physicians to death, that they may not fly elsewhere. Actuated by an irrational kind of pity, they bury the dying before they expire. Father Strobl pulled one man alive from the grave. The Guaycurùs call their physicians Nigienigis. A gourd filled with hard seeds, and a fan of dusky emu feathers are their chief insignia, and medical instruments, which they always carry in their hands that they may be known. I must not omit to speak of the physicians of the Chiquitos. A juggler physician, when he goes to visit the sick, fills his belly with the most exquisite dainties, chickens, hens,

and partridges, that he may render his breath wholesomer and stronger to suck and blow the body of his patient. Whilst the physician feasts sumptuously, the sick man has insipid half-boiled maize given him to eat. If he dislikes this, no one will exhort the poor wretch to take food, so that more persons die of hunger than of the disease. At his first coming, the physician overwhelms the sick man with an hundred questions: "Where were you yesterday?" says he. "What roads did you tread? Did you overturn the jug, and spill the drink prepared from maize? What? Have you imprudently given the flesh of a tortoise, stag, or boar, to be devoured by dogs?" Should the sick man confess to having done any of these things, "It is well," replies the physician, "we have discovered the cause of your disorder. The soul of that beast having entered your body torments you even now, and is, alas! the origin of the pains you feel." The savage takes this for an oracle. The cure is immediately set about. The juggler sucks the afflicted part once, twice, and three times. Then muttering a doleful charm, he knocks the floor on which the sick man is lying, with a club, to frighten away the soul of that animal from his patient's body. A crueller method of curing was once customary amongst the Chiquitos.

When a husband fell ill, they used to kill the wife, thinking her the cause of his sickness, and foolishly imagining that, when she was removed, he would be sure to recover. At other times they consulted their physicians, which of the female jugglers occasioned the disease. These men, actuated either by desire of vengeance or interested motives, named whomsoever they chose, and were not required to bring any proofs of the guilt of the accused. The sentence of a juggler was an oracle, and people assembled from all parts to put it in execution. Such were the Chiquitos before they were civilized by the Jesuits.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE RITES WHICH ACCOMPANY AND SUCCEED THE
DEATH OF AN ABIPON.

DEATH is dreadful to most mortals, but particularly so to the Abipones. They cannot even bear the sight of a dying person. Hence, whenever any one's life is despaired of, his fellow inmates immediately forsake the house, or are driven away by the old women who remain to take care of the sick, lest they should be so affected by the mournful spectacle, that fear of death should make them shrink from endangering their lives in battle. They are, therefore, obliged to pass many nights in another person's tent, or in the open air. As they have very little experience of persons dying a natural death, they do not know the signs of it when it draws near. A short abstinence from food, unusual silence, or sleeplessness, makes them presage approaching dissolution. As soon as a report is spread that a man is dying, the old women, who are either related to the person, or famed for medical skill, flock to his house. They stand in a row round the sick man's bed, with dishevelled hair

and bare shoulders, striking a gourd, the mournful sound of which they accompany with violent motion of the feet and arms, and loud vociferations. She who excels the rest in age, or fame for medical skill, stands nearest to the dying man's head, and strikes an immense military drum, which returns a horrible bellowing. Another, who is appointed to watch the sick man, removes every now and then the bull's hide with which he is covered, examines his face, and if he seems yet to breathe, sprinkles him plentifully with cold water, a jug of which is placed under the bed. When I first witnessed these things, I pitied the fate of the sick man, who, I feared, would be killed, if not by the disease, at any rate by the howling of the women and the noise of the drum, or else smothered by the weight of the hide, with which the whole body is covered, and which is as hard and as heavy as a board. Under the pretext of compassion, they use all this cruelty to the departing soul, that the women may be spared the sight of his last agonies, and the hearing of his groans.

If the respiration of the dying man be not heard at a distance like a pair of bellows in Vulcan's workshop, and if his breath stop even for a moment, they proclaim with a Stentorian voice, that he has given up the ghost. A great crowd assembles on all sides, exclaiming, he is dead,

he is no more. All the married women and widows of the town crowd to the mourning, attired as I have described before, and whilst they are filling the streets with confused wailings, with the rattling of gourds and beating of pans covered with stags' skins, a sudden shout is often heard announcing, that the man whom they mourn for as dead is come to life again. The joyous exclamation, he is revived, is instantly substituted for the mournful howling of the women, some of whom return home, whilst others hasten to the miserable mortal on the confines of life and death, and torment him with their dreadful yellings, till at last they deprive him of life. After his death, the first business of the bystanders is to pull out the heart and tongue of the deceased, boil them, and give them to a dog to devour, that the author of his death may soon die also. The corpse, while yet warm, is clothed according to the fashion of his country, wrapped in a hide, and bound with leathern thongs, the head being covered with a cloth, or any garment at hand. The savage Abipones will not endure the body of a dead man to remain long in the house; while yet warm, it is conveyed on ready horses to the grave. Women are appointed to go forward on swift steeds, to dig the grave, and honour the funeral with la-

mentations. What, if we say that many of the Abipones are buried because they are thought dead, but that in reality they die, because they are buried? It is not unlikely that these poor wretches are suffocated, either by the hide with which they are bound, or by the earth which is heaped over them. But as they pull out the heart and tongue of the deceased, it cannot be doubted that they are dead when they are buried; though I strongly suspect that the heart is sometimes cut out when they are half alive, and would perhaps revive were they not prematurely deprived of this necessary instrument of life. The savages, who hasten the burying of their dead so much, presumed to censure us for keeping the Christian Indians out of their graves many hours after their decease.

The Abipones think it a great happiness to be buried in a wood under the shade of trees, and grieve for the fate of those that are interred in a chapel, calling them captives of the Father. In the dread of such sepulture, they at first shunned baptism. They dig a very shallow pit to place the body in, that it may not be pressed by too great a weight of earth heaped over it. They fill the surface of the grave with thorny boughs, to keep off tigers, which delight in carcasses. On the top of the sepul-

chre, they place an inverted pan, that if the dead man should stand in need of water, he may not want a vessel to hold it in. They hang a garment from a tree near the place of interment, for him to put on if he chooses to come out of the grave. They also fix a spear near the graves of men, that an instrument of war and the chase may be in readiness for them. For the same purpose, beside the graves of their Caciques, and men distinguished for military fame, they place horses, slain with many ceremonies; a custom common to most of the equestrian savages in Paraguay. The best horses, those which the deceased used and delighted in most, are generally slain at the grave.

Laugh as much as you please at the sepulchral rites of the Abipones; you cannot deny them to be a proof of their believing in the immortality of the soul. They know that something of them will survive after death, which will last to all eternity, and never die; but what becomes of that immortal thing, which we call the soul, and they the image, shade, or echo, when it is separated from the body, and whether it will enjoy pleasures or receive punishments, they never think of enquiring. The southern savages believe that it dwells under the earth in tents, and employs itself in hunting, and that the spirits of dead emus descend

along with it to the same subterranean abode. The Abipones, who do not credit such idle tales, believe that some part of them survives the death of the body, and that it exists somewhere, but they openly confess themselves ignorant of the place and other circumstances. They fear the manes or shades of the defunct, and believe that they become visible to the living when invoked by a magic incantation, to be interrogated concerning future things. As I was passing the night on the banks of the Parana, the Abipones, my companions, hearing their voices re-echoed against the trees, and windings of the shores, attributed the circumstance to ghosts and disembodied spirits wandering in these solitudes, till I explained to them the nature of an echo. They call little ducks, which fly about in flocks at night uttering a mournful hiss, the shades of the dead. These, and other circumstances, which I have related elsewhere, prove that the Abipones believe in the immortality of the soul.

It is incredible how religiously the Abipones perform the sepulchral honours of their friends. If they see one of their comrades fall in battle they snatch the lifeless body from the midst of the enemies to bury it properly in its native soil. To lessen the burden, they strip off the flesh and bury it in the ground; the bones they put

into a hide, and carry home on a horse, a journey not unfrequently of two hundred leagues. But if the enemy presses on them, and they are forced to leave the body on the field of battle, the relations seek for the bones on the first opportunity, and take no rest till they find them, however much risk and labour must be encountered in accomplishing this. Moreover, the Abipones are not content with any sepulchre, but take especial care that fathers may lie with their sons, wives with their husbands, grandchildren with their grandfathers and great-grandfathers, and that every family should have its own burying-place. This nation, having formerly inhabited more towards the north, know that their ancestors' monuments exist there, and venerate them as something divine. They feel the most lively pleasure in mingling the bones of their countrymen, wherever, amidst their perpetual peregrinations, they may have been buried, with the bones of their ancestors. Hence it is that they dig them up and remove them so often, and carry them over immense tracts of land, till at length they repose in the ancient and woody mausoleum of their forefathers; which they distinguish by certain marks cut in the trees, and by other signs taught them by their ancestors. The Brazilians and Guaranies formerly disliked the

trouble of digging pits for sepulchres. These hungry anthropophagi buried within their own bowels the flesh of those that yielded to fate. It must be confessed however that the Guaranies of after-times, more humane than their ancestors, placed dead bodies in clay pitchers. Seeking the savages in Mbaeverà in the midst of the woods, I met with a plain artificially made, the trees being cut down for the purpose, and there I found three pitchers of this kind, each of which would contain a man, but all empty. The bottoms of the pitchers were placed toward the sky, the mouth towards the ground. But from sepulchres, let us hasten to funeral obsequies.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THE MOURNING, THE EXEQUIES, AND FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF THE ABIPONES.

OF those things which the Abipones do to testify their grief, according to the customs established by their ancestors, some tend to obliterate the memory of the defunct, others to perpetuate it. All the utensils belonging to the lately deceased are burnt on a pile. Besides the horses killed at the tomb, they slay his small cattle if he have any. The house which he inhabited they pull entirely to pieces. His widow, children, and the rest of his family remove elsewhere; and having no house of their own, reside for a time in that of some other person, or lodge miserably under mats. They had rather endure the injuries of the weather, than, contrary to the laws of their countrymen, inhabit a commodious house that has been saddened by the death of the dear master of it. To utter the name of a lately deceased person is reckoned a nefarious offence amongst the Abipones; if, however, occasion requires that mention should be made of that person, they say, "The man that does not now exist,"

making use of a paraphrase. But if the name of the defunct be derived from an appellative noun, the word is abolished by proclamation, and a new one substituted. It is the prerogative of the old women to invent these new names, which are quickly divulgated amongst the widely-scattered hordes of the Abipones, and are so firmly imprinted on their minds, that no one individual is ever heard to utter a proscribed word.

All the friends and relations of the deceased change the names they formerly bore. In the colony of the Rosary, the wife of the chief Cacique dying of the small-pox, her husband changed his name of Revachigi to that of Oahari. His mother and brother and captive, as well as all the brothers of the deceased, had new names given them with various ceremonies. The old mother of the Cacique was extremely fond of a lank, scraggy dog, unworthy of the very air it breathed. When this change of names was made, I asked the old woman what name would be given her dog, to show them that we held their absurd rites in ridicule, though unable at that time to prevent them. On the death of a Cacique, all the men under his authority shave their long hair as a sign of grief. Widows also have their hair shaven, and wear a kind of cloak made of the *caraquatà*,

stained black and red, which covers the head like a hood, and flows down from the shoulders to the breast. Widows use this cloak all their lives, unless a new marriage frees them from the unpleasant law of perpetual mourning. An Abiponian husband when he loses his wife shaves his hair in like manner, and wears a small woollen cap, which he publicly receives from the hands of an old woman, the priestess of the ceremonies, whilst the other women are engaged in lamenting, and the men in drinking together, and which he throws off when his hair begins to grow.

But let me now discourse upon what entirely consoles the Abipones for the loss of their friends, and renders the very necessity of mourning so pleasant to them. Leaving the care of inhuming the body and lamenting for it to the women, they seek for honey in the woods to serve as materials for the public drinking-party, to which they all flock at sun-set. At any report of the death of an Abipon we always pitied the women, upon whom devolved all the trouble of the exequies, the care of the funeral, and the labour of making the grave, and of mourning. For besides that the corpse was to be carried to the grave, and inhumed by them, all standing in a row, and uttering repeated lamentations, the widowers were to be shaved, the widows veiled,

the names of the relations of the deceased to be changed, the funeral drinking-party to be attended, and the houses to be demolished; in short, they had to go through the trouble of a public mourning of nine days' continuance. This is of two kinds. One which is held by day in the streets by all but the unmarried women, and another carried on at night in houses appointed for the purpose, and which none but those that are specially invited attend. At stated hours, both in the forenoon and afternoon, all the women in the town assemble in the market-place, with their hair scattered about their shoulders, their breast and back naked, and a skin hanging from their loins. The expression of their faces inspires I can hardly tell whether most of melancholy or terror. Picture to yourself a set of Bacchanals or infernal furies, and you will have a good idea of them. They do not lament in one place by day. They go up and down the whole market-place, like supplicants, walking separately but all in one very long row. You may sometimes count as many as two hundred. They go leaping like frogs. The motion of their feet is accompanied by a continual tossing about of their arms. Each strikes a gourd containing various seeds to the measure of her voice; but some, instead of a gourd, beat a pan covered with

does' skins, which makes the most ridiculous noise you can conceive. To every three or four gourds one of these drums answers. But what offends the ear most is the shouting of the mourners. They modulate their voices, like singers, and make trills and quavers mingled with groans. After chaunting some mournful staves in this manner they all cease at intervals, and, changing their voices from the highest to the lowest key, suddenly utter a very shrill hissing. You would swear that a knife had been laid to their throats. By this sudden howl they signify that they are seized with rage, uttering all sorts of imprecations on the author of the death, whoever he be. Sometimes, intermitting this chaunt, they recite a few verses in a declamatory tone, in which they extol the good qualities and deeds of the deceased, and in a querulous voice endeavour to excite the compassion and vengeance of the survivors. At other times they mingle tears with their wailings, tears extorted not by grief, but by habit, or, perhaps, by exhaustion. Most of them carry about some little gift or remembrance of the deceased, as emu feathers, glass-beads, a knife, or a dagger. I will now describe their method of lamenting by night.

About evening, all the women that are invited

assemble in a hut, one of the female jugglers presiding over the party, and regulating the chaunting and other rites. It is her business to strike two large drums alternately, and to sing the doleful funeral song, the rest observing the same measure of voice. This infernal elegy, accompanied with the rattling of gourds and bellowing of drums, lasts till morning. The same method is observed for eight days without variation; on the ninth night, if they be mourning for a woman, the pans are broken, not without proper ceremonies. The tragic howl, which they uttered on the preceding nights, now gives place to a more festive chaunt, which the old female drummeress interrupts at intervals with out-stretched jaws and a deep, and, as it were, threatening voice, seemingly to exhort her singing companions to hilarity and louder notes. These nocturnal lamentations, which continue nine days, are commenced at the setting and concluded at the rising of the sun. The patience displayed by the women in enduring so many sleepless nights is truly astonishing, but still more so is that of the men who can sleep soundly whilst the air is filled with confused shouts, and the noise of gourds and drums. Nor are funeral rites alone conducted in this manner. The sacred anniversaries to

the memory of their ancestors are religiously celebrated with the same rites and ceremonies. Should the memory of her dead mother enter a woman's mind, she immediately loosens her hair, seizes a gourd, paces up and down the street with some women whom she calls to partake in her mourning, and fills the air with lamentation. Few nights pass that you do not hear women mourning. This they do upon their feet, with their bodies turned towards the spot where the deceased is buried, always accompanying their lamentations with the sound of gourds. Women find weeping easier than silence, and this is the reason why the nights are so seldom passed in quietness. The vociferation, however, always grows more violent as the day approaches; for when one begins to lament another follows her example, then a third comes, and then a fourth, till, by day-break, the number of mourners seems greater than that of sleepers. The men meantime are by no means idle. The grief which the women express with tears and shrieks, they testify by shedding the blood of enemies or their own. The nearest of kin to the deceased immediately assembles all the fellow-soldiers he can raise, and leads them against the foreign foes by whose hands his relation perished. It is

his business to make the first attack against the author of the death, and not to return home till he has fully revenged it; though these savage heroes sometimes make an inglorious retreat, without obtaining vengeance on their enemies.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF THE CUSTOMARY REMOVAL OF THE BONES.

A FEW things remain to be said of the ceremonies with which the bones of the dead are honoured by the Abipones when they are removed to their native land, and thence to the family burying-places. Many translations of this kind have I witnessed: I will briefly relate that of the Cacique Ychamenraikin, who was killed in battle by the savages at a place full forty leagues distant from the town of St. Jeronymo. A drummer came announcing that the bones of the deceased leader would be carried into the town next day about evening. After the flesh had been stripped off and buried by his companions, they were put into a hide and conveyed on a horse. To receive these bones with due honour, preparations were made by Hanetrain, the chief of the jugglers, and his companion Lamamin, and a house to place the sad remains in appointed and properly furnished. The whole company of the women hastened to meet the funeral at three leagues distance. At the entrance of the town the order of the funeral procession was this: the mournful train was led by

two jugglers, mounted on horses ornamented with bells, horse-cloths and ostrich feathers. They brandished in their hands a spear, to which was affixed a brazen bell. They did not keep with the rest, but galloping forwards, rode up and down as if they were skirmishing, then returned into the path like persons making an assault, and rejoined the rest of the company. These were followed by a train of women lamenting in the manner I have described. Six Abipones in place of an umbrella held up at the end of their spears an elegant square cloth woven like a carpet, under which they carried the sack of bones. The company was closed by the troop of the other Abipones, all mounted on horses, furnished with a spear, a bow, and a quiver, and with their heads shaven. The victors were followed by a band of women and children lately taken in war, so that this otherwise mournful spectacle bore more the appearance of a triumph than of a funeral. On each side was seen a multitude of horses hastening to their pastures after the military expedition. All the ways were crowded with boys and girls careless of the lamentations, but struck with the novelty of the spectacle. The bones being placed in a house prepared for their reception, the regular mourning was carried on for nine days. Nocturnal wailings were as usual added to those of

the day. That the lamentations might be carried on without intermission, the jugglers, carrying a spear with a bell at the end of it, visited all the houses to admonish the women at what hours to mourn. The funeral computation, meantime, and the conducting of it as magnificently as was due to the memory of so great a leader, was the sole care of the men—a care admirably calculated to abate the poignancy of their grief; and indeed it would be difficult to decide whether the men drank, or the women mourned most pertinaciously. Whilst this was going on at home, persons of both sexes were chosen to accompany the bones of Ychamenraikin to his family burying-place, and there inter them agreeably to the rites of their country. These ceremonies were observed by the savages before they were instructed in the Christian religion only. Other removals of bones were conducted in exactly the same manner, with the exception of the canopy, which was reserved exclusively for their leaders. The bones of seven Abipones, who had been slain by the Spaniards, were brought home on one day, and skilfully constructed into as many images; hats being placed on their skulls, and clothes on their bodies. These seven skeletons were placed in a savage hut, honoured for nine suc-

cessive days with mourning and drinking, and thence transported to their graves.

Should there be any European who makes little account of sepulture, saying with Virgil,

Calo tegitur qui non habet urnam,

that man is of a very different way of thinking from the Abipones, who esteem it the greatest misfortune to be left to rot in the open air. Hence amongst them, persons inflamed with the desire of revenge contemptuously cast away the carcasses of their enemies, making fifes and trumpets of their bones, and using their skulls for cups. On the other hand, they honourably inter the smallest bone of one of their friends, paying it every possible mark of respect. We have known savage Guaranies, who, in all their migrations, carried with them little boxes containing the relics of their jugglers, and in them, as in holy preservatives, placed all their hopes. These monuments of savage superstition were at length taken away by the missionaries, and burnt by them in the presence of all. The Guaranies newly brought from the woods to our colonies had no stronger inducement to embrace the Catholic religion than the seeing their countrymen buried by us with honourable ceremonies and a solemn chaunt. But now, after I have discoursed with prolixity on the diseases,

physicians, medicines, death, and sepulture of the Abipones, it cannot be thought foreign to the course of my history to treat of the serpents and noxious insects which inflict death on many, and threaten it to all: it will also be agreeable to Europeans to know by what means the Americans defend themselves against serpents, or expel the poison of their wounds.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF THE MORE REMARKABLE SERPENTS.

PARAGUAY contains full twenty kinds of serpents, all differing in name, colour, size, form, and the nature of their poison. Those most commonly known are the Mboÿtiñi, or Mboÿchiñi, the Quiririò, the Yacarinà, the Mboÿhobĩ, the Mboÿquatia, the Mboÿpe-guazù, or Cucurucù, the Mboÿpe-miři, the Yboyà, the Tareÿm-boyà, the Mboÿguazù, or Yboyà, the Mboÿroy, the Curiyù, the Ybibobocà, the Yacapecoayà, the Yararacà, the Cacaboyà, &c. The Mboÿchiñi, or Rattle-snake, which is remarkable for its venom and the tinkling appendage to its tail, is about the thickness of a man's arm at the elbow, and often as much as five feet in length. It has a forked tongue, a flat head, little blackish eyes, four teeth in the upper jaw, besides other unusually acute and incurvated ones, from the hollows of which it darts poison at all it meets. Some lesser teeth are visible when the animal opens its mouth. The colour of the back, which is much deeper at the sides, is a dusky yellow, varied with yellow lines intersecting one another at the spine. It is covered with dusky

scales, like those of a crocodile, but softer. The belly is of a yellowish colour, with rather large and almost parallelogram scales: at the extremity of the tail is situated that rattle from which it takes its name, and which is composed of a smooth, dry, cinereous material, the breadth of a man's thumb. Here and there it has a small hollow cell divided in the midst by a thin membrane, containing a little ball not perfectly round, which, being agitated by every motion of the serpent, and shaken against its receptacle, makes a sound like the wooden rattle which children use. Every year a fresh joint grows on to the rattle, as in stags-horns, connected with vertebræ, like the chains of a ring. From the joints of the rattle you may tell the age of the serpent, as you may that of a stag from the branches of his horns. Hence the older the serpent the more it rattles. This snake when angry coils itself up; when purposing an attack it moves along the ground so swiftly that it almost seems to fly. Providence has fastened that tinkling appendage to its tail in order to warn others from approaching it, for its poison is justly accounted the most virulent of any; the remedies which prove efficacious against the bites of other serpents, have been found unavailing against those of the rattle-snake, which causes certain but slow death, the deadly poi-

son gradually diffusing itself through all the members. It takes away the use of the foot, arm, ear, and eye on that side which has been bitten, and presently, passing to the other, causes extreme torture, continual delirium, and acute pains, especially at the extremity of the feet and hands, which contract a cadaverous paleness from being deserted by the blood, which is rendered torpid by the coldness of the venom. All this I observed in two Guarany youths who were bitten by a rattle-snake. Both were under eighteen years of age, both were robust and of strong constitutions. The first struggled with his pains twelve days, the other fourteen, at the expiration of which period they both died, the strength of the poison baffling the virtue of the most established remedies. Whenever I heard of any person's being bitten by a rattle-snake I immediately prepared him for death, by administering the sacrament to him, before the delirium began. An Indian woman, in the flower of her age and strength, was reduced to the last extremity by the pestilential bite of one of these rattle-snakes. However, to the astonishment of all, she escaped death, but having lost the use of her limbs, dragged on a miserable existence for many years.

A letter dated Williamsburg, a town of Vir-

ginia, September the 28th, 1869, and published in the German newspapers of the 6th of Jan. 1770, tends greatly to confirm the virulence of the poison of the rattle-snake: the contents are as follows. " In Johnston county, North Carolina, at the latter end of June, a rattle-snake crept into a house, where four children were lying on the ground, the youngest of which it bit with its poisoned teeth. The father, awakened by the screams of the child, ran to render it assistance, and was at the same moment wounded by it himself. Meantime, whilst he was seeking some weapon to slay the deadly animal, the other three children were also wounded. With the utmost haste and diligence all sorts of remedies were applied to the wounded, but in vain, for the father and his four children expired next day." Has not then nature, you ask me, supplied a remedy powerful enough to expel this deadly poison? She may perhaps have afforded many which human ingenuity has not yet discovered, but which are at any rate unknown to the Paraguayians. I am not ignorant that books do speak of medicines for this purpose, which they extol as divine, but all who have used them have found them of no avail. The Brazilians make use of little gourds, by which the poi-

soned wound is enlarged and dried. Sometimes they bind the wounded member with the rush Jacapè to prevent the poison from spreading. They sometimes cauterize the wounded part. Before the poison reaches the heart the sick man is induced to sweat by drinking Tipioca. Some Indians place much faith in the bruised head of a noxious serpent applied to the wound, which they also bathe in fasting saliva. But whether these remedies ever saved the life of any one who has been bitten by this most venomous snake I must be allowed to doubt. However destructive the teeth of these serpents are when employed to bite, they become salutary when used as medicine: for they say that the Brazilians prick their necks with them to ease the pain of the head-ache. They think it useful to anoint the loins, and other parts of a sick person's body, as well as swellings, with the fat of this snake. Its head also, when tied to the neck of the sick man, is said to cure pains in the throat. This method of healing was unknown to us in Paraguay.

The next to this in noxious qualities is a snake twelve, and sometimes fifteen feet long, with a large body the colour of ashes, varied with little black spots, yellowish under the belly, and formidable on account of a peculiar

poison it contains and introduces with its bite. The Brazilians call it Cucurucù, the Guaranies Mboÿpè guazù; and from its effects I guess it to be the same as that which Pliny calls Hæmorrhoam, and others Hæmorrhoida. This snake is most abundant where heat and moisture, the generators of serpents, predominate. Its poison heats the veins, and expels the ebullient blood from the mouth, nose, ears, eyes, finger-nails, in a word from all the outlets and pores of the body. This is related by Patricio Fernandez, who asserts that few persons are killed by this serpent, because most part of the poison flows out with the blood itself. For my part I never saw any serpent of that kind, nor any person that had been bitten by one, though I understand that they are not unfrequent in Brazil, where the Indians apply the head of the serpent to the wound it has inflicted, by way of a cataplasm; fresh tobacco leaves slightly burnt are used for a cautery. The roots also of the Caa-pia, Jurepeba, Urucù, Jaborandÿ, &c. are used to create perspiration. They say that, when the head of this serpent, in which greatest part of the poison lies, is cut off, the flesh is eaten by the savages of Brazil. In Paraguay, besides the Mboÿpè guazù, you meet with the Mboÿpè miři, which is scarce thicker than a quill. Though

smaller, it is more poisonous than the larger serpent of the same name.

The Yacarinà is to be reckoned amongst the larger and more dangerous serpents. It is two, sometimes three ells long, and as thick as a man's arm. It raises itself upon the last joint of its tail, and leaps upon people almost as if it were flying. The Quiririô terrifies the bravest with its very aspect. The size and colours of its body, and the strong poison it contains, are the occasion of this terror. The Mboÿhobĩ, of a dark green colour, spotted with black, very large both as to length and breadth, and pregnant with the most noxious poison, infests all the plain country. On the other hand, the Mboÿquatia is chiefly found within the walls of houses. It has obtained its name from the beautiful variety of its colours. It is middle-sized, but of a very virulent poison. In the rivers and lakes water-snakes of various shapes and monstrous size wander in great numbers. They are thought not to be venomous, though formidable to swimmers; for their horrid teeth never leave loose of any thing they have once got hold of. They squeeze animals to death with the folds of their bodies. Of the number of these is the Mboÿroyĥ, called by the Guaranies the cold serpent, because it loves cold

places and shade. Another is the Curiyù, eight, and often nine eils long, and of breadth corresponding to such great length. This water-snake affords the Indians a dainty repast. Remarkable above the rest is a serpent of enormous size, but perfectly innocent in its nature. The Ampalaba is thicker than a man's breast, and larger than any water-snake. It is of a light reddish colour, and resembles the trunk of a very large tree covered with moss. As I was travelling through the territory of St. Iago, at the banks of a lake near the river Dulce, my horse suddenly took fright. Upon my enquiring of my companion the occasion of the animal's terror, he replied, "What, Father! did you not see the Ampalaba snake lying on the shore?" I had seen him, but had taken him for the trunk of a tree. Fearing that the horse would be alarmed and throw me, I did not think proper to stay and examine the great sparkling eyes, short but very acute teeth, horrid head, and many-coloured scales of the monster. These serpents live under water, but come frequently on shore, and even climb lofty trees. They never attack men, and it is most likely that they are devoid of poison. All however agree that Ampalabas are fond of rabbits, goats and does, which they attract with their breath, and swallow whole.

As it must require an enormous throat to swallow a doe, you will perhaps think an equal facility of mind necessary to believe the fact. I candidly own that I never saw it done, but should not venture to doubt the truth of a thing that has been affirmed by creditable authors, and eye-witnesses.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MORE ON THE SAME SUBJECT; AND RESPECTING OTHER
INSECTS.

THE Jesuit Eusebius Nierenberg speaks of a stupid snake, which, from the description, I take to be the same as the Ampalaba. "It is the thickness of a man," says he, "and twice as long. It inhabits rocks and caves, (perhaps when rivers and pools are wanting,) and feeds upon animals, which it attracts with its breath. Some Indians, in travelling, sat down upon it, taking it for the trunk of a tree; and it was not till the snake began to move that they perceived what an unstable and terrific seat they had chosen. It is however reputed harmless. These snakes are of such vast size, that eighteen soldiers sat down upon one, thinking it to be a log of wood. They lie in wait for stags, which they attract by the force of their breath, a power they do not possess over men. After squeezing the stag to death, they lick it all over from head to foot, in order that they may swallow it more easily; but suffer the head, which the horns prevent them from swallowing, to remain in their mouth till it putrefies. Ants some-

times enter the open mouth of this snake and kill it.”

I must not omit to mention an immense snake, which the Guaranies call Moñaỹ. In its vast size, wide mouth, sparkling eyes, row of threatening teeth, and spotted scaly skin, it resembles a dragon. Father Manuel Guttierrez, when he travelled through the Tarumensian wilds, saw a monster of that kind in passing the banks of the river Yuquir̃ỹ. An Indian, his companion, threw a thong used for catching horses round the animal's neck and strangled it. The Indians of St. Joachim were not so courageous, for when sent forwards by me to prepare the way for the royal governour, who was coming that day, they returned home in great trepidation, because they had seen the Moñaỹ snake lurking in a very thick grove at the banks of a rivulet. Being asked the cause of their alarm, they described the horrible spectacle they had seen. A few days after I had an opportunity of witnessing the truth of the matter myself. A report being spread that the governour was coming next day, we went out to meet him, and as soon as ever I approached the rivulet where the snake had lately been seen, my horse suddenly began to foam, kick, and run away. The Indians were all of opinion that he perceived the monster lurking in its cave by the scent. The reason

why the Moñay does so little mischief is because it generally inhabits hidden groves, solitary shores, or caves far from human sight.

Though serpents of every kind wander up and down, yet some seek lurking-places under the water, some amongst grass and trees, and others only within the walls of houses and hollow places. The Mboyquatia inhabits the chinks of ruinous walls. Numbers of these snakes were killed in the church at St. Joachim, but as fresh ones grew up, they were never entirely got rid of. I would advise you never to sit down incautiously in fields, woods, and banks of lakes, without first examining the place. The Indians, who neglect this precaution, are often bitten by lurking serpents. Fatigued by a journey which I and my companions had taken on foot through the woods of Mbaeverà, they had lain down at evening in a place where I observed decayed posts of palms, and the remains of huts scattered up and down the ground. I advised them to examine the spot with care, and to remove the hewn palms, the receptacles of noxious reptiles, for the safety of their lives. They followed my injunctions. Under the first stake they discovered an immense serpent sitting upon seventeen eggs, and on that account the more dangerous. Presently another, and then more, appeared in sight. The eggs con-

sist of a thin white skin, instead of a shell, and resemble an acorn in shape, though larger.

I have often wondered that certain of the ancients recommended fire to keep off serpents, having found them, on the contrary, to be attracted by it. We continually see them creep to the fire, and steal into warm apartments for the sake of the heat. Virgil has justly given snakes the epithet of *frigid*. The more copious and virulent their poison is, the intenser is the cold they labour under. Hence, in persons bitten by serpents, the blood congeals, and the extremities of the body stiffen and grow cold, as the circulation cannot reach them. That serpents love heat we know from daily experience. In the deserts we often were obliged to pass the night in the open air: on these occasions, no sooner was the fire kindled than we saw the snakes concealed in the vicinity approach to warm themselves. Whenever the south wind renders the nights rather cold, they creep under the horse-cloths lying on the ground. When the earth is chill, serpents climb on to the roofs of houses to bask in the sun, and thence are induced by the sharp night-air to slip into the apartments below, to the imminent danger of the occupants. When lights are brought into a room of an evening, the doors should be carefully shut; for the serpents in the neighbourhood, spying the light,

immediately enter the house. These animals suddenly make their appearance in apartments built of brick or stone, and covered with tiles, when the door and windows are close shut, and not a chink is left unstopped. One of my companions had such a dread of serpents, that he never dared take any sleep till he had examined every corner of his apartment. There are some snakes which leap at all they meet, and bite ferociously. Paraguay also produces some harmless ones, which are either devoid of poison, or the desire to use it, unless they be offended.

Who does not know that some serpents lay eggs, whilst others produce a numerous living offspring? The Americans believe that young serpents grow from the dead bodies of the old ones. Hence, whenever they kill any serpents they remove them to a great distance from their houses, and do not throw them on the ground, but hang them on trees or hedges. In Brazil, two Jesuit missionaries found a horrid-looking dead snake to which a young live one was clinging, and, on their shaking the carcass with sticks, eleven little serpents crawled from it. This account of serpents is closed by three insects, akin to each other in the quality of their venom. The Scolopendra, which has a smooth cylindrical body a span long, twice as thick as a man's thumb, and covered with a hard, cine-

reous skin, approaching to a cartilage, abounds with legs from head to foot, which I neither had power nor inclination to count. It contains a poison almost equal to that of a serpent, and its bite causes much both of pain and danger. After spending eighteen years in Paraguay, I at length saw and felt an animal till then known to me only by name. It bit me as I was asleep, and on waking, I perceived that the space between the little and ring-finger, first looked red, and afterwards began to swell and grow painful. The tumour and inflammation hourly increasing, I could no longer doubt but that some venomous little animal had bitten me. Early in the night I heard an unusual noise amongst some tools that were lying under a bench in my room. Bringing a light, I discovered and killed the Scolopendra which had bitten me, and next day suspended it in our court-yard, and showed it to the Indians, who all declared that they had often seen and dreaded that animal in houses, fields, and banks of rivers. Do not confound the Scolopendra with the Oniscus, which is a dusky round worm, two inches in length, and scarce thicker than a goose's quill. The body is covered with rough yellow hairs. On the head you see here and there a double row of white spots. It has eight short thick feet. Whichever part of the body it touches it violently in-

flames, which certainly proves it to be venomous. The Paraguayan scorpions are said to differ nothing from those of Europe in appearance, but their poison is milder and more easily cured. I think that scorpions must be very rare in Paraguay, since, after spending eighteen years there, and traversing greatest part of the province, I never saw one, nor heard of any person's being bitten by one. I remember that a Spaniard appointed to guard the cattle in the town of Concepcion, when lying sick at our house, was frightened by a scorpion, which put out its head two or three times from the wall, and that he passed a sleepless night in consequence, always keeping a knife in his hand against the threatening animal. Spiders of various forms and sizes are every where to be met with. Venomous ones with flat bodies may be seen creeping along the walls. You should take the greatest care to avoid that very large kind, which the Spaniards call *arañas peludas*, hairy spiders. The body of this insect, which is about three inches in length, is composed of two parts. The fore-part is larger than the other, almost two inches long, an inch and a half wide, and somewhat compressed. The hind-part is more spherical, and in size and form resembles a nutmeg. A hole in the back supplies the place of a navel. It has two sparkling eyes: its long,

and very sharp teeth, on account of their beauty, are set in gold by many persons, and used as toothpicks. The whole skin of this spider is covered with short blackish hairs, but as smooth and soft as silk. It has ten long legs divided by more or fewer joints, and entirely hairy, each of which ends in a forceps, like that of a crab. When angry, the insect bites. The bite, though scarce visible to the eye, is discovered by a certain moisture, a livid tumour, and the severe pain it causes. We have found the venom of spiders prove not only dangerous but mortal: remedies efficacious in cases of serpent-wounds have scarce saved the lives of persons bitten by this large spider. These insects lurk chiefly in hedges, hollow trees, and ruined walls.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF REMEDIES FOR THE POISONOUS BITES OF INSECTS.

OLD books suggest various methods of keeping away serpents: but who that is acquainted with America would not despise the prescriptions of the old writers, adapted to fill pages only, not to be of any real use? In preference to these ancient recipes I recommend the American ones, both because they are more expeditious and readier, and because their utility has been proved by long experience. The Christian Guaranies, whenever they accompanied me to seek the savages in the woods, carried fresh garlick in their girdles, and, notwithstanding the abundance of serpents we met, not one of my companions was ever bitten by one. Following the example of the Indians, I always kept a string of garlick suspended near my bed, after being attacked by a serpent in my sleep. That serpents dislike the smell of garlick is well known both to the ancients and to country people, who rub the milk-pans with the juice of that herb, lest serpents, who are extremely fond of milk, should get into them. My faith, however, in the efficacy of garlick was not a little

shaken by one of my companions, who found a snake in the garden close to a plant of it. But the leaves of a plant are endued with different properties from its roots and fruit. May not the garlick alone, and not the leaves, be the object of the serpent's abhorrence? The Abipones and Mocobios suspend a crocodile's tooth from their neck or arm, thinking it a powerful amulet against snakes of every kind. In this they are imitated by many Missionaries and Spaniards, who often purchase the teeth of these animals at a high price. I have known Spaniards who thought themselves secure from the bites of serpents when they had a bit of deer's skin about their body. There are persons who rub their feet and hands with the juice of a radish, and believe themselves fortified against poisons. I should not take upon me to despise these safeguards, because they are approved by the experience of the Americans; but it is the part of a prudent person never to place such entire confidence in them as to lay aside caution, and lose sight of danger, which, in regard to serpents, lurks where none appears.

For this reason I constantly exhorted the Americans to circumspection; when they had to rest in the plain at night or mid-day, to choose a situation free from bushes, reeds, and caverns, and at a distance from the banks of

pools and rivers; to take a survey of the spot; to examine the tall grass, decayed trunks, and recesses of shrubs and rocks, before they sat or lay down. The Indians, who neglect these precautions, are constantly liable to the bites of serpents. Throwing themselves carelessly on the ground, they sleep soundly without a fear or a thought about serpents, and are often awakened with a scream by the bite of one. When travelling bare-footed they employ their eyes in watching birds in the air and monkeys in the trees, when they ought, at every step, to examine the dangerous ground they are treading. The Abipones, from being an equestrian people, and more circumspect, seldomer suffer from serpents than the Guaranies, who always walk on foot, and use less caution. In the town of St. Joachim, where the climate is very hot, and the land is surrounded with marshes, rivers, and woods, venomous animals are unusually numerous. Scarce a week passes that some Indians are not bitten by serpents. During the eight years that I spent in this town a vast number of persons were bitten by various serpents, but, with the exception of two youths who were killed by a rattle-snake, not a single individual died: all were healed by the use of one and the same remedy. Now listen attentively whilst I make you acquainted with that

celestial, and almost miraculous, medicine, which is as unknown out of Paraguay, as it is useful to the Paraguayrians. It is a very white flower, extremely like a lily in its leaves, stalk, blossom, and scent, except that it is smaller. The Spaniards call it *nard*. It grows in all soils, flourishes at every part of the year, and is neither destroyed by long drought, nor by hoar frost. I never could meet with this flower either in European gardens, or in books treating of flowers, and have found the most scientific herbalists utterly unacquainted with it. After diligently examining every species of nard, I perceived that the Paraguayrian nard could not be referred to any of them. The root of this flower, either dried or fresh, is cut into small pieces and steeped in brandy. Part of this infusion, together with the root, is applied to the wound, and the rest taken inwardly by the patient. It is generally sufficient to do this once. But if it be necessary to repeat it a second and a third time, the force of the poison is destroyed, the swelling subsides, and the wound heals. The sooner you apply this remedy, the quicker and more certainly you will repress the progress of the poison. Taught by the experience of eighteen years, I affirm it to be superior to all other remedies. With it we have triumphed over the poison of every snake

but the rattle-snake. I cannot count the number of Indians I have healed with this precious root. An Indian Guarany, as he was lying on the ground out of doors, was bitten by a serpent. When the poor wretch crawled to my town I prepared him for death with sacred rites, which the violent pain of the swelled wound, and the cries extorted by it from the wounded man seemed to presage. I had only a few drops of brandy remaining: these, with the root of the nard, I applied to the wound. Afterwards, as the extreme pain indicated that the poison was not yet expelled from his body, I saw him recover in three days by the use of the root with wine, which I substituted for brandy.

No one will deny that tobacco leaves possess much virtue against the bites of serpents. A Guarany was wounded in the right foot in two places by a snake, as he was reposing at noon on a journey. I was asked for medicine, and as no nard was at hand, and we were many leagues from the town, I advised the father of the wounded man to put a tobacco leaf into his mouth, and to suck both the wounds. He replied that he had already done so; I then told him to burn tobacco leaves, letting the smoke enter the wounds, and to apply a catáplasm of chewed tobacco to the same; I also desired the wounded man himself to chew tobacco,

swallow its juice, and smoke it through a reed, giving him likewise a vial of brandy to drink. The poison at length was so much repressed by these trifling remedies that the sick man recovered his strength sufficiently to pursue his journey to the town. The warmth of the brandy counteracts the cold of the poison, and restores the heat of the stomach and of the blood. Father Gumilla declares that serpents will die if a tobacco leaf be thrust into their mouths. We learn from the same author that, in the new kingdom of Granada, the Americans drink gunpowder mixed with brandy to cure the bites of serpents, and that it produces the desired effect. The Abipones, Mocobios, and Tobas, as soon as they feel themselves bitten by a serpent, cover the wound with virgin wax, which is thought to absorb the poison. At another time they have it sucked out by their physicians. They sometimes scrape a crocodile's tooth, drink the dust in water, and at the same time bind a whole crocodile's tooth very tight on to the open wound. Our druggist at Cordoba, wishing to try the virtue of this remedy, gave an equal quantity of violent poison to two dogs, tying a crocodile's tooth round the neck of one, and not round that of the other, and they say that, whilst the latter died in a very few hours, the former recovered by means of the tooth.

The Abipones surround the neck of a dog that has been bitten by a serpent with ostrich feathers, and they told me that their ancestors looked upon that as a remedy.

The Portugueze extol the *piedra de cobra*, which is of a grey, and sometimes of a black colour, and of various sizes, as the magnet of poisons: for in the same manner that load-stone attracts iron, this stone, when applied to a wound, absorbs all the venom. That it may serve again for the same purpose it is immersed in milk, into which the poison is discharged. The ancient physicians thought garlick an excellent remedy for venomous bites. The efficacy of this plant against poisons was proved by an experiment of my own. A Guarany, as he was working in the garden, was bitten in the foot by a hairy spider, such as I have described, and imprudently neglected to mention the circumstance. The poison beginning to operate, he felt his thigh swell, with pain in the stomach, and suspecting his danger, came to me for advice. I ordered a little beef broth to be boiled with plenty of garlick, which taken by the sick man immediately repressed the poison, the swelling, and the pain. Nor am I averse to the prescription of Dioscorides, who thinks that radish juice should be drunk on these occasions. The ancients have advised washing the hands

with the same, to keep off the attacks of serpents. For it appears, both from the authority of physicians and from experience, that not only the juice but the very smell of a radish is of use against serpents. Some bind a live hen, or pigeon, cut open, to the wound, thinking that the poison is absorbed by them. In place of a hen some substitute a kid, or the belly of a goat newly slain. Some wash the wounded part with goat's milk, and they say that a countryman cured a serpent wound in the foot by dipping it often into goat's milk. They also say that cheese made of this milk, when applied to the wound, will have the same effect. To these old remedies America adds new ones, a few of which I will mention. They apply the unripe fruit of the anana, when bruised, to poisoned wounds by way of a cataplasm. The Indian physicians give the herb *taropè*, (which the Spaniards call *contra yerba*, or *higuerilla*, the little fig, because its roots have both the odour and the milk of the fig,) to their patient to eat or drink, to counteract the effects of poisons. The leaves of the herb *mboÿ-caà* are chewed, and the juice swallowed, whilst part of the chewed leaves are placed on the wound. The *macángua caà* is celebrated for possessing a virtue of the same kind. This herb is named from the duck *macángua*, which, using its wings

as a shield, pursues and kills serpents, but if it be wounded in the contest eats this herb as a medicine. The *yçipo moroti*, and *bejuco de Guayaquil*, have the same property. The roots of the *urucuỹ*, *jurepeba*, *jaborandi*, &c. are highly conducive to excite perspiration, by which the poison is expelled. I do not deny the validity of these remedies, but, with the leave of physicians, ancient as well as modern, I still think nard root preferable to them all, for it has been the salvation of numbers, not only of men, but of beasts. As the cattle feed in the open air, day and night, every part of the year, they are not unfrequently bitten by serpents, scolopendras, and spiders. Blood dropping from the nostrils is the sign of a poisonous wound. Brandy mixed with nard root poured in time down their throats was of great use, but after the poison had diffused itself over all the members of animals we generally found medicine unavailing.

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF OTHER NOXIOUS INSECTS, AND THEIR REMEDIES.

YOU might swear that Egypt, and the whole plague of insects with which divine vengeance afflicted that land, had removed into Paraguay; nay, you will find many here more mischievous and troublesome than Egypt ever beheld. I have always thought common house-flies, resembling ours in external appearance, more to be dreaded and shunned than serpents, scorpions, scolopendras, hairy spiders, &c. Do not imagine this to be an hyperbole: I declare it as my serious opinion. Swarms of these insects are always flying up and down. At home and abroad you will see yourself surrounded by these hungry little animals, which, though a hundred times repulsed, will return as often. They enter the ears of persons when they are asleep, and creeping to the interior of the head, lay great numbers of eggs, which breed quantities of worms; these insects hourly increase in number, and gnaw all the flesh and moisture in the head, so that delirium and final death are the inevitable consequence, unless a remedy be applied. I knew a Spaniard whose whole face

together with the nostrils was consumed, the forepart of his head being made as hollow as a gourd by worms. One fly, which had crept into his nose whilst he slept, was the origin of the worms and of his misfortune. This is no rare occurrence. That worms are expelled by the application of tiger's fat you have already learnt from the twenty-second chapter of this history: but hear further. In the town of the Rosary, one of the Abipones swarmed with worms to a shocking degree; but these insects, unable to endure the tiger's fat which I applied to them, gnawed open two outlets, and all burst away, leaving the sick man in perfect health, and ascribing his recovery to this potent medicine; by the aid of which I cured a female captive of the Spaniards, whose head had been grazed by a bullet. The bloody and lacerated skin as usual attracted these flies, which, making a passage to the interior of the head, greatly endangered the poor woman's life, but were soon dislodged by the application of tiger's fat. We have benefited other persons, at various times, with the same remedy. I took care always to have a good supply of a medicine so important, and in such constant request. At the first news of a tiger being slain I hastened to get its fat, which I kept melted in a little vessel; for if raw, it would soon putrefy in so

Handwritten note:
The fly
The...

hot a climate. Though the fat of these animals, even when fresh, like the rest of the flesh, exhales a most abominable odour, yet when mixed in water, it is drank by the Abipones with the utmost avidity. In some of the Guarany Reductions, peach leaves are used to expel worms bred by flies.

The natives of northern regions will hardly conceive, and natural historians scarce credit the breeding of such dangerous worms from flies; but the Americans witness it daily, and deplore its fatal effects not only on themselves, but on cattle. When we killed a cow or a sheep at sun-rise, the flies have been seen swarming round the flesh; soon after we have found it covered with a kind of whitish seed, and by sun-set the meat became stinking, full of worms, and unfit to be eaten. Those who wish to preserve meat uninjured, should either cut it into very small pieces and dry it in the air, or hang it up in the shade in a net, or wicker basket, so that it may be exposed to the air, without being accessible to flies. Should a horse's back be injured by the hardness of the saddle, or by long riding, the flies will swarm thither as if bidden to a feast, and breed innumerable worms, which mangle the horse, and in a few days destroy him. Blood bursting from an ulcer is a sign that worms are within. In

order to remedy this they tie the animal's feet and throw him on the ground, then dig out the worms and matter with a slender stick, and fill up the hole of the ulcer with chewed tobacco-leaves, and cow-dung. This must be repeated for many days. If the animal can lick himself the cure will be surer and quicker. But as this method of healing is accompanied with much trouble and some danger, the Indians, and half Spaniards, who are more lazy than the Indians, had rather see the plain strewed with carcasses, than exert themselves either with their hands or feet. The slothfulness of the shepherds who take care of the estates yearly occasions the loss of many thousand horses, oxen, calves, sheep and mules in Paraguay. New born calves should be examined and rid of the worms, with which they are generally infested; for the flies immediately attack the navel string, and miserably kill them. On which account, if, out of ten thousand calves born yearly on your estate, four thousand remain alive, you have great reason to congratulate yourself, and return thanks to your shepherds.

I should not omit to mention another worm medicine. Szentivan advises you to give a drench of olive oil and water to oxen labouring under this disease, as it causes them to void the worms along with their excrement. I had for-

merly read of this, and remembering the prescription, adopted it in America with success, before I was acquainted with the virtues of tiger's fat. I had a great mastiff dog, remarkable for beauty, strength, and courage, my faithful guard both at home and abroad, but somewhat quarrelsome. He provoked daily battles, and was constantly victorious, till one day when he was attacked by a number of hounds at once; the wound which they made was infested by worms, so that, as he would not suffer it to be touched, we had no hopes of his recovery. After applying a very few drops of oil to the wound, I beheld the whole brood of worms issuing forth, and caught hold of them as they protruded themselves from the skin, with a pair of compasses. When the worms ceased to break out, I poured on oil again and again, till none remained in the hollow of the wound, and by this art the dog recovered in two days. The same oil, in a lukewarm state, is poured into the ears, to get away any gnat, flea, or fly, which may have crept into them. I will tell you of a false alarm I once had on this account. As I was dressing in the morning, I heard a continual humming so near me, that I thought a fly must have entered my head; a suspicion which gave me much anxiety. Every thing was tried, without success, to

expel the fly, which still continued its deadly hum. At last, oil heated in a shell was poured into my ear by a boy, but, from being too hot, it caused me extreme pain. Yet still greater was my consternation at finding that the humming was not discontinued. "Come," said I to the boy, "put your ear close to me, and listen attentively to the buzzing of this wretched insect." The boy listened for some time, and then said with a smile: "you need be under no apprehension, Father; the fly is in your clothes, not in your ear." Immediately undoing the buttons, I pulled away the coat from my neck, and the fly, which had been confined in the fold, joyfully flew away. I cannot express the delight I felt at finding myself free from this danger. It was a long time, however, before I could forget it; the obstinate pain in my ear, occasioned by the hot oil, every now and then reminding me of the captive fly. I must here mention another remedy. If ever you feel any insect enter your ear, you should make some other person syringe it well with cold water; for the little insects, oppressed by the wet, will either come out, or perish immediately.

In certain parts of Paraguay, especially in the Tarumensian territory, you meet with another species of fly. In size and shape they

differ little from our common flies, but are of a white colour, and have a formidable sting, which, when inserted into the flesh of man or beast, elicits a quantity of blood. I scarce ever remember seeing them in houses; they chiefly infest the roads, where they are excessively troublesome to horse travellers. There is a great number and variety of gad-flies, in plains adjacent to woods, but these insects attack beasts only. I am not surprized at the fable of Io being driven mad by a gad-fly, having so often seen horses and mules, tractable at other times, tormented by gad-flies adhering to their skin like leeches, till they grew quite furious, and lost all controul over themselves, and regard for their riders. Still greater danger is experienced in the woods from certain large wasps, the sting of which perfectly infuriates the horses. To free themselves from these cruel tormentors, they often refuse to obey the bridle, and throw their rider, rushing onwards, and rolling themselves on the ground; a circumstance which occasions many broken legs, and bruised heads, and much bloodshed. I, myself, though riding on a very gentle mule, should have been killed once owing to this circumstance, had not an Indian come to my assistance. These insects attack men also. Their sting occasions violent pain and great

swelling. A piece of fresh turf is generally applied to the wounded part, by way of remedy, but it never did me any good, as my cheek may testify. In my absence, a great number of wasps flew into the yard of our house, and settled upon a stake, forming themselves into a large round ball. Lest passers-by should disperse them, and they should fly into our apartment, I fired a gun into the ball of wasps. Terrified at the sudden report, they all flew away except one, which pitched upon my face, and inserting its sting into the flesh, caused it to swell dreadfully. The tumour was succeeded by a corresponding degree of pain. On my complaining the next day, and mentioning the remedies I had used, an old Abipon said, "Why did you not anoint the swelling with beef fat, Father? that is an old and certain remedy amongst us." I complied with this advice, in consequence of which the swelling and pain both ceased. Take notice that I do not mean suet, but the fat of the animal, which is used in Paraguay in the place of melted butter. How dangerous it is to provoke hornets, we have often found in travelling. A nest of these insects concealed under the leaves had perhaps been disturbed unintentionally by the Indians, who preceded me as we were walking in the woods; but they did not escape with impunity,

not a few being stung by the hornets dispersed in this manner. Most of them, however, rushed under my clothes, and would have stung me all over, had I not given my garment to the Indians to examine and shake.

No arithmetic is sufficient to reckon the number of gnats that torment this country, as no patience is equal to enduring them. Wherever you go, they afflict your ears with their noise, and your flesh with their stings, making you wish for a hundred arms to drive them away. During cold weather, they remain quietly in their lurking-holes, but when the sun is hot and the air tranquil, they fly out in search of food, and are never more ferocious than at dawn or twilight. Where the grass is high, where bushes, pools, rivers, or marshes are near at hand, and where there are thick woods which exclude the air, there you will be plagued by vast numbers of serpents, and swarms of gnats. If you have to pass the night in such a situation as I have described, never dream of sleeping. After the fatigue of riding or walking the whole day, you will fruitlessly weary both hands at night with driving away gnats. Unable to sleep, how often have I reproached the sun with returning too slowly! I pitied the horses which, after being debilitated with toil and fasting, were surrounded by such a swarm

of hungry gnats, that, as they could neither take any rest, nor graze the herb, they stood round the fire to inhale the smoke, which, if rather sharp, will keep off those trumpeting insects. Gnats cannot endure the smoke of cow-dung; but besides that it will have the same unpleasant effect upon your own nostrils, if your sense of smelling be not very dull indeed; you will hardly meet with cow-dung in the woods, where there is not so much as the shadow of a cow, and travellers through these deserts are too much laden with provisions, water, and fuel, to be able to carry bundles of it with them. I was much pleased with the ingenuity of a Negro, who, when he slept on a journey, always had at his side some resinous material from rotten wood, which glistens at night, smokes gently without any unpleasant smell, and, as I observed, always defended him from gnats. Incredible is the annoyance caused by these insects in a long journey. We have often returned home mangled, swollen, and bloody, in short, so unlike ourselves, that we could hardly know one another. Even in the house, if you do not wish to pass a sleepless night, you should not suffer the door or window to remain open at sun-set, especially when you light a candle; for they fly by swarms to any light, whenever they can find access to it. There is

a species of gnats which are smaller, but more mischievous than the common kind; for though they have not the disagreeable hum of the others, they creep into the mouth, ears, and nose, and sting violently.

The most famous gnat in Paraguay, the *mbarigué*, is of the smallest size. Its extreme diminutiveness renders it invisible to the acutest eye, yet its sting is intolerably painful. These insects infest the thicker woods and the banks of streams, and are most to be feared in the evening, when the air is still. Their sting is like the point of a weapon, with which they pierce the flesh, not only when it is naked, but when defended with a slight covering. After passing some time in the woods, we returned to the town so covered with red spots, that we looked like persons in the small-pox. When in this state, the skin cannot be safely scratched with the nails, or washed with cold water. From the repeated stings of this gnat, large worms are often bred, whether originating in the pestilent sting, the poisoned humour, or some seed left by the insect, or in the gnat itself, converted into a worm within the flesh, I cannot tell. That more than one worm is never bred in one place, I know, the proof of which you shall now hear. I had observed my dog howl every now and then, scratching himself and

appearing very uneasy. The Indians, when consulted on the matter, answered that he was swarming with worms. Under my inspection, they tied the dog's mouth and feet, laid him on the ground, and pressing the flesh where it appeared swelled with both hands, squeezed out the worm concealed underneath. Seventeen worms were thus taken from as many different places, all of a white colour, thicker than the seed of an apple, and about the length of a man's thumb nail. Astonished at the circumstance, I was told by the Indians that it frequently happened to themselves. And, indeed, all Paraguay knows that the minutest worms and flies have been the death of many persons. Father Felix Villa-Garzia, during his long search for the Ytatinguas in the Tarumensian woods, contracted a disorder in his eye, and was tormented by a fistula and the worms engendered therein for the rest of his life: that the heat of the sun, and various kinds of gnats were the occasion of this disorder, is well known.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CONTINUATION OF THE SAME SUBJECT.

THE hotter parts both of North and South America breed a little worm, the daily cause of many groans, and not a few deaths. In appearance, and in its manner of skipping, it resembles the smallest of all possible fleas, and is hardly visible to the keenest eye, except in a very strong light, but so pungent that it must be felt by every one that is not made of stone or iron. This insect has so sharp a proboscis that it will pierce shoes, boots, gaiters, and every kind of clothing. It adheres a little while to the skin, and then penetrates the flesh, causing an intense itching: concealed there, as under a burrow, it surrounds itself with a round whitish little bladder, which it fills with eggs like the smallest nits. If this bladder remain many days under the skin, it increases to the size of a pea. This is a common sight. The longer the bladder adheres to the body, the more is the sense of pain deadened. Children are much the fittest to rout this enemy from his station, for the strong sight they possess enables them immediately to discover the little red

spot which denotes the place where the worm has entered the flesh. The circumference of that spot they prick with a needle, gradually open the skin and flesh, and at length pluck out the whole bladder with the little worm buried amongst its nits. When this is put to a candle, it goes off with a noise like gunpowder. But if the bladder be broken in the operation, the humour effused from thence will occasion further pain, and the nits, by being scattered, will breed fresh worms in the same place. That this gnat teems with poisonous matter is evident from the circumstance that the hollow from which it has been eradicated, not unfrequently inflames, swells, and, unless quickly remedied, becomes gangrenous. The nails of the feet, which they frequently attack, always decay and fall off, and, to preserve life, it is often necessary to amputate the toes. Those who wish to guard against this inconvenience, should study cleanliness in their houses, for the said worms derive their origin from dust, excrement, and urine in a hot climate, and are bred in places which are seldom swept, which have been long uninhabited, and where the cold air has no access to dry the moisture. The stalls of oxen, horses, and mules, though in the open air, and without a roof, swarm with them. In the southern parts of Paraguay,

where the air is not so hot, this noxious insect is unknown; indeed it is seen no where but in the territories of Buenos-Ayres, and Cordoba of the Tucumans. After passing six years in Paraguay, I was only acquainted with it by name, and it was not till my removal to the colony of St. Ferdinand, that I began to see, to suffer and to execrate this pest. Persons who live in a place infested by these insects, should have their feet daily examined; for however troublesome this inspection may be, much greater inconvenience will be incurred by the neglect of it. At one sitting a boy will often take out twenty or more worms, and when your fingers and nails are almost all filled with holes, and the soles of your feet so lacerated as to prevent you from walking a step without difficulty, you will yourself deplore your neglect and procrastination. I have known many persons confined to their beds for weeks, and others entirely deprived of the use of their feet on this account. Though these worms chiefly attack the feet, yet they sometimes, with still greater danger, creep to the other parts of the body, and make their nest in the arm or knee. Dogs, from their always lying on the ground, are most troubled with these insects; but they dexterously remove them from their flesh with their tongues, and heal the wound by licking it.

Sows, tame monkeys, cats, goats, and sheep, are dreadfully tormented by them; but horses, asses, mules, and oxen, are protected against the common enemy by the hardness of their hoofs. The Americans should take care to fill up the hollow left by the bladder with tobacco-powder, ashes, or soap, otherwise the wound made by the needle, and infected with the poison of the insect, will become ulcerous, conceive matter, and, on occasion of inflammation, or violent motion of the feet, will end in a gangrene, or St. Anthony's fire. Hen's fat and a cabbage leaf applied to the feet, to allay the inflammation, have often been found of service. They write that the Brazilians, to keep off these worms, anoint their feet with an oil expressed from the unripe acorns of the acaju. Sailors daub themselves with pitch for the same purpose. All of us, in the fear of these and other insects, wore sheepskin leggings, but we found them weak and inefficient defences.

The common fleas of Europe, diffused like æther throughout every part of the air, are not only bred in Paraguay, but domineer most insolently here, as in their native soil. It is a remarkable circumstance that the plain itself, which is covered with grass, swarms with fleas. Persons sailing on the Paraguay, when they leave the vessel to pass the night or noon on

the shore, though they lie on a green turf, where no man or dog ever trod, will return to the ship blackened with fleas. If this occurs in the green plain, what must we expect in the dry floors of an apartment, covered neither with brick, stone, nor board? In apartments of this kind have I dwelt seven years amongst the Abipones, during which time I had to contend with countless swarms of fleas. Do you enquire the remedy for fleas in America? There is but one, namely, patience. Columella, Kircher, and others, are indeed of opinion that these insects are not only driven away but destroyed by a decoction of odoriferous herbs scattered on the floor; and the Guaranies do certainly boil for this purpose a strong-scented herb, sprinkling the chamber with the water when boiling hot, and sweeping it once or twice. But if the fleas are destroyed by this means, I attribute it, not to the strong smell of the herbs, but to the water in which they are boiled, and to the mops by which they are swept away. Let the houses be cleared of dust and dogs, and rendered pervious to frequent winds; these are the best precautions against the smaller insects. Lice are never to be met with amongst the Abipones, except in the hair. The Spanish colonies abound in bugs, but I never beheld one in the

towns of the Indians. Flying bugs, called *binchuccas*, are common in Cordoba, and other parts of Tucuman. By day they lurk in the chinks of roofs and chests, but fly out at night and make bloody war upon sleepers. They affect the part upon which they fasten with an intolerable heat, seeming rather to burn than bite the body. The red spots caused by the pain appear as if they had been raised by a caustic. Fatigued with fifteen days hard riding, through a continuous desert, and amid unceasing showers, I reached the town of Salabina, where repose was not only desirable, but almost indispensable for me; yet the whole night passed away without my being able to obtain a wink of sound sleep. I felt all my limbs pricked and heated, but was unable to discover the cause of this unusual pain. When day-light appeared, all who saw me covered with red spots pitied my misfortune, and assured me that the flying bugs were the cause of it. In another journey I passed the night in company with a noble priest, who, after we had partaken of a light supper, set out with me and his domestics to sleep in a neighbouring field. In that part of the country this is both customary and necessary, for in hot nights the houses swarm with bugs to such a degree that it is impossible to get any sleep in them.

Amongst pernicious insects no inconsiderable place should be assigned to the *garrapata*, which is about the size of a lentil, and in form resembles a land tortoise, except that it is more spherical, wearing on its back a mail like that animal. It is of a dark tawny colour, partly variegated, has a flat body, eight little feet, and a prominent head or proboscis, which it inserts into the skin, fastening, at the same time, the hooks of its feet into it, and whilst it sucks blood from every part of the body, creates an itching and inflammation, followed by swelling and matter, which often lasts four days or more, while the ulcer will hardly heal within a fortnight. When the insect has fixed its head deep into the flesh, it is very difficult to pull it out entire; and if it remain sticking in the flesh you will be in a bad condition; for the venom will not be got rid of till matter has flowed for a long time from that itching ulcer. The plains and woods are filled with this insect, so hostile both to man and beast. Where you see rotten leaves, or reeds, there you will find swarms of this little animal. When we travelled in the woods to discover the hordes of the savages, we disregarded tigers, serpents, and caruguàs, in comparison with these noxious insects: it was our constant complaint that we had not eyes enough to avoid them, nor hands

sufficient to drive them away. The Spaniards employed in seeking the herb of Paraguay, when they daily return to their hut, lay down the bundles of boughs with which they are laden, and hasten to the next lake or river to bathe, where, having stripped themselves naked, they examine one another's bodies, and pluck out the garrapatas sticking in their flesh; unless this precaution were adopted, they would be killed in a few days with the superabundance of matter, and of ulcers. Goats, does, monkeys, tamanduas, dogs, and every wild animal that inhabits the plains or woods, all swarm with these insects. The lesser garrapatas are much more mischievous than the larger ones.

There are many species and incredible numbers both of creeping and flying ants in Paraguay. The worst and most stinging kind are the least in size, and of a red colour. They carry off sugar, honey, and every thing sweet, so that you have need of much ingenuity to defend provision of this kind from them. From eating sweet things they increase their bile, and acquire a subtle venom. As soon as they get upon the skin, they create a pustule, which lasts many days, and causes severe pain. To this very small species of ants, I subjoin the largest I had an opportunity of seeing, which are formidable on account of their undermining build-

ings. They make burrows with infinite labour, under churches and houses, digging deep sinuous meanders in the earth, and exerting their utmost strength to throw out the loosened sods. Having got wings they fly off in all directions, on the approach of heavy showers, with the same ill fortune as Icarus, but with this difference, that he perished in the sea, they on the ground, to which they fall when their wings are wetted by the rain. Moreover those holes in the earth, by which the ants used first to pass, admit the rain water, which inundates the caves of the ants, and undermines the building, causing the wooden beams that uphold the wall and roof, first to give way, and unless immediately supported, to fall along with the house. This is a common spectacle in Paraguay. The whole hill on which St. Joachim was built was covered with ant-hills, and full of subterranean cavities. Our house, and the one adjoining, suffered much from these insects. The chief altar was rendered useless for many days: for, it being rainy weather, the lurking ants flew in swarms from their caves, and not being able to support a long flight, fell upon the priest, the altar, and sacred utensils, defiling every thing. Ten outlets by which they broke from their caves being closed up, next day they opened twenty more. One evening there arose a vio-

lent storm, with horrible thunder and lightning. A heavy shower seemed to have converted our court-yard into a sloping lake, the wall itself withstanding the course of the waters. My companion betook himself to my apartment. Mean time an Indian, the churchwarden, arrives, announcing that the floor of the church was beginning to gape, and the wall to open and be inclined. I snatched up a lamp and ran to the place, but had hardly quitted the threshold of my door, when I perceived a gap in the earth; and before I was aware of any danger, sunk up to the shoulders in a pit, in the very place of the chief altar, but scrambled out of it by the help of the churchwarden, as quickly as I had got in, for under that altar the ants seemed to have made their metropolis: the cavern was many feet long and wide, so that it had the appearance of a wine-cellar. As often as earth was thrown in by the Indians to fill it, so often was it dug out by the ants. In this universal trepidation, all the Indians were called to prop the gaping wall of the church with rafters and planks. The greatness of the danger rendered it impossible to remain quiet, whatever arts were adopted. That same night I removed from my apartment, which was joined to the church with the same beams and rafters in

such a manner, that if one fell, the other could not avoid being involved in the ruin. I have read, that in Guayana, rocks and mountains have been undermined, walls thrown down, and people turned out of their habitations by ants, which I can easily believe, having myself witnessed similar, or even more incredible events.

In Paraguay I was made thoroughly acquainted with the powers of ants. They are weak, and, compared with many other insects, diminutive, but numbers, labour, and unanimity render them formidable, and endow them with strength superior to their size. In the plains, especially those near the Paraguay, I have seen ant-hills, like stone pyramids, three or more ells high, with a broad base, and composed of a solid material as hard as stone: these are the store-houses and castles of the ants, from the summits of which they discern sudden inundations, and safely behold the floating carcasses of less industrious animals. Elsewhere I have seen an immense plain, so covered with low ant-hills that the horse could not move a step without stumbling. In the plains you may often observe a broad path, through which you would swear the legions of Xerxes might have passed. The Spaniards hollow out these pyramidal heaps, and use them for ovens, or reduce them to a powder,

which, mixed with water, serves admirably to floor houses. Pavements of this kind resemble stone in appearance and hardness, and are said to prevent the breeding of fleas, and other insects. But hear what mischief ants commit within doors. They flock in a long and almost endless company to the sacks of wheat, and in a journey uninterrupted by day or night, (if there be a moon,) carry off, by degrees, some bushels. They will entirely strip fruit trees of their leaves, unless you twist a cow's tail round the trunk to hinder their ascent, and eat away the crops so completely that you would think they had been cut with a sickle. Moreover, ants of various kinds are extremely destructive both to vineyards and gardens, devouring vegetables and pulse to the very root. Set a young plant in the ground and the next day you will seek it in vain. They refrain from pepper, on account of its pungency. If you leave meat, either dressed or raw, in your apartment, you will soon find it blackened with swarms of ants. They devour all sorts of trash, the very carcasses of beetles, toads, and snakes. On returning to my apartment, I found a little bird which I kept in a cage devoured by ants. Nor do they abstain from the bodies of sleeping persons. In the dead of the night an army of ants will issue from the wall or pavement, get upon

the bed, and unless you instantly make your escape, sting you all over. This happened so frequently in the Guarany colonies, that we were obliged to burn a candle at night: for lighted sheets of paper thrown upon the swarm, are the only means of driving them away. The Portuguese have an old saying, that the ants are queens of Brazil. Certainly we have found them the sovereigns of Paraguay. There may be said to be more trouble in conquering these insects, than all the savages put together; for every contrivance hitherto devised serves only to put them to flight, not banish them effectually. Should you hire workmen at a great expense to throw fire upon the caves of the ants, and destroy their eggs, fresh ones will be found next day in other parts of the garden. If swine's dung, chalk, urine, or wild marjoram be put into their cave, they will depart, but only to dig themselves fresh habitations in the neighbourhood. Sulphur is superior to other remedies, and the way in which it is to be used we learnt from the Portuguese. You seek out the principal lurking-place of the ants, lay a chafing dish of lighted coals in the largest opening by which they enter the earth, blow them into a flame, and add sulphur to make a smoke. You carefully stop up the other openings, through which you perceive the smoke issue, with mud,

that the sulphureous smoke may not be permitted to escape. You then light all the sulphur you have at hand, by means of bellows, and the smoke filling the whole cave will suffocate all the ants that lurk there. This has been successfully practised by many persons in Paraguay. But if sulphur be wanting in these solitudes, or patience to use it, then grapes and the productions of the trees and plains must fail also. The ants will devastate every thing, and elude all the arts of the cultivator, unless destroyed by the smoke of sulphur.

It were to wrong the Paraguayan ants, if, after having so minutely described all the mischief they commit, I were to be silent on their benefits. Some of the larger sort have a little ball in the hind part of their bodies full of very white fat, which, when collected, and melted like butter, is eaten with pleasure both by Indians and Spaniards. Other very small ants, in those shrubs which bear the quabyra-mifi, deposit a wax naturally white, and consisting of small particles, which is used to make candles for the use of the altar, and when lighted exhales an odour sweeter than frankincense, but quickly melts, and though double the price of any other wax is sooner consumed. There are also ants that convey to their caves particles of fragrant rosin, which serve for frankincense. In

certain parts of Asia small particles of gold are collected by the ants, from mountains which produce that metal. The inhabitants, in order to get possession of the gold, attack their caves, the repositories of this treasure, especially in the heat of the sun; but the ants stoutly defending their riches, they often return empty-handed, and sometimes are obliged to make a precipitate retreat. I have long wished that those Europeans who have to feed larks and nightingales would come to this country, and load their ships with ant-eggs: they would certainly return with great profit, and at the same time do a signal service to America.

There are also incredible numbers of very large toads, especially in deserted, or but lately inhabited places. In the town of Concepcion, removed to the banks of the Salado, about evening all the streets were so covered with toads, that they were rendered as slippery as ice. They filled the chapel, our house, every place. They not unfrequently fell from the roof on to the floor, bed, or table. They could creep along the wall, and ascend and descend like flies. When the kitchen fire is kindled on the ground toads sometimes creep into the pans and kettles. Once, as I was pouring boiling water from a brass vessel into a gourd, to mix with the herb of Paraguay, I perceived that the

water was bad, and of a black colour; and, on inspecting the vessel, found a toad boiled with the water, which had given it that dark hue, and was so swelled that it entirely choked up the mouth of the vessel. In the colony of the Rosary, which I founded on the banks of a lake, there was the same abundance of toads. Whilst I performed divine service the chapel swarmed with them, and though many were slain every hour of the day, for two years, their numbers seemed rather to increase than diminish. A species of toad, called by the Spaniards *escuerzos*, and much larger than European ones, are not only troublesome, but, when provoked, dangerous: for by way of revenge they squirt their urine at those by whom they are offended, and if the least drop of this liquid enter the eye it will immediately produce blindness. It is moreover indubitable that not only their urine, but their saliva, blood, and gall possess a poisonous property. We learn from credible authors that the Brazilian savages roast toads, and then reduce them to a powder, which they infuse into the meat or drink of their enemies to cause their death; for it occasions a dryness and inflammation of the throat, together with vomiting, hiccups, sudden fainting, delirium, severe pains in the joints and stomach, and sometimes dysentery. Persons

afflicted in this manner, if the force of the poison admit of medicine, should immediately have recourse to purging and vomiting, with repeated walking, or the bath, to produce perspiration. For the same purpose the sick man is sometimes put into a tolerably hot oven, or placed inside a beast that has been newly slain. Various herbs and roots are also made use of to dissipate the poison, the chief of which is one called *nhambi*. If the juice of this herb be thrown on the back or head of the toad, after those parts have been rubbed a little on the ground, it will instantly kill the pestilent animal. This also is effected by means of tobacco. American toads are of a cinereous or light red colour, sometimes variegated, covered with warts, and bristly like a hedgehog. I have read that certain savages feed on a species of toad, but never witnessed it myself. European physicians say that toads, properly prepared by druggists, are useful as diuretics in dropsy, plague, and fevers, and they advise a bruised toad to be applied to the back, about the kidneys, by way of a cataplasm, in cases of dropsy. The oil of toads is useful for curing warts, according to Woytz. River crabs, hartshorn, the flowers of the vine, and other things, are recommended by the same authors as remedies for the poison of toads. There is also a great va-

riety and abundance of frogs, which croak away in the mud, equally annoying to the inhabitants and to travellers. In other respects they are neither useful nor prejudicial, though in Europe they are employed both as medicine and food; but there is nothing to which you would not sooner persuade an American than to eat frogs, or make any other use of them.

Leeches are always to be found in pools supplied solely with rain water; but I never saw any so large as ours. In the town of the Rosary, after a heavy shower the streets seemed full of leeches, and the Abipones, who always go barefoot, complained that they clung to their feet wherever they went; but in the space of an hour these troublesome guests all disappeared, having betaken themselves, most probably, to the adjoining lake. Of bats I have spoken in a former part of my history.

Paraguay may be called the Paradise of mice and dormice. From the number of oxen daily slain, such abundance of offal is every where to be had, that dormice, which in our country can hardly find anything to eat, here feast day and night, which, of course, must wonderfully increase their numbers. At Buenos-Ayres, to my astonishment, I beheld dormice, larger than our squirrels, issue by crowds out of the old walls into the court, about sun-set. At Cordoba in

Tucuman, an ox, stripped of its hide and entrails, but entire in every other respect, was suspended from a beam in the clerk's office. The lay-brothers, on entering the office, beheld the ox entirely covered with dormice, and drew near to see how much they had devoured in the night. On handling the flesh, they found it completely hollowed, and three hundred dormice lurking within. Upon hearing this, I conceived such a disgust of meat gnawed by these animals, that for two days I carefully avoided the eating-room, and contented myself with bread alone. The fruit of my abstinence was, that the meat was thenceforward kept cleaner, and in a more appropriate place. An innumerable host of dormice not unfrequently came thronging from the southern parts of Buenos-Ayres, filled the fields, garners, and houses of Tucuman, and laid waste every thing. They swam across rivers without fear. They left the immense tract of plain country through which they took their way beaten and pressed as if by waggons. The Paraguayrian countrymen, frightened by their multitudes, chose rather to quit their huts, which were exposed on all sides, than take up arms against the foe. Nor should you imagine the Paraguayrian dormice are fond of nothing but beef; they delight in human flesh, for they frequently bite you when you are

sound asleep, and that with no sluggish tooth. Moreover, there is no kind of trash which they will not steal and hide in their store-houses, to serve either for food or bed. They tear the silken markers out of the prayer-books to make their nests. They run off with aprons, bandages, stockings, linen and woollen articles of every kind, carrying them to their holes for bed-clothes and cushions. These troublesome pilferers not only commit daily thefts upon the inhabitants, but frequently set fire to the houses themselves. For they carry away burning tallow candles in their mouths, and in hastening to their caves, often set fire to the cottages of the Spanish peasants. They occasioned us much trouble in the colony of the Rosary. A light was forced to be kept up at night there on several accounts. When tallow was not to be had, I used oil expressed from cows' feet for this purpose. Almost every night the dormice snatched up the iron plate with the burning wick, in order to suck the oil when it cooled. To restrain their audacity, it was found necessary to bind the plate of the match to the lamp with a little brass chain, a weight of iron being added.

A most frequent, and almost annual calamity to Paraguay are the locusts, which are horrible to the sight and of immense size, being longer

than a man's middle finger. When an infinite swarm of them approaches, a terrible darkness breaks from the farthest horizon, and you would swear that a black cloud pregnant with rain, wind, and lightning was drawing nigh. My Abipones, on such occasions, often snatched up arms, and placed themselves in battle array; for the locusts, beheld from a distance, looked like a cloud of dust stirred up by a troop of hostile savages. Wherever the locusts settle, they deprive the fields of their productions, the trees of their leaves, the plain of grass, and men and cattle of food; while the numerous offspring which they leave behind continue the devastation to another year, and create further misery. The army of locusts is prevented from flying to the ground, and feeding in the fields sowed with various kinds of grain, by the sound of drums, the shouting of voices, the firing of guns, and continual rustling of boughs in the air; if these methods fail of driving them away, all the men in the Guarany towns are employed in collecting and killing them. In one day we have often with pleasure beheld many bushels full of these insects, and have condemned them either to the fire or the water. The Abipones had rather eat locusts than drown or burn them; on which account, as they are flying, they knock them down to the ground with long sticks, roast

them at the fire on the same, or on spits, and devour them with as much avidity as we do partridges or beccaficos, rejecting however the males. It has been my intention to treat here of all the noxious insects that occasion death, disease, or damage: but what a field should I have, were I also to describe the harmless ones both of the land and water. Good Heavens! what an abundance is there of flies, worms, bees, hornets, drones, and grasshoppers! What an immense diversity of glow-worms, shining here and there by night like stars! Some, which are about the size of a grass-worm, by moving their wings, others from their eyes alone, emit a light strong enough for one to read by. Some glow only behind, others in every part of their bodies. Wood, reeds, leaves, and roots of plants, when putrefied, scatter at night, particularly in moist places, a green, red, yellow, or blue radiance, resembling diamonds, emeralds, chrysolites, rubies, &c. This was a nightly spectacle to us in the woods between the rivers Acaray and Monday. I carried some rubbish which I had observed to glitter in this manner, to my town, where it shone as long as it continued moist; when wetted, it regained its former splendour, which, however, ceased at last, in spite of fresh supplies of water. I never perceived phosphoric lights of this nature in

any other part of Paraguay. Innumerable butterflies, of a beautiful variety of colours, adorn the sides of the rivers and woods, as flowers the meadows; but of these and other insects, many and accurate accounts have been already written, which are now in the hands of all. We must return to the Abipones, more destructive to Paraguay than any insect, who, though looked upon by the Spaniards in the light of robbers and murderers, do nevertheless profess themselves warriors and heroes; whether justly or no, I leave to the arbitration of my readers, to whom I shall proceed to describe their military discipline and method of warfare.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF THE MILITARY DISPOSITIONS OF THE ABIPONES.

I AM at a loss in what colours to paint the military dispositions of the Abipones; no word corresponds to the idea which long acquaintance with these savages has impressed on my mind. That the Abipones are warlike, prompt, and active, none even of the Spaniards ever doubted, but I should hesitate to call them valiant and intrepid. Cicero himself distinguishes an active from a brave man, in these words, 2. Philipp. *Ut cognosceret te, si minus fortem, attamen strenuum.* It is my purpose to write the history not the panegyric of the Abipones: I must therefore be sincere, and declare my real opinion, whatever it be.

Military fame is the principal object of the ambition of the Abipones. Their whole souls are bent upon arms. They can manage a spear, bow, and every kind of weapon with great dexterity, and ride on horseback with peculiar swiftness. No people with greater fortitude endures the hardships of war, the inclemencies of the sky, want of food, and the fatigues of travelling. They fearlessly swim across rivers formidable to

sailors and ships. They look upon their wounds without a groan, and with as much indifference as they would upon those of another person. They are acquainted with all those arts which every European soldier admires, but which so very few practise. This alone is unknown to the Abipones, to despise death, and gain glory by encountering danger. They boast of martial souls, but are too unwilling to resign their lives. They are active, but can by no means be called brave, for a brave man would remain unterrified were the globe itself to fall in ruins, and would choose either to conquer or die. The Abipones always desire to conquer, but are never willing to die. They will curse a victory obtained at the expense of one of their countrymen's lives. They abhor triumphal hymns if mingled with funeral lamentations, and would reject a victory accompanied by the sighs of one mourning widow or orphan.

Certainly no one can accuse the Abipones of rashness in venturing their lives. Their chief adorations are paid to the goddess Security, the arbitress of their battles, without whose approving sanction they will never risk an engagement. They carefully avoid a contest of uncertain issue. They always threaten others, always fear for themselves, and trust nothing to chance. Before they undertake a warlike

expedition, they carefully consider the nature of the place, the numbers of their enemies, and the opportunity of the time. Any danger, or the least suspicion of it, will strike the spear from their hands, and extinguish all their ardour. Agis, King of Sparta, boasted that his soldiers, in the heat of war, did not enquire the number and strength of their antagonists, but where they were, that they might attack and put them to flight. The Abipones are never hurried into a combat with such blind impetuosity as this. They proceed cautiously, nor do the trumpets sound till all things have been diligently examined. When assured of their safety, they rush on like thunder, imitating now the cunning of Hannibal, now the delays of Fabius. They know that the daring are favoured by fortune, but not unless they exercise a sagacious foresight with regard to dangers. As persons about to cross a threatening river, try the ford that they may not be carried away by the current; so they never approach their enemies till after mature deliberation, that they may secure an unimperilled victory. The timidity of the Americans gives the name of rashness to what Europeans call courage. They think long and often upon what is to be done once. They never strike a blow which they have not previously contem-

plated, and then it is with a hand trembling at every noise. They seldom attack openly, but do it in general unawares. They dare little against the bold who front assailants, and are accustomed to keep strict watch. They never fear less than when they perceive themselves the objects of fear. Craft, and the swiftness of their horses, more than strength, were what gave them the power to commit so many slaughters. Though you may object to their cowardice, yet that method of warfare is surely admirable, and agreeable to military tactics, which enabled them, with no loss, or a very trifling one of their own soldiers, to return home victorious, laden with the heads of the Spaniards, and triumphantly displaying crowds of captives, cattle, and other spoils taken from the enemy. *Hæc ars*, says Vegetius, *dimicaturis est necessaria, per quam vitam retineant, et victoriam consequantur*. For this purpose, heroes themselves have used a sword, and a shield, with the one to offend the enemy, with the other to defend themselves. Cunning, agility, and the swiftness of their horses, were a shield, nay, better than any shield, to the Abipones. If they see one or two of their fellow-soldiers fall, they immediately fly. When straitened, and deprived of all means of escape, fear is converted into rage,

and they fight with the utmost obstinacy. I shall now proceed to treat of their arms, scouts, councils of war, military provisions, hostile expeditions, various modes of fighting, customs on obtaining a victory, and lastly, of the slaughters committed by them in every part of the province.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

OF THE ARMS OF THE ABIPONES.

No man can obtain celebrity amongst the Abipones except by warlike prowess. Hence to have their arms properly made, in good order, and ready when needed, is their chief care. To defend themselves, and offend their enemies, they principally make use of the bow and spear. Their native soil produces a kind of wood not to be met with in any other part of Paraguay, called *neterge*, which is of a red colour while fresh, and as hard as steel. They cleave this tree, cut out an oblong piece of wood, and shape it with a knife or a sharp stone. You would think it had been made by a turner. To straighten it they heat it every now and then by fire, and twirl it about between two logs of wood. By this method the Abipones make spears scarce smaller than the Macedonian pikes; for they are more than five or six ells in length, pointed at both ends, that if one end gets blunt, the other may still be of service, and also for the convenience of sticking the spear into the ground when they pass the night in the plain. Formerly when they were

unacquainted with the very name of iron, they fought with wooden spears, fixing a cow's or stag's horn to the end of them by way of a point. But when the Abipones obtained iron points from the Spaniards, they dexterously inserted them into their spears, and used them to slaughter those from whom they had received them. When going to fight they grease the point of the spear with tallow, that it may enter more readily and deeper into the flesh. We have sometimes seen spears four palms deep in hostile blood, with such force had the Abipones driven them into the sides of the savages who attacked our colony. As their tents and huts are in general rather low, they fix their spears at the threshold of the door to have them always in readiness. By the number of spears you may know the number of warriors which the horde contains. As European generals, to conceal the scanty number of their forces, and to supply the want of warlike instruments, have sometimes placed machines of painted wood, on mounds, to frighten their more numerous adversary; we, in like manner, availing ourselves of the same species of cunning, fixed spears hastily made of reeds or wood, in the houses of the absent Abipones; deluded by which the enemies' scouts reported to their countrymen that the town was full of

defenders. The Abipones are commendable not only for their skill in making their weapons, but also for their assiduity, in cleaning and polishing them. The points of their spears always shine like silver. I was often ashamed for the Spaniards, when I saw them furnished with mean, dirty, and incommodious arms, in the presence of the Abipones, who ridiculed their poverty and laziness. Most of them make use of a reed, a rude stake, a knotty club, the bough of a tree, or a twisted piece of wood, with a broken sword or knife tied to the end of it. The richer sort have guns, but generally bad ones, fitter to terrify than to slay the enemy; and moreover, you will find few able to handle them properly. Remember that I am speaking of the Spanish husbandmen who are ordered to fight against the savages; for you never see the regular troops without the cities of Buenos-Ayres and Monte-Video.

Bows as well as spears are made of the neterge. They are equal to a man's stature in length. When unbent, they are like a very straight stick, not being curved like the bows of the Turks and Tartars. The string of the bow is generally made of the entrails of foxes, or of very strong threads supplied by a species of palm. When about to shoot off their arrows, that they may be able to bend the cord forcibly without hurting their hands, they wear a kind

of wooden gauntlet. The quiver is made of rushes, and adorned with woollen threads of various colours. The arrows, which are an ell and a palm in length, consist of a reed, to which a sharp point of bone, very hard wood, or iron is prefixed. Wooden points are more formidable than iron ones, but those of bone, which are made of a fox's leg, are the most to be dreaded of all; for they break in being extracted, and the part remaining in the body causes a swelling, and a very virulent ulcer, which leaves the wounded person no rest. Any wood, from being imbued with a kind of native poison, causes more pain and tumour than iron. The Abipones never poison their arrows, as is usual amongst many other people of America. The Chiquitos are dreaded by the neighbouring savages on this account, that if an arrow of theirs wound the outermost skin, and bring the least drop of blood, all the limbs will swell, and in the course of a few hours death will ensue. The deadly poison in which they dip their arrows, the Chiquitos, alone know how to prepare from the bark of an unknown tree, and to this day they reserve to themselves the knowledge of the cruel mystery. In hunting too they kill wild animals with arrows dipped in the same poison, and cutting out the wounded part of the body, eat them with safety,

like the Guaranies, who fear not to feed on oxen stung to death by serpents, rejecting that part only which has been infected by the animal's tooth. Father Gumilla relates that the savages of the Orinoco prepare a most fatal poison to dip their arrows in.

The feathers which expedite the flight of the arrows are taken from the wings of crows, so that when the Abipones went out to shoot these birds we guessed that war was at hand. Each feather is tied on both sides, to the extremity of the reed, by a fibre of very slender thread. The Vilelas excite the admiration of all Paraguay by their skill in archery. They dexterously fasten the feathers to the arrow with a glue made from the bladder of the fish vague, inserting the point very lightly into the reed; an artifice which renders their arrows extremely dangerous, because whilst the reed is extracted the point remains sticking in the flesh. The Guaranies, less curious in these matters, apply the feathers of parrots, or other birds, to their arrows. When more than four hundred shoot at a mark, at the same moment, and they go to gather them up, each knows his own by the colour of the feathers. Every nation, in short, has a peculiar fashion in forming bows and arrows. The shorter are more dangerous than the longer ones, inasmuch as they are more difficult to be seen and avoided; but the longer have the advantage

of going to a greater distance, and striking with more force. It is certain that the Abipones are very skilful archers: they are accustomed to the bow from children, and even in infancy can shoot little birds on the wing. In sportive contests, when a reward was proposed to each of the winners, a citron placed at a considerable distance served for a mark. Considering the number of archers, very few missed their aim, to the astonishment of the Spaniards who witnessed such dexterity. The Guaranies are also reckoned very expert in this art.

The Abipones have a great variety of arrows. Some are longer and thicker, as being intended to kill larger beasts. The form of the points is also various. Some are plain and have a straight point; some are barbed either on one or both sides, and others armed with a double row of barbs. You can never extract an arrow of this kind from the flesh, unless you turn it about with both hands, by which means you will open a way to extricate the barbs, but with what pain! When the Abipones see the remains of an arrow occupying any fleshy part of the body, as the thigh, or arm, they cut out the piece of flesh with the inherent particle themselves. The Cacique Ychoalay, in a sharp contest with his rival Oaherkaikin, was dangerously wounded with a bone arrow, which stuck in the back

part of his head, and breaking in being extracted, remained fixed there as firm as a nail. At our advice he visited Sta. Fè, to obtain the aid of a surgeon, who found it necessary to make an incision before he could lay hold of the bony arrow point with his forceps. The operation was successfully performed, but not without severe pain, which the Indian bore with the utmost fortitude, not allowing a single expression of pain to escape him; he even exhorted the surgeon, who, unwilling to inflict so much torture, was hesitating in his task, to proceed; "Do you see me shrink?" said he: "fear nothing, I beseech you; cut, pierce, do what ever you like with confidence. I have long been accustomed to pain, wounded as I have so often been with different weapons." At length when the bony point was extracted, such a quantity of blood gushed out, you would have thought an artery had been opened. The Indian beheld this with a calm countenance, and thanked his deliverer in the best terms he was master of.

Before entering a battle, they lay aside their finest arrows to be employed on the blow which they think of most importance, generally having one of tried virtue in readiness to defend themselves in urgent peril, or to slay some one whose death they particularly desire. When they wish not to kill, but to take alive, birds

and other small animals, they use arrows furnished with a little ball of wood or wax, instead of a point : with this they stun and knock down the animal, but do not kill it. Whenever they are unable to direct the weapon straight to the mark, on account of some intervening obstacle, they shoot it archwise, giving it a curved direction, in the same manner as in besieging camps, balls of fire are cast from mortars. The Abipones stand in no need of these to set fire to houses ; for they fasten burning cotton or tow to the ends of their arrows, and casting them against roofs of wood or straw, set fire to whatever they like, from ever so great a distance. Many towns of the Spaniards were reduced to ashes by this fatal artifice. In the town of the Rosary, I had the thatch of my house plastered over with thick mud to protect it from the flames cast by the arrows of the neighbouring savages. With the same view, I covered a wooden observatory, constructed for the purpose of watching the motions of the savages, with hides ; nor did the contrivance disappoint my hopes.

The spear and the bow, though the chief arms of the Abipones, are not the only ones. They have a weapon composed of three stone balls, covered with leather, and fastened together by as many thongs meeting in one : this

they whirl round, and then cast, with a sure aim, at men and beasts; by which means they are either killed or so noosed, as to prevent them from moving. This formidable weapon, which the Spaniards call *las bolas*, is much used by the southern savages. The lower orders of Spaniards, and all the Indians and Negroes, whenever they ride out are constantly seen with these balls hanging at their saddle or girth; indeed they are in very general use. I have spoken at large in the seventh chapter, of the wooden club *macana*, which they use at home for amusement, and abroad for killing men and beasts. The sling, in the use of which the Guaranies are so expert, is thought little of by the Abipones; amongst them it is only used by boys to knock down small birds with. They have a bow which, instead of a string, is furnished with a piece of cloth, three inches wide, and made of a material very like hemp; stretching this with the hand, they shoot off small clay balls, instead of arrows, to kill birds and other small animals. That wooden tube from which little balls or nails, furnished with silken or linen threads to aid their flight, are blown by the mouth, is unknown to the Abipones, but I am informed that it is used by certain Peruvian Indians dwelling amongst the Moxos and Baures. These people, not being provided with iron nails, put thick

thorns imbued with a poisonous juice into a wooden tube, and blowing hard into it, aim them against wild beasts, and their enemies, by which means they slay them with impunity.

The Abipones are unacquainted with shields and targets, but they cover greatest part of their bodies with a sort of defence, made of an undressed anta's hide, a tiger's skin being sewed either in the in or outside; it is open in the middle, that the head may come through, and extended on each side as far as the elbows and middle; it is impenetrable to common arrows, but not to spears and bullets, though it somewhat diminishes their force. To this coat of mail they added a girth wider than a man's hand, of the dressed hide of the same animal, when they saw their leader Debayakaikin wounded in the belly with a spear. They make use of this armour when they have to fight with the other Indians. Most of them, however, expose their bodies entirely naked to the weapons of their enemies, and seem the more secure, as they are more expeditious in avoiding the fatal blow. For the weight and hardness of such armour prevents that agility, which, in their method of fighting, is of such importance to their safety, as much as its thickness protects the body. When they engage with the Spaniards they neglect their bow and wooden

breastplates, which would be of little service against leaden bullets. In a strong spear, a swift horse, and a crafty ambuscade, they then place all their hopes of victory, and seldom engage on foot, unless absolutely obliged. They had rather combat the enemy from a distance, than close at hand, when they fear for their lives. They oftener kill piecemeal than with downright blows. Though the major part have either purchased swords from the Spaniards, or taken them in war, they seldom make use of them in skirmishing.

CHAPTER XXXV.

OF THE SCOUTS, AND WAR COUNCILS OF THE ABIPONES.

THEIR method of warfare varies according to the adversaries they have to deal with. They adopt one mode of fighting against the Spaniards, another against savages like themselves. This, however, may be observed in general, that they are never precipitate in taking up arms against any one, nor ever hazard an attack unless confident of victory; though, like European generals, they are often deceived. Where they had looked for laurels, they reap deadly cypresses—they go out to seek wool, and return home shorn themselves. The fortune of war is always uncertain. After having determined upon a hostile expedition, they usually send out scouts to discover which way they are to go, and at what place begin the attack; to learn every particular respecting the number of their neighbours who might send supplies to their adversaries, and concerning the access to houses; carefully to examine the situation most convenient for an ambuscade, the places by which they might approach undiscovered, and whither, if need required, they might betake themselves

for safety, together with the pastures of cattle, the number of guards, and other particulars of that kind. And so cunningly do these emissaries discharge their office, that they contrive to see all things, and be seen by none.

Leaving their horses for a while, either on the inaccessible bank of a river, or in the recesses of the woods, that they may not be betrayed by their means, they crawl along on their hands and feet, and lurking amongst boughs and bushes observe all things, both at a distance and close at hand. Concealed by the shades of night, they sometimes approach the very houses of the Spaniards, and listening, catch part of the conversation of the persons within; those even that are ignorant of the Spanish tongue, can at least discover, from the tone of the voices, whether the house contain more men or women. That their footsteps may not betray them, they fasten pieces of skin to their feet, by which artifice the marks of human tread are either disguised or destroyed. To obtain a view of distant objects, they frequently climb trees, or stand upright on their horses' backs. They generally send out two or three of these scouts, who separate at night, one taking one road, one another, first fixing upon a time and place to meet together again. That they may be able with the more certainty to

keep their appointment, they imitate the voice of some bird or beast, as agreed upon beforehand, from which one may know and discover the other. But this artifice must be warily adopted; for if at night-time they imitate the note of a bird which is only heard by day, the Spaniards know it to be uttered by the scouts of the savages, and by timely cautions elude the hostile attack. Often one companion signifies to another that he has arrived beforehand by broken boughs of trees, or high grass knotted in various ways. None perform the office of spy with more success than those Abipones who in their childhood have been taken in war, and bred up by the Spaniards, and who have returned to their countrymen when grown up; for, besides that they are actuated by a stronger hatred to the Spaniards, and a keener thirst for vengeance, from their acquaintance with places, and with the Spanish tongue, they dwell for a time with impunity in the Spanish towns, and as they use the same dress and language, are universally taken for Spaniards. Secure by this artifice, even in mid-day, and in the public marketplace, they survey every thing, and enquire about whatever it is their interest to know; learn what military men are absent, or preparing for departure; what waggons are laden with

merchandise, and whither they are bound, so that they are afterwards easily plundered by the savages in those immense deserts; not one of the waggoners or guards being able to prevent the slaughter, as men of this description are in general but ill provided with arms, and still worse with courage.

The scouts, after having finished their journey and made an accurate report to their employers of all they have seen and heard, a council of war, and at the same time a drinking-party is appointed; for the Abipones think themselves ill fitted for deliberation with dry lips. The Cacique, the promoter of the expedition, in the course of the drinking, delivers his opinion on the affair, and enquires that of the rest. He animates his companions to carry on the thing with vigour, either by the example of their ancestors, or by the hope of glory or booty. Repeated draughts inflame both the bodies and minds of the drinkers: for the meed which they make of honey, or the alfaroba, immediately disorders the brain, like the strongest wine, an effect which is powerfully increased by the shouts of the intoxicated, by singing, and the noise of drums and gourds. The heroic deeds of their ancestors, and former victories, are generally the subjects of these savage songs. The spectacle is as ridiculous

as it is possible to conceive. In every one of the Abipones, you would behold a thunderbolt of war. Each thinks himself a Hector, an Epaminondas, a Hannibal; and such they might be believed by all who beheld their faces covered with blood-red stains to render them more terrific, their arms and breasts full of scars, and their threatening eyes, and who listened to their ferocious and slaughter-breathing words. But could we look into their breasts, we should perceive that they were different within from what they appeared without. We should discover a shell without a kernel, an ass in a lion's skin, an ignis fatuus under thundering words, and vain rage unsupported by strength. Though, no longer masters of themselves, they crawl on the ground in a state of intoxication, at your bidding they will climb to Heaven itself, they will tear away the hinges of the globe, and had all the human race but one neck, like Caligula, they would end it at a blow. Were they as courageous in battle, as vaunting in their cups, they would long since have extinguished the race of Spaniards in Paraguay. But as some one has observed, drunken bullies are better trumpeters than soldiers. They are all empty sound. Amidst their cups and their songs they are bold as lions, but in battle more cowardly than hares.

Whenever an Abipon dies by the hand of an enemy, the nearest relation of the deceased takes upon him to avenge his death. It is his business to invite his countrymen and hordesmen, or even the inhabitants of another hordè, to join their arms with his, to lead them against the enemy, and, when the attack is made, to go first into battle. As they lend assistance to friendly nations, they seek it in turn from them, either when they are preparing for war, or when they apprehend it from others whom they deem themselves unequal to contend with alone. But, as Europe so often experiences, little confidence is to be placed in auxiliary forces. The friendship of the Indians is notoriously fickle and unsteady; for, as they enter into alliance merely with a view to their own advantage, they will suddenly turn their backs on their greatest friends, should the hope of the smallest emolument preponderate.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

OF THE HOSTILE EXPEDITIONS, PROVISIONS, AND CAMPS
OF THE ABIPONES.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the military expeditions which they conclude upon when intoxicated, they faithfully execute, at the appointed time, when sober. Not only are they destitute of almanacs, they even have no names for the days and months. They know, however, without the danger of mistake, on what day the moon will begin, when it will be at full, and when it will be on the wane. They use these changes of the moon as a measure of time to determine expeditions, so that though distant many days' journey the parties assemble at the appointed day, and even meet at the very precise hour that had been agreed upon. For though they have no names for the hours, and no machine to point them out, they supply these deficiencies by their fingers, with which they point to that part of the sky which the sun or moon or some nightly star will occupy at the period of meeting. When the moon is on the wane, they generally judge it a fit time for a journey, that they may set out under the cover

of darkness, and incur less risk of detection: on their return, if they are obliged to make it in haste, they wish that luminary to be on the increase. They generally begin a journey about mid-day, and in different companies, meeting together in the evening at some appointed place.

A European prince, when about to engage in a war, wants more than lead and iron: he stands in need of gold and silver wherewith to procure provisions, and pay his troops. The chieftain of the Abipones has no care of this kind: every one of his soldiers is furnished with plenty of horses, a formidable spear, a bow, and a bundle of arrows. These are their only instruments of war. The severed heads of the Spaniards, thousands of horses and mules taken from their estates, children torn from their mothers' bosoms, and the glory derived from these, serve both for the rewards and trophies of the fighting Abipones. Though the colony which they purpose to attack be more than two hundred leagues distant, they each drive but two horses before them, and ride upon a third. They do not judge it expedient to begin a journey laden with provisions. They carry nothing either for meat or drink. Formerly they are said to have had roasted rabbits for provisions, but that was when they were less exercised in hunting, being unprovided with horses. Now the Abipones

kill any animal they meet for food, with the spear they carry in their hands. That each may hunt more expeditiously, and obtain more booty, they separate their ranks, unless suspicious of the enemy's being close upon them, and disperse themselves over the plain, afterwards assembling to pass the night or mid-day together. For they know what situations afford the best opportunities of getting wood and water, and where they may safely lurk without fear of secret hostilities.

They think gourds and horns, which are used for flaggons and drinking-cups in Paraguay, a superfluous burden: for they can either take up water in the hollow of their hands, or stoop, and drink it like dogs. Pools and deep rivers are often at hand, but their salt and bitter waters are fitter to torture the stomach, than quench the thirst. They consider an iron knife, and a pebble to sharpen it, necessary instruments on a journey; as also two sticks, by the mutual attrition of which they can elicit fire even while sitting on horseback. Of these trifles consists the whole furniture of the Abipones, happy in being able to dispense with all that luggage and those waggons which in Europe are justly called the impediments of the army, and leeches of the treasury. Our Abipones pass the day and night in the open air, and are either parched

with heat, or drenched with rain of many days' continuance. They expose their bare heads to the burning sun; they strip their shoulders, breasts, and arms of the garment of sheep's or otters' skins, and had rather endure the stings of gnats, than the perspiration caused by the fervid heat of the air. A turf is their bed at night, a saddle their pillow, and the sky their covering. Every one waits upon himself, nor does the leader employ any one else to prepare his food, or saddle his horse. If they have to cross wide rivers or vast lakes, they need neither bridge nor boat. When it is no longer fordable they leap from their horses into the water, strip themselves, hold up their clothes at the end of their spear in the left hand, and using the right, with which they grasp the reins of their horse, for an oar, struggle to the opposite bank.

In the commencement of a journey they daily send out scouts in all directions, who, if they discover any traces of a foreign nation or any mark of hostile designs, immediately announce it to their fellow-soldiers. They generally choose a situation to pass the night in, which, being guarded behind, and on both sides by a lake, river, or thick wood, renders access difficult; where they cannot be surrounded on a sudden; and where a few can repel or elude the attacks of a great many. They lie down in a semicir-

cular form. Each has his spear fixed at his head, and four or five keep up a fire burning in the midst, unless fear of the enemy obliges them to refrain from this comfort, lest the blaze or the smoke should betray them: though on some occasions, it was of use to multiply fires, in order to deceive the enemy; for from the number of them the number of men passing the night thereabout is usually argued. By this artifice Cortez is said to have imposed upon the Mexicans. Whilst some are indulging in sleep, others, appointed to keep watch, scour the plain on horseback, both for the purpose of bringing back the scattered horses, and, on the approach of danger of admonishing their sleepy comrades by sound of trumpet. I have been astonished to see with what activity and fidelity they performed all the offices of watchmen in our colonies. Whole nights have they spent in riding up and down the plains adjacent to the town, even in very boisterous weather, whenever the slightest rumours were spread of the approach of the enemy. By the nightly sound of horns and trumpets they signified that they were on the alert, and, by showing the enemy that their intentions were discovered, prevented them from making the attack: for it is usual with the savages never to attempt any thing except against the unprepared. During the whole

seven years that I spent amongst the Abipones, I regularly found that whenever we passed sleepless nights in arms, for fear of an enemy, not so much as the shadow of one ever approached; and that when none of us suspected any thing hostile, a formidable swarm of savages fell upon our colony. An enemy is never more to be dreaded than when he is feared the least.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF THE ASSAULT, AND THE MEASURES PRECEDING IT.

HIGHLY to be admired are the anxious precautions with which they precede an attack. They minutely premeditate whatever is likely to befall them. That they may not be deceived in their opinions, they make one of their jugglers the ruler of the expedition, whom, as endued with the knowledge of things future and absent, they consult on all occasions, and, madly credulous, revere as the Delphic Apollo. Should the event prove contrary to the juggler's predictions, not one of them will blame or even distrust him. Though he were to commit blunders every day, he would still carry home a considerable portion of the spoils, the reward of his mendacity. If an attack is to be made next day, they contemplate the situation of affairs in every point of view, nor ever apply their minds to the execution of a project, till convinced of its being devoid of danger. They leave the drove of superfluous horses with persons to guard them, in a place out of sight. They stain their faces with various colours, to excite ter-

ror, and for the same purpose some wear a crown of parrots' feathers, others a red cap sparkling with beads of glass, or snails' shells, and others again place an enormous vulture's wing on their heads. I knew an Abipon who wore the skin of a stag's head, branching with horns, by way of a helmet, whenever he was going to fight, and another who tied the beak of a tuncà to his nose before he entered into an engagement. I always observed that those persons who were most solicitous about rendering their persons terrible to others, had the least courage themselves. The most intrepid, neglecting these precautions, await the weapons of the enemy quite undefended, though they always paint their faces. All sit half naked on the bare back of the best horse they possess, and, in place of a bridle, use a thong fastened to the animal's jaws. They throw away all heavy things, and whatever may retard the speed of the horse, that they may be able to make or avoid an attack with more celerity.

The most favourable time for an assault, in their apprehension, is either the beginning or end of the day, when there is just light sufficient to enable them to distinguish all objects. For at dawn or twilight they find more men at home to slay, and those oppressed with sleep: whereas in the day they are generally absent on busi-

ness. But as the morning or evening have generally been chosen for committing slaughters, the Spaniards began to account those times dangerous, and by vigilant care to defeat the machinations of the savages. Perceiving which, the Abipones thought proper to depart from their usual custom, and often fell upon us at noon, when we were suspecting nothing of the matter. The Mocobios and Tobas followed their example, so that, in the Abiponian colonies, we could reckon no part of the day secure from hostile designs. They scarcely ever venture to make an attack at night, however, for in dark places they fear that some person may be concealed to kill them. Entering my apartment to pay me a friendly visit, when it happened to be destitute of light, they were immediately alarmed, and fearfully exclaimed, *Kemen nenegin greërigi!* How black your house is! But they are not afraid of the dark in the open plain, when they want to drive away horses, watch, explore the country, or do any thing else there. It is peculiar to the Guaycurùs to break into the colonies and commit their ravages by night; they secretly send forward some of their people to pluck up the stakes fixed in the ground for the security of the place, that the rest of the company may obtain access while the inhabitants are fast asleep, and dream-

ing of any thing but the impending slaughter. It is on this account that the Guaycurù nation has been so universally formidable. Moreover, the Abipones do not always conduct their assaults in the same manner. If a colony of Christians is to be attacked, they approach secretly by some unknown way, and without noise. They block up all the ways with many rows of horse, that no place of escape may be left to the inhabitants. Others on foot break open the doors of houses; but if they judge this perilous they set fire to the buildings from a distance by shooting arrows headed with burning cotton or tow against them, and if the roofs be covered with straw or any material of that kind, they immediately burn, and wrap the inhabitants in flames; thus, all who rush out are slain by the savages, and all who remain within are burnt to death; and it is as certain as it is incredible, that the weapons of the savages are more dreaded than the fire. In the town of Iago Sanchez, near Corrientes, a church, with the priest officiating at the altar, some Indian women and children, and a few men, was burnt to ashes. At other times the Abipones, having slain or captivated all the inhabitants, carry off whatever may be of service to them; they even take away many things, with the use of which they are unacquainted, that the Christians may de-

rive no benefit from them, though they soon after break them to pieces, or throw them into some river.

Whenever the Abipones think fit to attack the bands of the Spaniards, they rush upon them on their horses, not in close ranks, like the Europeans, but in various parties, so that they can attack their adversaries at once in front, behind, and on both sides, and extending their spears above their horses' heads, kill all they meet. They strike a blow, but that they may not receive one in turn, leap back as quick as they came, and presently resuming courage, return again and again into the ranks. Every one is his own leader; every one follows his own impulse. They can turn their horses round in various circles, with the utmost swiftness, having them wonderfully under their command. They can suspend their bodies from the horse's back, and twist them about like a tumbler, or, to prevent themselves from being wounded, conceal them entirely under the horse's belly. It is by this art chiefly that they escape the leaden bullets of the Spaniards; for by continually changing their position, they deceive and weary the eye of him that is taking aim at them with a gun. They condemn the stationary fighting of the European soldier, and call it madness in a man to stand and expose his

breast as a mark to the flying balls. They boast that their quickness in assaulting and evading the blow, is the most useful part of the art of war. Whoever is aware of the volubility of the savages, will never fire till quite sure of hitting them; for after hearing a harmless report, without seeing any of their comrades fall, they will cast away their dread of European arms, and grow more daring than ever; but as long as they see you threatening them with a gun, they will continue to fear, more anxious to save themselves than to kill others.

The examples of our own age show that rashness in firing has been the destruction of many,—circumspect and provident delay the salvation of no fewer. It may be as well to give a few instances of this. In the territory of St. Iago del Estero, about dawn a troop of Abiponian horse descended from a steep and precipitous rock, and attacked a town of the Spaniards, called Las Barrancas; nor was it any difficult matter for them to slay the sleeping inhabitants. The Captain, Hilario, awakened by the yelling of the savages, and the groans of the dying, occupied the threshold of his house, keeping a gun always pointed at the enemies. Not one of them dared approach him. By this threatening action alone, he preserved himself and his little daughter alive amidst the deaths of so many of his neighbours.

Another Spaniard, in the territory of Corrientes, seeing the court-yard of his house, which was but slightly fortified with stakes, surrounded by Abipones, turned his gun, perhaps not loaded, towards them, threatening first one, then another, by turns. This was more than sufficient to frustrate the intended assault of the Abipones. I knew a captain named Gorosito, who did much service amongst the soldiers of St. Iago. He made use of a gun from which you could not expect a single spark of fire, and on being asked why he did not have it repaired, replied that he thought that unnecessary. "It is sufficient," said he, "to show even a useless gun to the savages, who, not knowing it to be defective, are terrified at the very sight of it. Furnished with this gun, I have gained not only security, but glory, in many skirmishes." But I have no occasion for the testimonies and experience of others, having myself so often frightened away troops of assaulting savages, armed with a gun which I never once fired.

On the other hand, how dangerous a thing it is to fire guns inconsiderately, we have often found on various occasions, but above all in a new Indian colony, where a few garrison soldiers guarded the borders of Tucuman, on account of the frequent incursions of the savages.

This little town, the rebellious Mataguayos attacked about evening with all sorts of weapons. The soldiers, seized with a sudden trepidation, discharged all the fire-arms they could lay hands on at the savage band, but to their own injury, not that of the enemy, who, leaving their adversaries no time to load afresh, set fire to the houses with arrows headed with burning tow, and pierced the soldiers, who fled from thence into the court-yard, with barbed darts. Two Jesuit priests, who officiated there, Fathers Francisco Ugalde and Romano Harto, whilst attending to the salvation of the dying soldiers, underwent the fury of the savages within the palisadoes of the house. The first was mortally wounded with arrows, and buried in the ruins of the burning chapel, where he was entirely reduced to ashes, one little bone alone remaining, to which funeral honours were afterwards paid elsewhere. That his soul was received into Heaven is the opinion of all who are acquainted with his exceeding piety and mild integrity of conduct. Father Romano Harto, his companion, though wounded with two arrows which pierced deep into his side, crept under cover of night from the palings of his house into a neighbouring wood, and escaped the eyes and murderous hands of the savages. Wel-

tering in blood, and tortured by the pain of his wounds and the burning thirst it occasioned, he passed the night out of doors amongst the trees, during a furious tempest of rain, wind, and thunder. No one was at hand to lend him any aid. At day-break, crawling out into the plain, by God's mercy he espied a soldier who had fled from the massacre of the day before, and who carried him on his horse to the Spaniards at a very great distance, where he was completely healed. What, let me ask, was the occasion of so many deaths, and of so tragic an event? The unseasonable haste of a few soldiers in discharging their guns. The empty noise struck the air alone, and gave such courage to the Indians, that, laying aside fear, they rushed on more boldly, and denied the Spaniards the necessary time for loading their guns afresh. It was said, moreover, that many were destitute of gunpowder, and all certainly were so of courage, panic-struck at the sudden arrival of the savages, the burning of the houses, and the sight of so many deaths. The assaults of the savages must be repelled promptly but providently. Arms must be immediately resorted to, but something must always be reserved for the sudden chances of war: as the Indians, intent upon every opportunity of committing mischief, easily overcome the unarmed or those that

manage arms unskilfully. Thus, if thirty artillery soldiers should undertake the defence of a station, they ought to be divided into three ranks, so that ten might fire their guns upon the enemy, ten load, and the others reserve an equal number loaded. By which means they would always have time to load their guns, and the Indians would never want cause for fear. By the careful observance of this method, thirty artillery soldiers might be found sufficient to rout and put to flight three hundred Americans. But if three hundred artillery-men were to fire all their guns at once, without killing any of the enemy, they, on the other hand, might be overcome by thirty savages. For the Abipones, like most of the Americans, are intimidated by the most trifling slaughter of their companions: if but one or two of them fall, the rest instantly take to flight, esteeming life far above the honour of victory. How comes it then that they are so dreaded by other nations? I will explain this in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

BY WHAT MEANS THE ABIPONES RENDER THEMSELVES FORMIDABLE, AND WHEN THEY ARE JUSTLY TO BE DREADED:

NATURALLY fearful, they render themselves formidable by art. They make up for the want of native bravery by the noise of their trumpets, the craftiness of their ambuscades, by their astonishing swiftness, their painted faces, and many-coloured plumes. They adorn their heads with feathers of various birds, either erected like a crest, or bearing the appearance of a crown. They paint their faces sometimes white or red, but more commonly black. Soot, scraped from pans and kettles, is generally used for this purpose. In travelling, when soot is not to be got, they make a fire, and use its smoke and ashes to paint themselves with. The fruit of the tree *Urucuy* furnishes them with materials for a red paint: but on sudden occasions they prick their tongues with a thorn, and daub their faces with the blood that flows plenteously from the wound. They do not all paint in the same pattern. Some darken the forehead only, some one cheek, and some both. Some streak the whole face with

spiral lines ; others only make two circles round the eyes ; and others again blacken the whole of the face. This custom is common to many other nations of Paraguay, especially the equestrian ones.

The Abipones render themselves formidable to the eyes, as well as to the ears of their enemies ; for they prelude every battle with trumpets, flutes, horns, and clarions, differing in sound, materials, and form. The horn instruments bellow, the wooden ones clatter, and those of bone, which are made of the leg of some large bird or quadruped, emit a very shrill whistle, while those of reeds have a ridiculous creaking sound. Others again, consisting of the tail of the armadillo, to which a reed is prefixed, fill the whole air, to a great distance, with a horrible roaring. I want words to describe the construction and use of all the different trumpets. This is very certain, that the Abipones have more trumpeters than soldiers in their armies. These terrible-sounding instruments they accompany with a savage howl, made by striking their lips with their hands. When rushing to battle they cry aloud, *Laharàlk!* *Laharàlk!* Let us go, let us go; as the Guaranies say, *Yahà!* *Yahà!* and the Mocobios, *Zokolák!* *Zokolák!* Whilst the Abipones are in battle, they carry their eyes to every side of the

field, to aim, or avoid weapons, and with a hoarse and tremulous voice threateningly repeat *Hò-Hò-Hò*, by which they endeavour to provoke the enemy, and excite themselves to anger. In European camps also, trumpets, pipes, and drums are doubtless used to animate and govern the army, and to inspire fear into the enemy. But no one will deny that more victories have been gained by silence than by noise. Would that the Spaniards of Paraguay would bear this in mind! for they, like the savages, begin the attack with loud vociferations. Barreda, General of the St. Iagans, often complained to me that he could never induce his soldiers to refrain from shouting when they attacked the hordes of the savages, and to approach them in silence and by stealth, that being caught unawares, they might be prevented from taking either to flight or arms.

It is much to be lamented that the terrific appearance and horrid clamours of the savages are dreaded so greatly by the Spanish countrymen of Paraguay. We have often seen not only their ears and eyes struck, but their minds disturbed to such a degree, that losing all self-possession, they thought no longer of methods whereby to repel force by force, but eagerly watched for an opportunity of flight to provide for their lives, though not for their fame or

security : for the savages grow more daring the more they are feared and fled from. In the towns themselves how often has a trepidation arisen, when the inhabitants, frequently from mere report alone, understood that the Abipones, rendered terrible by their blackened faces and their whole accoutrement, were flying thither on swift horses, shouting to the deadly sound of trumpets, brandishing an enormous spear in their right hands, laden with bundles of arrows, breathing fire and slaughter, and with their ferocious eyes threatening an hundred deaths, captivity, and wounds. You might have seen crowds pacing up and down, and lamenting approaching death, before they had even from a distance beheld the enemy from whom they were to receive it. Not only the unwarlike sex, but men distinguished with military titles, flew to the stone churches, and to the most hidden retreats ; while, had they dared to show their faces, and present a gun to the enemy, the savages would easily have been put to flight, and their panic terror would have ended in laughter. Not many years ago it was reported one Sunday afternoon in the city of Buenos Ayres, that a numerous company of Southern savages had rushed into some street of the city. The fear excited by this false rumour so occupied the minds of all, that they ran up and down

the streets almost distracted, uttering the most mournful cries. In hurrying to a place of more security, one lost his wig, another his hat or cloak, from the violence of his haste. Meantime the garrison troops, who had been sent to search the whole city, announced that not a shadow or vestige of the enemy was to be found; tidings which restored serenity to the disturbed minds of the inhabitants, and filled them with shame for their foolish alarm. Scenes of this kind were extremely frequent in the cities of Sta. Fè, Cordoba, Asumpcion, Salta, &c. whilst the savages were overrunning the province with impunity. A ridiculous event that took place in the city of Corrientes is peculiarly worthy of relation. About evening a report was spread that a troop of Abipones had burst into one of the streets, and was employed in slaughtering the inhabitants. Upon this news numbers crowded to the church, which was furnished with strong stone walls. The head captain himself, an old man, mingled with the crowd of lamenting females, and gave himself up to groans and prayers. "Here, here," said he, "in the house of the Lord, and in the presence of Jesus Christ, must we die." Indignant at words so unbecoming a soldier, the secular priest, a brave man in the prime of his years, exclaimed as he arrived, "I swear by Christ

that we shall not die. The enemies must be sought and slain." So saying he leapt upon a horse, and armed with a gun hastened to succour that part of the city where the enemies were said to be raging. But lo and behold! when he arrives there, he finds the inhabitants all sound asleep, not even dreaming of the Abipones! Such was the terror excited in the Paraguayrians, not merely by the figures and presence of the Abipones, but by the very report of them.

Two things which long experience has taught me, I greatly wish impressed on the minds of all. The first is, that the Indians are never less to be dreaded than when they present themselves most terrible, and with the greatest noise. For all that frightful preparation only betrays the fears of the savages. Distrusting their courage, strength, and arms, they think that paint of various colours, feathers, shouting, trumpets, and other instruments of terror, will forward their success. But any one with a very moderate share of courage, and stock of armour, will despise all this as unworthy of fear. This is my first maxim. My second is, that the Indians are never more to be feared than when they seem most afraid. They sometimes lurk concealed, uttering no sound, and giving no intimation of their presence; but this silence is

as sure a prognostic of an attack, as a calm is, in the ocean, of an impending storm. They arrive on a sudden, and surprize the self-secure. They imitate death, whose ministers they are, by coming when least expected. In the heat of battle, the Abipones often take to flight, in the design of enticing the Spaniards to pursue them, that they may slay them, when they are separated and their ranks disturbed, though unable to do so as long as they are in order. Hence it not unfrequently happens, that they who thought themselves the victors are vanquished by the fugitives. They fly to marshes, woods, winding-ways, defiles of mountains, rocks, or bushes, which places the excellence of their steeds, and their skill in riding and swimming enable them quickly to cross; while the pursuing Spaniards, incumbered by their clothes and baggage, and often destitute of proper horses, are easily pierced with spears whilst separated from one another, and struggling with the water, the mud, and the other difficulties of the way. Not to mention other artifices, after committing slaughters, plundering houses, and killing the inhabitants, the Abipones feign departure, and seem to be hastening their flight; but when they are supposed many leagues distant, renew the assault, surprize the surviving Spaniards, and kill all they can. So that it is a certain fact,

that the Indians are never more formidable than when they seem most afraid.

A very small number of Abipones are to be feared by the Spaniards, however numerous, if they be reduced to straits, surrounded on every side, and left no way of escape; for then they dare the utmost in their own defence. They convert every thing they lay their hands on into weapons. Terror inspires them with sagacity and courage, and consequently is more to be dreaded than the most magnanimous spirit. I have many instances of this in my mind, but it will be sufficient to relate three. An Abipon, with arrows, and, when these were consumed, with sticks, supplied him by his wife, did so much execution against the soldiers of St. Iago, by whom he was surrounded, that he maintained his post, and when, after many wounds inflicted and received, he fell at length, was highly extolled for his valour by the very Spaniards against whom he had fought. Nachiralaïn, Chief of the Yaucaniga Abipones, spread the terror of his name throughout the colonies of Paraguay. Accompanied by a crowd of his followers, called *Los Sarcos*, or more properly *Garzos*, from their grey or blue eyes, Nachiralaïn afflicted the country of Cordoba, Sta. Fè, Corrientes, and Paraguay, for many years, with slaughter and pillage, till he was at length taken

and slain at the shores of the Tebiguary, by two hundred soldiers from Asumpcion. Shut up and besieged in a wood with fourteen Abipones, he fought with such obstinacy against the company of Spaniards, that he did not fall till after a contest of several hours. Some of his fellow-soldiers could not be prevented from escaping. It was never without disgust that I heard this victory boasted of by those present at the engagement; you would have thought they were speaking of the bloody battles of Thrasymene, Caudinæ Furculæ, Blenheim, &c. Certainly the leader Fulgentio de Yegros obtained great celebrity at that expedition, and was afterwards raised to the highest honours in the army, and to the government of the province itself. Add to these instances, that twenty wood-Abipones when attacked in the open plain by three hundred Christian Mocabios and Abiponian catechumens, chose to lose their lives before they would quit their station. Incredible is the obstinacy with which these few contended against numbers. The place which they had chosen at the beginning of the fight they every one occupied in death. From this it is evident, that a few, though inferior in number, arms, and strength, may prove formidable to a multitude, if, besieged by a surrounding company, and confined by the narrowness of the place, they

have no room left them for escape. Scipio judged wisely that a flying enemy should be allowed a passage. This precept is generally obeyed by the Paraguayrian Spaniards, who often yielded the savages more liberty of escape than need required. This Barreda found in an hundred expeditions which he headed against the Abipones and Mocobios. These savages display much prudence in the choice of the situation of their hordes. They generally choose a place which has a wood close behind, a lake, river, or marsh in front, and pasture for their horses on both sides. Barreda told me that whenever hordes so situated were to be attacked, he ordered his men to besiege them on the part towards the wood, that the savages might not, as usual, find their security there; but that the soldiers never obeyed his orders, well knowing that if they deprived the enemy of an opportunity of escape they should have a most dangerous conflict, and a very doubtful victory.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

OF THOSE WHO GO UNDER THE NAME OF SPANISH
SOLDIERS IN PARAGUAY.

WHENEVER I make mention of the Paraguayan soldiers, do not imagine that I am speaking of the regular disciplined troops, which are quartered no where but on the shores of the Plata, to guard the cities of Buenos-Ayres, and Monte-Video. The cavalry are often ordered out against the southern savages, while the infantry are employed in ships to hinder the contraband trade on the river Plata. In all the other colonies throughout Paraguay, the colonists themselves take up arms, whenever the hostile incursions of the savages are to be repelled, or others made against them. The territory belonging to every city contains some companies of undisciplined soldiery, each of which is commanded by a master of the camp (*maestre de campo*,) and a chief captain of the watch, (*sargento mayor*.) The commander-in-chief is the Vice-Governour, who is likewise the head Judge. Moreover, there is in every city a company of what are called *reformed captains*, whose business it is to accompany the Vice-

Governour, in every expedition, in the capacity of life-guards. Many of these are merely honorary, never having discharged the duties of captains, or even of soldiers. They purchase the title, that they may be exempted from the burden of war, being only called out to attend the Vice-Governour. All the rest are summoned to warlike expeditions either by the Governour, or Vice-Governour. They receive neither pay nor clothing from the King, and are obliged to furnish their own arms, horses, and food, whenever, and as long as the military commander thinks fit.

Every age and every country has found the soldiers of Spain abundantly brave and active. To deny this would be to wrong that most noble and glorious nation. That the Spanish name, therefore, may receive no blemish from what I am going to write of the Paraguayan soldiers, it must be observed that all those who boast of a Spanish name in Paraguay, are not in reality Spaniards. Amid such a diversity of nations, very many are born of Moors, Indians, and a Spanish mother; of an Indian or Moorish mother, and a Spanish father; or of a mixed race of them all. A yellow or darkish complexion, a beardless chin, and a mat of woolly, curling black hair, plainly denote very many to be of African or American origin.

The other European Spaniards born in Paraguay say, by way of contempt, *O es del Inga, ò del Mandinga*, you are sprung either from Indians or Negroes: for the King of Peru was formerly called the Inga, or Inca, and Mandinga is a province of Negroland, beyond the river Niger in Africa.

Of such various kinds of men are the military forces composed in Paraguay. As most of them, though ennobled by a Spanish name, are very far remote both from Spain and from Spanish intrepidity and love of arms, what wonder if these unwarlike and beardless soldiers are slaughtered by the savages like so many barrow-pigs? They are worthy both of excuse and pity, for, besides being unprovided with proper arms, they have no skill in handling them. Except the arts of swimming and riding, they are entirely ignorant of the laws of war, and of military discipline. Moreover, the Cordoban soldiers are unable even to swim. The major part of them, when called out against the savages, for spears, make use of the rude knotty stakes which the woods afford, and if to these be added the remains of a broken dagger, or knife, then, indeed, they think themselves as well armed as Mars or Hercules. None but the richer sort have guns, which are generally very dear, sometimes not to be

purchased. I have often seen carbines sold at Buenos-Ayres for five-and-twenty Spanish crowns, or fifty German florins a-piece. The more distant the colonies are from the market of Buenos-Ayres, the higher their price becomes; in the cities of St. Iago, Asumpcion, Corrientes, &c. not very handsome guns have been sold for forty, or even sixty crowns. If any part of the gun get out of order, you will rarely find a smith to repair it: hence the guns which many of the soldiers carry, are often in such a condition, that you would sooner obtain water from a flint than a spark of fire from them. They are liable to be spoiled in various ways; for, in long journeys, they get knocked against trees and stones, or wetted by the rain, or injured in some way or other, as the nights are always to be passed in the open air, often in rainy weather; vast rivers and marshes to be swam across, and rugged woods and rocks to be ridden over: in consequence of which the fire-arms, from not being well taken care of, are frequently spoiled. Add to this the frequent scarcity or damage of the various articles required for loading and charging them, and that the flint very often proves useless. Paraguay produces plenty of excellent flint, but you can never meet with any one who knows how to split it properly, and fit it for use. In our

times even, whenever some hundreds of soldiers fiercely approached the stations of the savages, either the steel was rusty and would not explode, or the gunpowder so moist as to prevent its blazing, so that very few were able to discharge their guns. I could fill pages with facts of this kind, but will only relate two of the more recent ones. A handful of Abipones were overrunning the territory of St. Iago. Thirty soldiers were sent to observe their motions, but being suddenly attacked by the savages, who had lain in wait for them, were every one miserably slain. They had passed the night in the open air, and as the guns were very badly taken care of, the copious dew so moistened the gunpowder, that Vesuvius itself would not have been able to kindle it. This slaughter was effected by twenty Abiponian youths. Two hundred soldiers, headed by Fulgentio de Yegros, attacked the hordes of the Tobas. I was astonished to hear the captains, on their return from this expedition, lamenting that at the very moment of the savages' assault, they had found their muskets unmanageable, and quite useless, either from rust or wet. They had spent greatest part of the night in a field, amongst trees dropping with plenteous dew, that at day-break they might steal unobserved to the enemy's station.

It is well known to us, and can be surprizing

to no one, that the undisciplined, and temporary soldiers of Paraguay, are accustomed neither to the keeping, nor handling of weapons. They have been employed all their lives in different arts and occupations. Unless a man be previously instructed in military discipline, who can expect him to prove a proper soldier in the camp? Many go out against the savages who are soldiers and Spaniards in name only. If any of the colonists, more respectable by birth and fortune, and better furnished with arms and skill to use them, are summoned to attend an expedition, they usually hire very bad substitutes. Others, that they may not be separated from their families, and exposed to the weapons of the enemy, bribe the captains to pass them over; in consequence of which, those who are worst provided with arms, and most ignorant of the military art, principally feel the burden of the war, and are sent to oppose the savages, to the great detriment of the province, and disgrace of the Spanish name. Because the lower orders are poor, they are ordered to fight, while the more opulent are left at home to take care of their estates: and as they are forced out to the service again and again, and obliged to spend many months from home, they grow daily poorer and poorer, and, together with their families, are overwhelmed with misery.

If the head of the expedition ever furnish them with guns, they generally return them, at the end of it, entirely spoiled, without having killed so much as a gnat. Two hundred excellent guns, each furnished with a bayonet, were procured on one occasion at the public expense, from the city of Asumpcion. In less than three years, out of the two hundred there only remained six, and those in such a condition that they could be made no possible use of. The bayonets were either lost or broken, having been used on the journey either for roasting meat, or chopping wood. The Viceroy of Cordoba, suspecting the savage Pampas of hostile designs, went out as far as the river Tercero. Having collected soldiers in the country he gave them six portions of gunpowder, intended for so many charges, wrapped up in paper. One of these heroes immediately stuffed all the six portions into his gun, and perceiving that the tube was not filled to the top complained to his captain that he had not gunpowder enough given him, for that the barrel of his gun was not filled. Another thrust three charges into his gun, and as the paper in which they were wrapped obstructed the touch-hole, found it was not possible to fire it: the mistake of this martial Dametas afforded his fellow-soldiers a subject for hearty laughter. Many of them, being

unprovided with a pouch, take very bad care of their charges of gunpowder, which are wrapped in paper; for they tear and wet them, and often scatter them on the ground. The greater number of them carry gunpowder in a horn, and bullets, or pieces of lead, in a bag. Instead of paper for ramming down the powder and ball, some use cotton, others moss, tow, or any thing they can lay their hands upon. Many to this purpose apply the wool out of their horse-cloths. As all these necessary articles are kept in so many different places, it is incredible how much time is consumed in loading a gun. As, to all this delay, but very little dexterity in aiming is added, the consequence is that the European fire-arms are now as much despised by the Abipones as they were formerly dreaded. These innocuous soldiers think they have performed a great feat if, for a wonder, they see their gun smoking, and hear the report, though they have not hurt a hair of one of the enemies' heads. I have no sort of doubt that the Paraguayrian soldiers would perform better with a sword and spear than with a gun. If they ever do any execution amongst the savages, it is owing to iron, not to lead.

Why then, it may be asked, are not these ignorant peasants instructed in the handling of arms? This has long been vainly desired by

all good men. The endeavours of many persons to this effect have constantly proved unavailing. There are none able to teach, and none willing to learn the arts of war. Whilst I was in Paraguay, Francisco Gonzalez, lieutenant of the horse, with other military commanders, was sent by the King's order from Spain to Buenos-Ayres to instruct the people of that land in military discipline; but none were willing to become his scholars. The richer Spaniards, who reside in the more respectable cities and colonies, generally shun the hardships of the militia, and the rest are scattered up and down the distant estates, where they employ themselves in the breeding of cattle. It is a difficult matter for persons so many leagues apart, and separated by rivers, woods, and an immense tract of plain country, to be collected into one place, for the purpose of being instructed in the arts of war. The first time many will attend the military school, attracted by the novelty of the European horsemen, more than by the desire of learning. The next day, when their curiosity is satisfied, you will reckon far fewer, the next scarce ten. Should they be ordered to attend in the King's name, even if the command were accompanied with threats, it would be of no avail. They would all excuse their absence on some account or other. One would adduce illness as a pre-

text; another would accuse the weather, another would allege the necessity of a journey or business that admits of no delay. Others would frowardly say they did not choose to come. This my friend Gonzalez found, when, much against his will, he was passing his time unemployed in the city of Buenos-Ayres.

Why, you will say, did not regular troops from Spain keep watch in the colonies to repress the savages? I should not approve of this either. A whole army would scarce suffice to such an extensive province, and, divided into so many parts, what could it effect against a multitude of enemies? The soldiers would indeed be superior to the Americans in the skilful management of fire-arms, but very far inferior in the arts of swimming and riding, and in tolerance of fatigue, heat, hunger, and thirst. Incumbered with tents, waggons, boats, or pontoons, which they could not dispense with, they would be unable to pursue the flying horsemen of the savages, still less to reach their hordes, which are sometimes two hundred leagues distant from the cities. Certain it is that the Spanish dragoons appointed to guard the city of Buenos-Ayres were very unwilling to go out against the southern savages, from whom they oftener gained wounds than victory. Every one knows that the regiment of foot sent

as supplies to the city of Sta. Fè, when it was almost destroyed by the Abipones and Mocabios, were of no service whatever, as the savages always cunningly evaded a stationary fight with them. I do not deny that, under Pizarro and Cortez, the Europeans slew, routed, and subjugated innumerable Indians, but not equestrian Indians. Were these same heroes to return at this day to fight the Abipones, Mocabios, Tobas, and other equestrian people of Paraguay, I should augur them more trouble and less glory. Those first Spaniards who entered America, mounted on horses, emitting lightning from their swords, and thunder from their fire-arms, and furnished with whiskers, appeared to the beardless, unarmed Americans, a new race of men, exempted from death, whom they either avoided by flight, or, if that were impracticable, conciliated by submission. The savages, who now make war against the Spaniards, daily see how possible it is for them both to be conquered, and to die, and can make use of iron spears, and swift horses, to elude attacks, or make them themselves.

Taught by long experience in the affairs of Paraguay, I declare it as my opinion, that the Americans, were they instructed in the arts of war, and furnished with arms, and all the ne-

cessary apparatus, by reason of their natural abilities for riding, swimming, and enduring the hardships of weather and of warfare, would be of more service against the incursions of the savages than any European soldiers. In every part of Paraguay you may see youths truly Spaniards in origin, name, and disposition; intelligent, agile, intrepid, remarkable for strength and stature, and astonishingly dexterous in horsemanship; of such were one company formed in every territory, commanded by able captains, and furnished with a regular stipend, I think that the Indians, when foes, might easily be induced to embrace the friendship of the Spaniards, and when friends, kept in their duty; and thus the colonies would be freed from their afflictions. But if, on urgent danger, a regiment were formed out of four or five of these companies, none of the savage hordes, however numerous, would be invincible to them, were a leader of tried valour and experience at the head of the expedition. About fifty horsemen of this description, supported at the public expense by the city of Sta. Fè, and called Blandenges, have shown much conduct on many occasions. A troop of these horsemen might watch in each of the Spanish colonies, and be easily supported, partly out of

the royal treasury, partly at the expense of the more opulent Spaniards, whom it chiefly interests to preserve the security of the estates and of commerce from the incursions of the savages.

CHAPTER XL.

WHAT IS THE FATE OF THE SLAIN AMONGST THE
ABIPONIAN VICTORS.

As soon as the Abipones see any one fall in battle under their hands, their first care is to cut off the head of the dying man, which they perform with such celerity that they would win the palm from the most experienced anatomists. They lay the knife not to the throat, but to the back of the neck, with a sure and speedy blow. When they were destitute of iron, a shell, the jaw of the palometa, a split reed, or a stone carefully sharpened, served them for a knife. Now with a very small knife they can lop off a man's head, like that of a poppy, more dexterously than European executioners can with an axe. Long use and daily practice give the savages this dexterity. For they cut off the heads of all the enemies they kill, and bring them home tied to their saddles or girths by the hair. When apprehension of approaching hostilities obliges them to remove to places of greater security, they strip the heads of the skin, cutting it from ear to ear beneath the nose, and dexterously pulling it off along with the

hair. The skin thus drawn from the skull, and stuffed with grass, after being dried a little in the air, looks like a wig, and is preserved as a trophy. That Abipon who has most of these skins at home, excels the rest in military renown. The skull too is sometimes kept to be used as a cup at their festive drinking-parties.

Though you cannot fail to execrate the barbarity of the Abipones, in cutting off and flaying the heads of their enemies, yet I think you will judge these ignorant savages worthy of a little excuse, on reflecting that they do it from the example of their ancestors, and that of very many nations throughout the world, which, whenever they have an opportunity of venting their rage upon their enemies, seem to cast away all sense of humanity, and to think that the victors have a right to practise any outrage upon the vanquished. Innumerable are the forms of cruelty which the other savages throughout America exercise towards their slain and captive enemies. The Iroquois in Canada flay the heads of their enemies before they are dead. The Jesuit Lafitau, in his book intitled *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, &c. declares that he saw a woman of French extraction, who lived in good health for many years after having her head scalped by the Iroquois, and that she went by the name of *La Tête Pelée*. Many are

said to have survived this scalping. Some of the Canadian Indians flay the whole body of the enemy they have killed, and exhibit his skin as a testimonial of their victory and valour. Sometimes the skin of the hand is converted into a tobacco-pouch. Although such treatment awaits the bodies of the dead, yet it is preferable to fall in battle than to be taken in captivity by the Iroquois. The more warlike of their captives whom they stand in fear of, along with the women, children, and old men, whom they consider incumbrances, are burnt the first day on the field of battle; others share the same fate the succeeding days, to expedite their return. If the fear of pursuers impose the necessity of haste, they bind their captives to trees, and set fire to those next them, that they may either be roasted by a slow fire, or if the flame should grow languid, be destroyed by hunger. The other captives, whom they think likely to be useful to them at home, they bind and carry away. At night, that they may not take advantage of the darkness, and flee, they stretch out their legs and arms in the form of the letter X, and bind them with a cord to a stake, to which they fasten two longer ropes one to tie the neck, the other the breast. The extremity of these the savage master holds in

his hand, that if the captive endeavours to extricate himself he may be awakened. Painful indeed must the night be to these wretches, for as they are entirely naked, their bodies are bitten by swarms of ants and wasps, from which, being bound hand and foot, they cannot defend themselves. At the end of a miserable journey they are either condemned to wretched slavery, or to the pile. Similar barbarity is practised by the savages of South America towards their captives. The Brazilians fatten them for some time, and then publicly kill them by knocking them on the head with a club. The limbs are dissected and afford a feast to the whole horde; for they are cannibals, and engaged in perpetual wars with their neighbours. I cannot forbear mentioning a strange piece of cruelty practised by the Southern savages towards their captives. If they catch one of the enemy in the plain they do not kill him, but cut off both his feet and leave him there, so that unable to prosecute his journey, he dies a lingering death amidst the bitterest torments.

This wicked system of cruelty towards captives and enemies is abhorred by the Abipones, who never torture the dying. After taking a village of Spaniards or Indians, they do not promiscuously slay all the inhabitants. Unless highly irritated by some previous injury, they

always spare the women and children. They pull the skins off the heads of the slain, and carry them home as testimonies of their war-like achievements, but never use them to cover themselves or their horses with, as some do. They show the utmost kindness towards their captives, as I have declared in the thirteenth chapter, on the Manners and Customs of the Abiponès. According to Lafitau, the Hurons and Iroquois, though very savage in other respects, never ill-treat their captives at home, except they be of the number of those that are condemned to be burnt, by the sentence of the chiefs.

CHAPTER XLI.

CONCERNING THE ARMS OF THE ABIPONES, AND THEIR BATTLE-ARRAY IN FIGHTING WITH OTHER SAVAGES.

DIFFERENT enemies must be combated with different arms. The Abipones, when they go out against the Spaniards, lay aside their breast-plates of antas' skins, and their bows, and place their chief dependence in a swift horse and a strong lance; but when attacked at home by a foreign foe, whoever it may be, they make successful use of the bow, for, from the constant exercise of war and hunting, they acquire so much skill in the use of that weapon that they take a more certain aim with it than the Spaniards do with a gun.

Let us suppose that a rumour is spread throughout the hordes of the Abipones that the savages are speedily coming to attack them. If they have strength and courage sufficient to repel the enemy, trusty scouts are sent out in every direction to learn their route. The rest, meantime, make it their chief care to prepare a drink of honey, or the alfaroba, for a public drinking-party. For the Abipones think that they are never more acute in counsel, or braver

in fight, than when they are drunk. Famiano Strada, in his history of the Belgic war, writes thus of Schenck, a celebrated general of the Belgians: "He never handled arms better than when he had drank profusely, and was intoxicated with wine." I have often found the same to be the case with the Abipones as with Schenck. In the colony of St. Ferdinand we learnt that a hostile troop of Mocobios and Tobas were advancing toward us by hasty marches, and were only two days' journey distant. The Abipones, astonished, not alarmed at this news, though very few, awaited the assault of numbers amidst drinking and songs of triumph. They spent two days with their horses shut up in stalls within the town, that they might be always in readiness, with their faces painted to excite terror, holding a cup in one hand, and a quiver in the other. Quinquagesima Sunday came. At three o'clock in the afternoon the troop of savage horse appeared in sight. The Abipones, though after such long drinking hardly in possession of their senses, or able to stand upon their legs, snatched up their spears, leaped upon their horses, which were made ready by the women, and, scattered in a disorderly manner up and down the plain, rushed full speed upon their enemies, amid the discordant bray of trumpets, with such good

fortune, that, abandoning their project of plundering the colony, they sought security in the adjacent woods. But being prevented from this by the Abipones, they rushed off on all sides. The enemies hurried away at full gallop; the Abipones endeavoured to overtake them. It was not a fight, but a race between the fugitives and their pursuers. The contest consisted more in the swiftness of their steeds than in weapons, which were sent backwards and forwards, but, because badly aimed, without injuring very many. Our victors returned to the colony when the night was far advanced, some not till the morning, all safe and sound, (except one, whose head was bruised with a club,) and, what was very surprizing, quite sober, having exhaled the effects of the liquor, not with sleeping, but with riding and fighting. How many of the enemies were killed and wounded I do not know: but that more than two hundred were put to flight by seventy drunken men was a noble victory for us. Let us now treat of the other preparations which the Abipones make previous to a fight.

Every thing being in readiness for the drinking-party, which is held before a battle, their chief anxiety is to conceal their droves of horses from the eyes and hands of the enemy. Reserving the best within the neighbouring

stalls, that they may be ready for the uses of war, they place the remainder in stations, access to which is rendered difficult to the enemy either by the high bank of a river, the intervention of a wood, or their ignorance of the way. They also look out for places of concealment for their wives and children, and all that are unable to defend themselves. The Spaniards told me they had often seen whole Indian families plunged up to the neck in lakes and rivers. As soon as ever a report is spread amongst the Abipones of the approach of an enemy, they immediately stain their faces, and carry about bundles of weapons, and a military trumpet, which they blow chiefly in the dead of the night, that the enemies may know from their scouts that they have shaken off all fear, and are vigilant and desirous of the conflict. When certified of the approach of the enemy's forces, they provide for their safety in various ways. If they are few in comparison with their adversaries, they make up for the want of strength by craft. That they may not be obliged to join in open battle, they use various artifices to prevent the enemy from gaining access to their stations. They set out on the road, and surprize them by an ambuscade, or make themselves appear more numerous by redoubled tumult of military trumpets, or leaving a num-

ber of drummers and trumpeters at a distance behind, pretend that they are only the part of a company that is to come after; or putting Spanish dresses on some of their men, make it appear as if they had Spanish soldiers at hand to give them aid. Misled by these artifices, the enemies not unfrequently give up their intention of fighting, and make the best of their way back again. Often, however, no opportunity is left them for stratagems. Compelled by a sudden inroad of the enemy, or allured by confidence of victory to resolve upon a combat, a piece of ground opposite the approaching enemy, and near the horde, is selected for the purpose, that they may be near their wives and children should they be in danger. Heralds are sometimes sent forward by the enemy to explain the causes of the war, and challenge the inhabitants to fight. But the bellowing of drums and trumpets, and horrid vociferations, are generally the only answer they obtain. Every thing preceding and accompanying a battle, is a spectacle worthy to be seen, and laughed at by Europeans. About the beginning of the conflict you may see jugglers mounted on horseback, who, making ridiculous gestures, and whirling round palm boughs in their hands, utter the direst imprecations on the hostile army: whilst old female

jugglers are observed crawling on the ground, or leaping in the streets, and with sullen eyes and a hoarse voice, uttering some omen or curse. You may see the Abipones with their faces stained, with many-coloured feathers in their heads, and arms in their hands, some wearing breastplates, others entirely naked, enter the field with a marching gait, and appearing to threaten the whole world. You may see mountains in labour bring forth ridiculous mice. These heroes, when placed in order of battle, wish to be counted by the Father, as they cannot count themselves. As I walked up and down the ranks, I was frequently asked, "Are we many?" to which I constantly replied, "You are very many;" lest they should be disheartened at their want of numbers. Experience taught me that the towns were mostly attacked by a numerous enemy when very few of the inhabitants were left at home—the rest being dispersed far and wide for the sake of hunting. The sagacious savages make the assault when they have learnt from their spies that the colony is bare of defenders. They form themselves into a square, if the place will admit of it. I observed that they sometimes placed the archers in the midst, and the spearmen on each wing; at others, the archers and spearmen ranged themselves promiscuously.

The Mocobios, Tobas, and Guaycurùs leave their horses a little way off, in sight, and join battle on foot. The Cacique, or any other person in authority, sits on horseback in the front of the army; but when the battle commences he dismounts and fights among the rest. The leaders of the Abipones are generally great fighters, as their example has more weight than words amongst the soldiers, who follow their leader with greater willingness when he is bravely fighting, than when he is exhorting them from a distance.

At first they stand in close ranks, but afterwards, when the enemy is to be attacked or repelled, in such loose ones that each soldier has a space of four or six cubits on every side. In fighting they never stand erect, or quietly on their feet. They run up and down with their bodies bent to the ground, and their eyes fixed on their adversaries, for the sake either of avoiding or aiming a blow. With a threatening voice they provoke the enemy by continually exclaiming *hò, hò, hò*, raising their voices from the lowest to the very highest tones. They rub their right hand every now and then on the ground, lest the string of the bow should slip from their fingers when they are moistened with perspiration. The Indians do not imitate the Europeans, who send a shower of darts at

the same moment at the enemy. Each takes aim at his adversary with his arrow, so that one diligently watches the eyes and motions of the other, and, when he perceives himself aimed at, changes his situation by leaping to the right or left. Many weapons are cast, though seldom with impunity, at the leader of the army, and the most distinguished warriors. When one is often aimed at by many, had he more eyes than Argus, and were he more agile than the wind, no one can dare to promise him security; so that if he leave the field of battle unhurt, it is often to be attributed to good fortune, seldom to dexterity, and still seldomer to his leathern breastplate, which I myself have seen yield not only to spears, but even to the stronger arrows.

If their own arrows fail them they will send back those shot by the enemy. However, when their quivers are exhausted, as sometimes happens, and their souls fired by the combat, after having fought for some time, at a distance with a bow, they will come to close fighting with a spear. Neither then, however, will the plain be inundated with human blood. The savages have, indeed, great power in dealing blows, but they have still greater swiftness in eluding them. The whole combat is often confined to threats and vociferations. Sometimes many are wounded, but very few die in proportion to the number of wounds; for unless the head or breast

be pierced they never despair of the man's life. They are used to consider broken ribs and immense gashes in the other members, as attended with little danger; they calmly look upon them without any expression of pain, and, half alive, reluctantly suffer themselves to be borne from the fight on other persons' arms. This I learnt, that these savages, unless flight be denied them, seldom dare the worst. Terrified at the slaughter of a very few of their fellow-soldiers, they desert their leader, and escape how they can. There is no need to sound a retreat. Should ten or twenty take to flight, the rest, freed from all restraint of shame, trust their lives to their horses, and rush along with the impetuosity of a river that has burst its banks. On urgent occasions you will see two or three seated on one horse. At the beginning of an engagement on foot, they take care that the means of flight may not fail them: behind the backs of the combatants, and out of reach of the weapons, they station horses, upon which young men sit, and safely watch the vicissitudes of the fight.

But if the enemy, finding the fortune of war against them, betake themselves to flight, they scarce have to fear a very obstinate pursuit from their adversaries, as the conquerors are very cautious not to forfeit their glory; they

are unwilling, by a doubtful contest, to experience a change of fortune, and to undergo a new danger. A spear, or garment, taken from them in battle by their enemies, the Abipones consider a terrible disgrace to their nation, regarding the loss of it with as much grief as Europeans do that of their drums or standards. The Abipones never attribute victories, and the fortunate events of battles, to their own skill, but to the arts of their jugglers. Although they hold the other Paraguayrian nations in contempt, yet they allow the Guaycurùs to be formidable; they say that they are cut down like funguses by the spears of these savages, not because they excel them in goodness of arms, strength of body, or courage of mind, but because they enter the fight attended by far more skilful jugglers. The Cacique Alaykin affirmed to me, that persons blown upon by their breath fell to the ground, as if struck with thunder.

But now let us contemplate the Abipones triumphing after a successful fight. If the event has answered to their wishes they fill the country with joyful rumours of victory, and generally exaggerated accounts of the slaughter of the enemy. They who have behaved with distinguished valour have the ears and eyes of all directed towards them. They who have re-

ceived wounds in the battle deliver themselves to be sucked to a crowd of juggler physicians, a multitude of spectators admiring and extolling their constancy and fortitude. Great numbers flock to behold the spoils and trophies taken from the enemy. The women, giving way to an excess of gladness, seem mad with joy; they would make no end of singing, leaping, and applauding, were they not obliged to turn their attention towards making preparations for the public drinking-party of their husbands; who, at the same time that they wash the horrible colours from their faces, endeavour to clear from their minds, with wine, their past anxiety respecting the conflict. In the assembly of drinkers, where the victory is celebrated amidst confused clamours, and songs accompanied with the sound of gourds and drums; when all are heated with liberal draughts of mead, each begins to relate his own brave actions, and to laugh at the errors, cowardice, and flight of others; which not being endured by any of the Abipones, the warriors contend furiously amongst themselves, first with fists, and then, growing more enraged, with spears and arrows. Did not the women interpose to effect a reconciliation, and employ themselves in snatching away their weapons, and leading their husbands

home, it is beyond a doubt that more would be killed after the battle than in the battle.

If a battle be fought at a distance from the town, a horseman is sent forward to announce the success of it to the hordesmen. As soon as this messenger is espied from a distance, a crowd come out to meet him, striking their lips with their right hands, and accompany him to his house. Having preserved the profoundest silence he leaps down from his horse on to a bed; whence, as from a rostrum, he announces the event of the battle, with a grave voice, to the surrounding multitude. If a few of the enemy are killed and wounded, he begins his story with *Nalamichiriñi*; they are all slaughtered, which he utters with a severe countenance and declamatory tone, and receives the applauses of the by-standers. He then enumerates those that he himself has slain in battle, and to enhance the merit of the victory, affirms of many, *Eknam Capitan*; he was a captain. At every name that is mentioned of an enemy slain in battle the air resounds with *Kem ékemat? Ta Yeegàm!* an exclamation of surprize. The number of captives, waggons, and horses, that have been taken, are then detailed with infinite exaggeration, for of each he asserts that they are innumerable; *Chik Leyé-*

kalipè ; at which the auditors burst forth into an exclamation of *Ndêe*, by which they express a strange and unheard-of thing. Having minutely recounted every circumstance tending to set forth this arduous fight and splendid victory, he proceeds to discover those of his fellow-soldiers that have been wounded in the battle. At every name the by-standers groan, and utter the word *Tayretà* ! Poor little thing ! As the Abipones think it a crime to utter the name of a dead person, the narrator makes use of a paraphrase, thus, *Yoolè eknam oanerma Hamelèn laneuek là chit kaekà* : The man, the husband of the woman Hamelèn, is now no more. The mention of the death of one of their countrymen entirely destroys all the pleasure which the news of the victory had excited ; so that the announcer immediately finds himself deserted by his late attentive listeners, as soon as ever he begins to touch upon this melancholy subject. All the women unloose their hair, snatch up gourds and drums, and lament in the manner that I have described in the twenty-fourth chapter.

The Abipones, when returned from an expedition, enter their horde, not in one company, but separately, without ostentation, if victorious, and without signification of sorrow, if conquered, or even if desperately wounded, un-

less they have lost their leader. Then indeed they return with their hair partially shaven, to attest their grief, and convey the bones of their deceased Cacique home, not without funeral apparatus. The anxiously expected return of the warriors engages the eyes, ears, tongues, and hands of all; some surveying the droves of cattle, the captives, and spoils; others enquiring for the safety of their relations; others examining the wounds of the soldiers; and all the women lamenting. Each retains the captives, horses, mules, and other things that he has taken, unless, as usual amongst them, he chooses to share them with his friends. From one journey they often bring home many thousand horses, which they divide amongst themselves, with what regulations I know not, but without any disputes. On the succeeding days every one is eager to make trial of the horses which have fallen to his share in the partition of the spoils; they value swiftness alone, disregarding every beauty which adorns a horse. You may daily see a crowd of young men riding races with one another, and at the same time contending with words, each extolling his own above his neighbour's horse. The remembrance of the victory obtained over the enemy, disturbs as much as it delights their minds; for they live in continual fear that the enemy will

speedily come to avenge the death of their people and loss of their property. Hence, in order to tranquillize their minds, and devise some method to keep off the foe, their chief care is to prepare a public drinking-party, that sure quickener, as they think, of the wit and exciter of valour.

CHAPTER XLIV.

OF THE ANNIVERSARY MEMORIAL OF VICTORIES, AND
THE RITES OF A PUBLIC DRINKING-PARTY.

THE Abipones, not satisfied with celebrating their victory, as soon as they return, and whilst their hands are yet bloody, renew the memory of it by public festivities every year. The whole of these festivities consists in singing, dancing, and extravagancies. When they have all collected plenty of honey in the woods, a day is appointed for this anniversary ceremony, and a large house equal to the number of guests fixed upon. The last three days before that appointed for the drinking-party, one of the public criers, covered with an elegant cloak, goes up and down all the tents; at the entrance of each he is saluted by the women with a festive percussion of the lips; his spear, to which a little brass bell is affixed, the mother of the family receives, by way of honour, from the hands of the comer, and restores to him again on his departure. The crier, on entering the house, sits down upon a cushion prepared for him, of saddles, or some wild animal's skin. He then, in a set speech, invites the father of

the family to the public celebration of victories. On his departure, he is dismissed by the women with the usual percussion of the lips. In the same manner he enters the dwellings of the other hordesmen, always accompanied by a crowd of boys. The office of crier, which the noble Abipones despise, is generally performed by some juggler of advanced age and low birth. Meantime they furnish the house, appointed for the meeting, with a hasty apparatus. The floor is covered with the skins of tigers and of kine, upon which the guests sit. A temporary erection is made of reeds, upon which they place the hairy scalps of their slain enemies, as trophies. When they prefer celebrating the victory without the tent in the open air, they hang these trophies upon spears fixed upright in the circle in which they sit. At sun-set, the persons invited all flock to the appointed place, where they sit down on the ground, having leathern vessels of mead set in the midst of them, though the drinking does not commence till about morning, the whole night being spent in chaunting their victories.

They never sing all at once, but only two at a time, always greatly varying their voices from high to low, one either taking up, or following, or interrupting the other, and sometimes accompanying him. Now one, now the other

is silent for a short interval. The tones vary according to the subject of the song, with many inflexions of the sound, and, if I may so express myself, a good deal of shaking. He who, by a quicker motion of the throat, can now suspend the song for a while, now protract, and now interrupt it with groans, or laughter, or can imitate the bellowing of a bull, or the tremulous voice of a kid,—he will gain universal applause. No European would deny that these savage singers inspired him with a kind of melancholy and horror, so much are the ears, and even the mind affected by that deadly chaunting, the darkness adding greatly to the mournful effect. One of the singers rattles a gourd filled with maize seeds, to the time of the music. Sometimes the gourd alone preludes the singing, as in a band of musicians; at others, it follows the voice of the singer, and very seldom rests for ever so little a while. When two are singing at a time, it is wonderful to hear so much concord in such discordant voices. You never observe them hesitate or pause: for they do not sing extemporaneously, but what has been long studied beforehand. The songs are restricted by no metrical laws, but sometimes have a rhythmical sound. The number of verses is regulated, not according to the pleasure of the singer, but according to the variety of the

subject. Nothing but warlike expeditions, slaughters, and spoils of the enemy, taking of towns, plundering of waggons and estates, burning and depopulating colonies of the Spaniards, and other tragedies of that kind furnish the savages with subjects for singing and rejoicing. These events, together with the place, and time, where, and when they happened, they describe; not rudely, but with considerable elegance. Struck, as it were, with poetic rage, by appropriate words, and modulations of the voice, they contrive to express indignation, fear, threatening, or joy. Though, in order not to damp the hilarity, they scarce make any mention of the deaths, and wounds of the Abipones, and employ themselves exclusively in exaggerating the slaughter of the enemy. During the time that these songs are chaunted, a period of many hours, not one of the auditors dares utter a word, and though night itself persuades sleep, you will not see one of them even yawn.

As all singers have the fault which Horace complains of in them, namely, that when they once begin, they will never leave off; the two chaunters are admonished to conclude their song, by women who stand around, separated from the men, and who signify to the vocal pair, after they have sung about a quarter of

an hour, that it is time to desist, by repeated percussion of their lips, and by pronouncing the little words *Kla leyà*, it is enough. With this admonition, they immediately comply, and conclude the magnificent commemoration of their mighty deeds with *Gramackka akamì*: Such then we are. Another pair then succeeds to the former, and in this manner the singing is protracted till the morning. Then, indeed, the scene is changed, the drinking commences, and their dry and weary throats are refreshed with that American nectar made either of honey, or the alfaroba. The women, and the unmarried men are excluded from these drinking-parties, though the latter are allowed to drink mead in private, as the women to drink pure honey, and eat the raw alfaroba.

To seek honey in the woods for making this drink, is the business of the men, but the whole labour of preparing it falls upon the women, who have to knock down the alfarobas from the trees, to carry them home on horseback, to pound them in mortars, to pour water on them, and to dress the hides which serve to hold the liquor. The method of their construction is this: the feet are cut off, the hide is made square; its four sides are then raised to the height of two spans, so that it receives at the bottom any liquor that you may pour in, and

holds it without spilling a drop. Honey, or the alfaroba steeped in water, obtains the desirable degree of acidity quicker, or slower, according to the state of the atmosphere, and ferments, in a certain way, without the addition of any thing else. The Abipones approach those vessels every now and then, and ascertain, by the smell, whether that honeyed beverage has attained its proper state. *Layam ycham*; It will soon ferment, they cry as they go away. Till at length some one comes, who, judging by his nose, declares that it has gained the necessary acidity. This being given out, they all flock to the appointed place. Those leathern vessels, full of foaming mead, are each brought by the hands of six or eight girls, who lay down their burden, and return home without speaking a word to the drinkers. Before the first vessel is quite exhausted, another is brought, to that is added a third, then a fourth, and so on. I did not in the least wonder to see the women so alert and industrious in performing these useful offices, because the more diligent they are, the higher character they obtain amongst their countrymen, and the greater favour do they gain from their husbands. It must be confessed, however, that the Abipones, when they sup and dine in private, drink nothing but water. I *have* known Abipones

who abstained from fermented liquors altogether; but these persons were contemned by the rest as cowardly, degenerate, and stupid; and indeed, I observed that they who excelled the rest in birth, military glory, and authority, were generally the most given to drinking. You can scarce see a circle of drinkers, at which the chiefs of the Abipones do not attend and preside.

For cups they use either the skulls of their slain enemies, or gourds, or horns. They are unacquainted with the European fashion of drinking healths. When any one suggests the idea of a warlike expedition, they cry *Là*, now; and snatching up their cups, express that they have ratified his proposal by a hearty draught. It is also remarkable, that, though extremely voracious at other times, they take scarce any food when they pass the day and night in drinking; from which it is evident that honey and the alfaroba possess great nutritive qualities. For my part, I never could prevail upon myself to taste that nectar of the Abipones, having often observed them chew the alfaroba, or honeycomb with their teeth, put it out of their mouths, and keep it to mix with the future beverage; for they think that, being mixed with saliva, it will serve for a ferment, to make the rest of the mass obtain a grateful

acid more quickly. On the same account, the Indians and Paraguayan Spaniards have their maize, which is intended for drink, chewed by old women; they will not intrust this office to the younger ones, who, they say, abound in bad humours. Could any person, aware of this circumstance, though of no very delicate stomach, swallow the beverage without nausea? Yet this filthy drink has more lovers amongst the Americans, than Helen had amongst the Greeks.

They always have many causes for celebrating a public drinking-party; the most frequent are, the gaining of a victory, an impending fight, funeral rites, festivities on the birth of a Cacique's son, the shaving of widowers or widows, the changing of a name, the proclamation of a lately appointed captain, the arrival of a guest of consideration, a wedding, and, what is most common, a council of war. If materials for preparing the liquor be at hand, occasion, and inclination for drinking, will never be wanting. As honey is always to be had, they are never, at any part of the year, in want of mead; but as it is seldom to be got in sufficient quantities, for the number of partakers, parties of this kind are generally of short duration. From December to April, when the woods abound with the ripe alfaroba, is the

chief season for drinking. During these months they drink without pause or intermission. They join the night to the day, with scarce any interval for brief meals, or sleep: before they have slept themselves sober they stagger back to the party of drinkers. During all that time you scarce ever find them in possession of their senses; to live, with them, is to drink, and you would say that the more they drank the more thirsty they grew. To show that they do not tremble at the sight of blood, and that they take pleasure in wounds, they emulously prick their breast and arms, and not unfrequently their tongue, with crocodiles' bones, and the sharpest thorns. Disputes too are frequent among them concerning pre-eminence in valour, which produce confused clamours, fighting, wounds, and slaughter. "In that skirmish you basely turned your back on the enemy," one perhaps will say to the other; who, not choosing to endure the reproach, replies "What? What do you say?" till from words they proceed to blows, to arrows, and to spears, unless other persons interfere. It often happens that a contention between two implicates and incites them all, so that snatching up arms, and taking the part, some of one, some of the other, they furiously rush to attack and slay one another. This is no uncommon occurrence in drink-

ing-parties, and is sometimes carried on for many hours with much vociferation of the combatants, and no less effusion of blood.

Intoxication affects the Abipones in various ways. Some laugh violently, merrier than hilarity itself; others seem oppressed with melancholy; others, inflated with the remembrance of their mighty deeds, grow more threatening and boastful than the *Thraso* of Terence, or the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus. I knew a man, who, whenever he was drunk, threatened to kill his little son, and as he lay stretched upon the ground, spoke in such loud and angry tones to his wife, that he was heard throughout the whole neighbourhood. There was one man, who, when he was drunk, always requested to be baptized, continually exclaiming, "Make haste, Father, and wash my head!" though, when sober, he never thought anything about baptism. An Abipon, of no reputation amongst his countrymen, entered our house furnished with a bow and arrows, and demanded of me, in a threatening tone, whether I did not think him a captain, that is, a man distinguished for great actions; alarmed at the fierce countenance of the interrogator, and at the bundle of arrows which he bore, I made him a fine panegyric by way of reply, though he was a man universally

despised for his cowardice. An old man in the town of St. Ferdinand, inglorious alike in birth and actions, on being called by his drinking associates, *Lanaîaik*, plebeian, vainly endeavoured with arms, and absurd clamours, to avenge the insult; for his wife, a sturdy old woman, always watched over her infuriated husband, that he might not fall by the fists or weapons of his companions. On this occasion she caught hold of him by the legs, or girdle, dragged him through the street, and when got home, vainly exhorted him to sleep and silence; for he, ever recurring to the flouts of his comrades, could take no rest, constantly ejaculating with a hoarse voice, *Tà yeegamè! Aym Lanaîaik? Tà yeegamè! Là rihè lahè!* “What! I a plebeian? I ignoble? I demand vengeance.” Enraged by these reflections, he endeavours again and again to raise himself on his feet, and snatch up a spear, when his angry wife as often knocks him down upon the floor. This sport continued for many hours, to the incredible annoyance of all that dwelt in the neighbourhood. Few could repress indignation, none laughter. Almost all the women have the same task when they labour to disarm their husbands, and take them out of the hands of their drunken comrades. The whole Abiponian nation would come to destruction, if the women and youths attended

these drinking-parties, as well as the married men.

You will sooner eradicate from the minds of the Americans any vice belonging to them, than this wicked and pernicious intemperance in drinking. You will sooner persuade them to live content with one wife, to abstain from slaughter and rapine, to scorn their ancient superstitions, or to employ themselves in agriculture and building houses, notwithstanding their aversion to labour. To abolish the custom of drinking-parties is indeed a most arduous work, a labour of many years, and a business to perfect which no eloquence or industry of those whose care and wish it was to convert the savage nations to Christianity, and conform them to the divine laws, was ever equal. At length, however, we have had the satisfaction of beholding this wicked custom of drinking yield to our unwearied toils, and almost all the savages submit to the law of God.

CHAPTER XLIII.

OF THE ABIPONIAN RITES ON OCCASION OF ANY ONE'S
BEING DECLARED CAPTAIN.

EVEN amongst savage nations, virtue has its reward. Though almost ignorant that they are men, they delight in honourable titles. The Abipones do not account that the best nobility which is inherited as a patrimony, but that which is obtained by their own merits. Amongst them, as no one is distinguished by his father's name, in like manner no one is ennobled by the famous deeds of his father, grandfather, or great grandfather. The nobility of valour and probity, not that of birth, is what they prize and honour. By a kind of natural propensity they respect the sons and grandsons of their Caciques and Captains; yet if they be stupid, cowardly, of unpleasant manners, or a foolish understanding, they make them of no account, and never prefer them to the government of the horde, or of military expeditions. They choose for rulers and leaders others of the common people, whom they know to be active, sagacious, brave, and modest. Whoever has given proofs of warlike ✓

valour is initiated into warlike honours with ceremonies which I shall presently describe.

The names of the Abipones who are not distinguished by military rank, end in various letters; but when, on account of their services in war, they are admitted into the rank of the nobles, they drop the name which they bore in youth, and receive another which always terminates in the syllable *In*. They who are solemnly inaugurated, according to the custom of their ancestors, are called *Höcheri*, and have a dialect of their own; for though they use the common words, yet, by insertion and addition of various syllables, they transform and obscure them in such a manner that they can hardly be understood. I shall now briefly describe the rites by which they are promoted to this dignity. When, by the arbitration of the rest, such an honour has been decreed to any one, they make a previous trial of his fortitude, by an experiment common to all. A black bead being placed upon his tongue, he is ordered to sit down at home for three days, and during that time to abstain from speaking, eating, and drinking. This is indeed a harsh law, but it appears mild in comparison with the torments endured by certain Indians at the river Orinoco, when candidates for military honours. They are laid on a hurdle, beneath which are placed burning

coals, and, that the heat and smoke may be the more intolerable, the poor wretches are completely overwhelmed with palm leaves. They anoint the whole of the body of others with honey, tie them to a tree, and expose them to the stings of bees, wasps, drones, and hornets. But let me now return to the Abipon who is fasting and keeping silence at home. On the evening preceding this military function all the women flock to the threshold of his tent. Pulling off their clothes from the shoulder to the middle, and dishevelling their hair, they stand in a long row, and with confused shouts, accompanied with the sound of gourds, and with the continual agitation of their arms and legs, lament for the ancestors of him, who is, next day, to be adorned with a military dignity. These lamentations continue till it is dark. As soon as morning dawns, our candidate, elegantly dressed in the fashion of his nation, and holding a spear in his hand, leaps upon a horse laden with feathers, small bells, and trappings, and gallops northward, followed by a great troop of Abipones. Presently, returning with equal speed, he approaches the tent, where sits an old female juggler, the priestess of the ceremonies, who is afterwards to inaugurate the candidate with solemn rites. Some woman of noble birth officiously holds his spear and the bridles of his

horse, while he dismounts, the rest of the matrons continuing to strike their lips, and applaud; when the candidate listens to a short address from the old woman seated on a hide, with as much veneration as if it was an oracle from a Delphic tripod. Then mounting fresh horses, he rides out in the same manner as before, first to the South, then to the East, and then to the West, and after each journey alights at the same tent, where that Pythian, like a female Apollo, pours forth her eloquence. The four excursions being performed, and the horses dismissed, they all betake themselves to that sacred tent, to witness the usual ceremony of the inauguration. This ceremony consists of three things: first the hair of the candidate is shaven by an old woman, so that from the forehead to the back part of the head she leaves a baldness or streak, three inches wide, which they call *Nalemâa*. The business of the hair being finished, the old woman pronounces a panegyric, setting forth the noble actions of the candidate, his warlike disposition, knowledge of arms and horses, intrepidity in difficulties, the enemies that he has slaughtered, the spoils that he has taken, the military fame of his ancestors, and so on; in order that he may appear, on many accounts, worthy to be declared

a captain and a noble warrior, and to enjoy the rights and privileges of the Höcheri. His new name is immediately promulgated, and festively pronounced by a band of women striking their lips with their hands. The male spectators do not like dry ceremonies to be protracted to a great length, but joyfully fly to skins full of honeyed liquor, and conclude the business with a famous drinking-match.

It is remarkable that many of the women arrive at this degree of honour, and nobility, enjoy the privileges of the Höcheri, and use their dialect. The names of these females end in *En*, as those of the men in *In*. What circumstances entitle women of low birth to this degree of honour, I do not know, but it appears to me most probable that the merits of their parents, husbands, or brothers, not age, or beauty, bestow this prerogative upon females. I have often heard very young women conversing in the language of the nobles, and matrons remarkable for years and wrinkles speaking the vulgar tongue.

The Abipones think it a sin to utter their own name. When either of them knocked by night at my door, though I asked him a hundred times, "Who are you?" he would answer nothing but, "It is I." Unknown per-

sons, when I enquired their name, would jog their neighbour with their elbow that he might answer for them. It is also reckoned a crime to utter the name of a person lately dead. If any one in his cups forgets the law, and utters the name of the deceased, he will give occasion to a bloody quarrel. Many women have no name at all. When I was making out a list of the inhabitants of a town, I used to call upon all the men who were best acquainted with their hordesmen to give me information on the subject, and when interrogated respecting women, they used often to say: "This woman has no name."

Moreover, the Abipones change their names as Europeans do their clothes. The reasons of this alteration are either some famous action, or the death of a father, son, wife, &c. when all the relations, to signify their grief, change their old name for a new one. I have known persons, who, in process of time, changed their names six or more times. Others are named from some quality of mind or body; as *Kaurin*, lascivious, *Oaherkaikin*, mendacious. Children have names quite different from their parents. Amongst the Christian Guaranies, sons generally took the names of their fathers, and daughters of their mothers. In the third part of this history, which is yet to come, we shall relate the

slaughters committed, and undergone by the Abipones, the progress and vicissitudes of the colonies which we founded for them, and the advantages which the Spaniards derived from those colonies.

END OF VOL. II.

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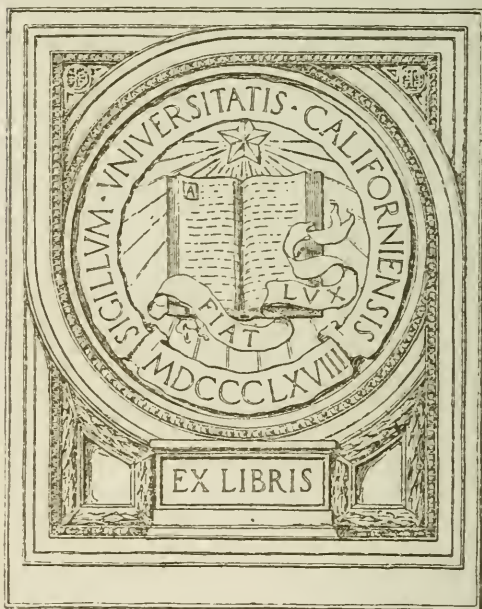
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JOHN FISKE

AN
ACCOUNT
OF
THE ABIPONES,
AN EQUESTRIAN PEOPLE
OF
PARAGUAY.

FROM THE LATIN OF MARTIN DOBRIZHOFFER,
EIGHTEEN YEARS A MISSIONARY IN THAT COUNTRY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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HISTORY
OF
THE ABIPONES.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE DEADLY HATRED OF THE ABIPONES, AND THEIR ALLIES THE MOCOBIOS, TOWARDS THE SPANIARDS.

THE Spaniards subdued, in great measure, the Indian natives of Paraguay, sometimes by means of soldiers, but oftener by that of priests, who, unarmed, could penetrate where a soldier found no access. The former effected more with their beads, than the latter with their bullets. In the next century, however, the Abipones, grown more contumacious, would neither be conciliated by gifts, nor subdued by arms. They would not receive the Spaniards as their friends, still less as their masters, and lest conquered they should experience them as enemies, they consulted their liberty, now

fighting, now flying, as need required, sometimes availing themselves of arms, oftener of cunning and swiftness. The places of residence which they had chosen were fortified by nature, and afforded them protection against the forces of the Spaniards, so dreaded in the open field. They could not be conquered, because they could not be attacked, whilst defended by ditches and impervious woods, chiefly before they were possessed of horses. They had rather endure hunger, thirst, and concealment, than obey strangers. They resolutely refused to admit the king of the Spaniards, and the law of God—to-wit, their own happiness. It is certain that, from the age of Charles V., who united the noblest parts of America to his own Spain, the Abipones persisted in defending their liberty for upwards of two centuries, even when all the neighbouring nations had yielded to the foe. Nor were they satisfied with obstinately refusing the friendship of the Spaniards, but, intent upon every opportunity of doing mischief, overran the whole province with hostile arms. Whenever I think of the slaughters committed by the Abipones in the latter part of that century, I imagine that these savages, and their allies the Mocobios and Tobas, were reserved by an avenging God to punish the evil deeds of the Christians, as formerly the Philistines,

Jebusites, and Perizzites, in the land of Canaan, were preserved by the interposition of the Almighty, to curb the rebellious Jews, whilst all their other enemies were either destroyed or reduced to subjection.

Moreover they made a warlike alliance with the Mocobios and Tobas, equestrian savages, formidable by their numbers and resolution. Scarcely any memorable slaughter occurred in which these confederated nations did not join; to this they were incited by their unanimous hatred of the Europeans, the certain hope of booty, and their common desire of military glory. The Mocobios were never reckoned inferior to the Abipones either in stature, or in military skill; but I boldly affirm that, in atrocity and steady hatred to the Spaniards, they exceed them. Certainly in the last century they seemed to conspire to the ruin of Tucuman; proving themselves formidable, not to solitary estates merely, but to whole cities. The province was devastated by slaughter, rapine, and fire: Salta, Xuxui, the city of St. Miguel, and Cordoba, were reduced to desperation, and Estecco, formerly an opulent city, quite ruined. The city of Concepcion was rased to the ground, the inhabitants having been treacherously massacred. History does not inform us whether the Abipones were par-

takers with the Mocobios in these numerous and bloody excursions. Alonzo Mercado, Angelo de Paredo, and other Governours of Tucuman, withstood, indeed, the efforts of the savages, and conducted as many soldiers as they could muster, either Spaniards or Indian Christians, into Chaco, to besiege the fastnesses of the savages, but by a journey always difficult, and seldom recompensed by success; for, although they sometimes took and slew some of the Mocobios and Tobas in their hordes, yet the survivors, enraged by the loss of their companions, redoubled their fury, never ceasing to employ their strength, which was equal to their anger, in revenge; and success always crowned their wishes. Several fruitless expeditions of the Tucuman forces confirmed the opinion of the savages, that the arms of the Spaniards were not to be feared by them, and that they were sufficiently guarded in their lurking-places, which were either unknown to the Spaniards, or inaccessible to them; but that if, peradventure, they were overcome by numbers, they might reckon upon a victory in flight, opportunities for which were afforded them by their knowledge of the country, and by their dexterity in swimming and riding: whilst the Spaniards, with horses fatigued by a long rough journey, and encumbered by the length of

their clothes and of their arms, could with difficulty pursue the fugitives, especially if marshes, rivers, and trackless woods intervened. Emboldened by these considerations, they left nothing unattempted against Tucuman. Salta, the residence of the Governour, and other places surrounding it, were exposed to the daily assaults of the savages.

Estevan Urizar, when he came from Spain to govern the province, endeavoured to devise a remedy for the public calamity. He proposed an expedition against Chaco; seventeen hundred and eighty countrymen were chosen to attend it out of all Tucuman, beside five hundred Indian Christians, who were increased by a troop of Chiriguanos, at that time allies. Add to these, five hundred from the city of Asumpcion, three hundred from Sta. Fè, and two hundred from Corrientes. In short, such an army was raised that the savages were surrounded on all sides. The Tucuman soldiers were ordered to explore the retreats of the savages, and put them to death; the other Spaniards, who dwelt nearer the south, to prevent their escape by blocking up the roads: and if as much diligence had been employed in the execution of the project as good policy in the planning of it, the whole swarm of savages in Chaco would have been entirely subdued.

But of the Spanish soldiers who were called from the southern colonies, some delayed, others deserted, so that towards the south a way lay open to the Mocobios, who escaped, without hindrance, on every side, and took refuge in the hordes of the Abipones. But as they did not consider this situation at a sufficient distance from the attacks of the Spaniards, both people secretly removed into the vale of Calchacui. On this account Salta and the upper parts of Tucuman were relieved, for some years, from the attacks of the Mocobios, but all the storm of the war fell on the cities Sta. Fè, St. Iago del Estero, Corrientes, and the other Spanish colonies situate to the southwest. That the Malbalaes, deserted by the Mocobios their greatest supporters, accepted, or feigned to accept, the friendship of the Spaniards; that the Vilelas and Chunipies agreed upon a peace; that the Lules were assembled in a town at Miraflores, and there instructed in the holy religion by Father Antonio Machoni, were the advantages which resulted from this great expedition: but, though considerable, they fell far below the wishes and expectations of the Spaniards.

CHAPTER II.

BY WHAT MEANS THE ABIPONES POSSESSED THEMSELVES OF HORSES, AND HOW FORMIDABLE THIS ATTAINMENT RENDERED THEM TO THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

HISTORY gives no account of the proceedings of the Abipones in the fifteenth century, before they settled in Chaco; but I should imagine that, being at that time, like the other Indians, unfurnished with horses, they passed their lives in ignoble obscurity, more anxious to avoid, than to attack the Spaniards. It appears from the annals of Paraguay, that in the year 1641, they possessed horses, and were become dexterous in the management of them. We read also, that they made war about this time upon the Mataràs, whom, on account of their submission to the Spaniards, they pursued with unrelenting hatred. Moreover the Abipones became formidable to the pedestrian nations on account of their reputation for horsemanship.

But do you ask me how the Abipones first obtained horses? I will tell you what I learnt from an Abipon, an hundred years of age. He informed me that some of his ancestors, before

they had obtained these useful animals, used to go privily to the lands belonging to the city of Sta. Fè, and steal a few horses, with some iron knives. They afterwards made use of these horses for the purpose of driving fresh herds from the lands of the Spaniards. It frequently happens that horses, tormented by insects or frightened by tigers, stray to the distance of many leagues. The men appointed to guard the cattle, (if there be any,) are mostly few and unarmed, always timorous, and can easily be slain whilst absent from their huts, or eluded whilst they are sleeping.

In the space of fifty years, an hundred thousand horses were driven from the estates of the Spaniards, by the Abipones. Do not imagine that I have exaggerated the number, for, calculating from conjecture, I should say it exceeded two hundred thousand, and no wonder: for young men of the nation of the Abipones often carried off four thousand horses in one assault, and as they grew in years, they increased their robberies. Cunning and a little sagacity are more requisite than strength. The Calchacuis, after they had afflicted the country about Sta. Fè with reiterated slaughters, were at last reduced to order in one conflict. Those who survived that overthrow were almost all cut off by the small-pox. The miserable

remains of this most warlike nation are yet living by the river Carcarañal, and are reckoned at about twenty people. The Abipones settled in the land formerly possessed by the Calchacuis, inheriting not their country alone, but also their hostile disposition towards the Spaniards. They took possession of all the land from the river Plata to the city of Sta. Fè, and from the banks of the Parana and Paraguay to the territories of St. Iago, the Spaniards vainly endeavouring to oppose them, and obliged to part with their ancient station, or maintain it with the loss of their lives. In the eighteenth year of this century, even women might go, without danger, from the city of Sta. Fè, and thence to Cordoba, though it is a journey of many days, even to horse travellers. That all things were safe and out of danger of the enemy may be concluded from the numerous estates of the Spaniards, which are continued all along the roads from the above-mentioned cities, but were afterwards so depopulated by the perpetual hostilities of the Abipones, that the ruins of these dilapidated buildings are now alone to be seen.

The country over which, as their own, the Abipones freely wander, extends an hundred and twenty leagues from North to South, and

as many from East to West, in many places. They are divided into hordes, according to the number of the Caciques, and frequently remove their tents, choosing that situation which is rendered most eligible by the season, security, and the opportunity it affords of hunting. Having removed their women, children, and decrepit old men to a place of safety, the rest sallied forth, to plunder the surrounding colonies of the Christians, and always returned laden with heads of Spaniards, and other spoils. The crowd of captives, the droves of horses, and the success of the expedition incited others to the like daring, so that when one party returned, another quickly succeeded. Scarce a month passed in which they did not disturb the Spanish colonies with some hostile attack; and although one place alone was invaded, the whole neighbourhood trembled the more, the safer things appeared. For experience had taught them, that enemies of that kind are never nearer than when they are thought to be at the greatest distance.

It is certainly difficult to understand by what means about a thousand savages (for the whole nation of the Abipones hardly contained more who were able to bear arms) had the power of disturbing an immense province. Unanimous hatred of the Spaniards, craft,

tolerance of labour, and the alliance of the Mocobios stood them in the stead of numbers. Barrera, commander at St. Iago, repeatedly affirmed, that were he to hear that all the Abipones had been slain, ten only surviving, he should still judge it necessary to have the watch continued in every part of Paraguay. He therefore thought one tally of Abipones sufficient to distress a whole province. There was no retreat so sequestered that they did not discover, and furiously overrun; no place so remote or well fortified by nature, that they thought impenetrable. They swam across those vast rivers the Parana and Paraguay, even where they are united in one channel, and pleasantly conversing at the same time. They rode over vast precipices, sometimes ascending, and sometimes, which was still more frightful, descending, till they reached the confines of Cordoba and St. Iago, and there, alas! what torrents of blood they caused to flow! Trackless woods full of rushes and thick trees, marshes, and lakes rendered slippery with mud, they crossed with ease. That immense plain of an hundred and fifty leagues, which lies between the banks of the Parana and the Salado, is sometimes flooded to such a degree, that it resembles a vast lake; this happens after long and incessant rain; but

when, as is often the case, no rain falls for many months, that immense tract of land is so parched by the burning sky, that the smallest bird would fail to find a drop of water there.

The Abipones, regardless of these impediments, arrived at the dwellings of the Spaniards, whom they intended to kill or rob, by a journey of many days, sometimes having to pass through water, at others entirely destitute of it. I have frequently attempted the journey, both with Spaniards and Abipones, who have now laid aside their former enmity: the latter scorned to turn back, swearing that they might easily cross the deepest marshes on horseback, whilst the others declared them impassable. None of the Abipones would shrink from a journey of three hundred leagues or more, were he attracted by the hope of richer booty, or greater military glory; for neither the difficulty of the roads, nor the distance of the places, are sufficient to deter them.

As many nations worship the crocodile, the snake, and the ape, as divinities, the Abipones would adore their horses, if idolatry prevailed amongst them. Nor is it unreasonable in them to set a high value upon horses, by the use of which they have become formidable and destructive to the Spanish colonists. The

pedestrian savages, though they may entertain the same wish of annoying the Spaniards, have not the same opportunity, and consequently employ their arms more for their own defence than for the offence of the Spaniards. I shall now proceed to relate, individually, the slaughters committed in various parts of the province.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE VIOLENCES COMMITTED UPON THE CITIES
STA. FÈ AND ASUMPCION.

THE Abipones sometimes alone, sometimes in conjunction with the Mocabios, distressed the city of Sta. Fè, which lay nearest them, with daily incursions, and very nearly destroyed it. Many of the country people were slain, and not a few led into captivity. Numbers, fearing that the same fortune awaited them, migrated, with their families, into safer places. Things came to such an extremity, that the inhabitants began to deliberate publicly about deserting the city. Amongst many others, the rich estate of St. Antonio was entirely ruined. Innumerable cattle, of every description, were seized and dispersed, and their owners slain. The waggons were plundered of the goods which they contained. When the security of trade, the only source of riches, was destroyed at one blow, what could ensue but famine and scarcity? The roads were so beset with savages, both by day and by night, that no one could stir out of his own house with safety, or fetch provisions from the country for the use of the city. The citizens

themselves were kept in daily fear, they so often beheld troops of Abipones and Mocobios in their streets. The very market-place was stained with the blood of the unarmed. In the year 1754, on the 10th of April, as I was revisiting this city, a noble matron, venerable for her years, and ancient family, accosted me, saying, "Oh! Fathers, what gratitude do we owe to you, who have tamed these ferocious nations, on whose account we hardly dared to breathe for so many years! I scarcely ever remember this week," pursued she, "namely the last in Lent, passed without slaughters in this city. When a pious crowd of supplicants passed in procession through the streets, how often did the armed savages rush on them, like lightning! And they seldom departed without bloody hands. I still have to lament a brother, slain as he trimmed the altar, in the court before those buildings; such was the face of affairs at that time. For the tranquillity and security, which we at present enjoy, we are indebted to you, by whom the Abipones and Mocobios have been appeased and civilized."

In that city, there was no want of intrepid men, to repel force by force; but the rest, who were deficient in vigilance, courage, and skill, were exposed to the continual violence of the savages, who never granted either peace or truce. Auxiliary bands of foot-soldiers were

sent by the Governour of Buenos-Ayres to the relief of the fainting city; but these, when they came to close fighting in the field of battle, served rather to excite the laughter of the Abipones, than to render any service to the Spaniards. Whilst affairs were in this desperate condition, like a propitious star shining forth in a furious tempest, appeared Echague, an excellent man, who in the name of the Governour, and under his authority, repressed the boldness of the savages. He knew how to conciliate their ferocious minds with gifts, to intimidate them with arms, or to repress them with frequent incursions. By these means he procured the city a little respite. But this tranquillity continued no longer than the life of its author: his successors experienced various fortune, the Indians sometimes renewing their former plunderings, sometimes promising peace, in order that they might be enabled to direct their whole force against the other cities of the Spaniards, and in that of Sta. Fè, then friendly, exchange the spoils gained from them, for knives, swords, spears, axes, glass-beads, and wearing apparel. This was admirable policy in the savages, that, whilst they carried on war with the rest of the province, they diligently maintained peace with one city, where they might purchase the

necessary supply of arms and other utensils, by the booty obtained elsewhere. I learnt many things of this traffic with the Indians, some worthy of laughter, but more which deserve indignation. Take this one instance. An Abipon entered the city of Sta. Fè, in time of peace, carrying on his horse a leathern bag containing two thousand Spanish crowns. A certain noble Spaniard, who happened to be walking in the market-place at the time, doubtless very well acquainted with the contents of the bag, offered him the red cloak which he wore; the Indian, transported with joy, gave him in exchange the whole weight of silver which he had plundered a little before from the waggons laden with Peruvian money. Great part of the Mocobios and Tobas, and most of the Abipones, being persuaded to a peace, and conducted to the various colonies which we had founded, this miserable city at last enjoyed a little rest, although the estates were not entirely free from danger; for the savages of these nations, weary of peace, lay in wait for droves of horses, but more in the way of plundering than of regular warfare. To restrain these pillagers, a Spanish company of horse was maintained at the public cost, and, headed by Miguel Ziburro, proved very useful in deterring them from their de-

predations. Three places, in particular, were the resorts of the savages, and the scenes of their robberies, *La cruz alta*, *El pozzo redondo*, and the estate of St. Thomas; in the one place there is a passage across the river Salado to the city, in the other a high way with wag-gons of traders continually passing to and fro. The estates also which look towards Chaco were endangered. The extensive province of Asuncion, although it abounds in warlike colonists, was incredibly harassed by the arms of the Abipones and Mocobios. Who can enumerate the men that were slain, the horses and mules that were seized, the villages that were burnt, the estates that were depopulated, and the numbers of unarmed that were led into captivity? Not only on the banks of the Paraguay, but also in places far distant from that river, many and great slaughters were committed with impunity. This captaincy of Paraguay is of greater extent than the rest, yet it seems too small for the number of colonists. It contains as many soldiers as men, but they are scattered up and down the country, many leagues distant from one another, occupied, greatest part of the year, in remote forests where they prepare the herb of Paraguay, or on the banks of rivers, or in defending little fortifications of the province.

These edifices, which are constructed of stakes, mud, and straw, on the eastern shore of the Paraguay, are more properly watch-towers for observing the motions of the enemy, than fortifications for keeping them out. The few who are stationed in each of the fortlets signify the approach of the enemy by firing a cannon; this is repeated by the neighbouring sentinels, that every one, admonished of the danger, may provide for his own safety; that the Governour (for the firing, as it is repeated in all the different stations, at last reaches the city) may order convenient succours; and that all the forces may assemble in arms wherever suspicion is entertained of the enemy. But how much time is consumed whilst the horses are caught and made ready, whilst the few soldiers assemble in arms, and whilst their leader is expected! In the mean time slaughters are already committed, estates rifled, villages burnt, and the savages departed as quickly as they came. But if a tardy company of Spaniards is at length brought together, they are more rejoiced at the flight of the enemy than desirous of pursuing them. And supposing the savages to be still in sight, or at no great distance, the generals of Paraguay, unless they see themselves greatly superior in point of numbers, seldom dare to trust the

doubtful fortune of war, by a bold attack; foreseeing that they shall be loaden with reproaches, and perhaps assaulted with stones by the wives of those who might be slain in the skirmish. Sometimes the Spanish horsemen were clamorously eager to pursue the flying savages, but the generals repressed their ardour, even threatening pain of death to any who should dare to challenge or pursue the enemy.

It has always appeared quite miraculous to me, that the province of Asumpcion did not at length sink under the weight of the powerful enemies by whom it was combated for so many years. On one side was the dreadful neighbourhood of the ferocious Guaycurùs and Mbayas; on the other the daily assaults of the Abipones, Mocobios, and Tobas occasioned much danger and fatigue to the surrounding colonies. Add to these the Payaguas, most perfidious pirates, more dangerous in peace than in war: not to mention the wood-savages, the Monteses, Montarrazes, or Caaỹguas, who, though not always openly hostile to the Paraguayan Spaniards, whilst they prepared the herb of Paraguay in woods far distant from the city, are full of enmity towards them, and justly suspected of unsound faith. See! how many nations threatened the Spanish colonists.

Two to one is odds against Hercules. We may justly call the Paraguayrians greater than Hercules, because they held out against so many enemies.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW MUCH THE GUARANY TOWNS WERE ANNOYED BY
THE ABIPONES.

THE Abipones thought they had done nothing, till they directed their attention towards overthrowing the towns of the Guaranies, whom they regarded with implacable hatred, because, being converted by us to the Roman Catholic religion, they not only paid obedience to the Catholic King as subjects, but also served him as soldiers in the camp, whenever they were called upon by the Royal Governours. The towns of the Guaranies, and the other estates, which are near the banks of the Paraguay and Parana, for many years, were daily more and more exposed to the fury and rapacity of the enemy. Innumerable were the Indians that were cruelly massacred, the cattle of every description that were driven away, and the youths that were made captive. Many were burnt in their own houses, where they hid themselves for fear of the swords of the enemy. The town of St. Ignatius Guazù, formerly in a very flourishing state, lost much of its splendor, and was very nearly destroyed; for it was situated in a place which affords an

excellent opportunity for stratagems to the savages, who hide themselves in the adjacent woods, whence they can easily sally forth, and soon reach the estate and the town itself. Scarcely a month passed without murder and robberies. It is incredible how much the number of men and cattle was diminished by their continual incursions. Although a watch was kept up by day and by night, no one durst promise himself security. The craftiness or boldness of the Abipones eluded all the vigilance and industry of the inhabitants. On some holy-day, when the people were attending divine service, a great crowd of savages burst into the very market-place. The inhabitants seized and threw at the aggressors whatever weapons were at hand. The Christians fought with more valour than success. The chief men of the city, and more than three hundred senators, beside many others of the common people, fell fighting before the door of the church. A great many of the Abipones were slain and wounded. The Guaranies took a Spaniard, who had grown up amongst the Abipones, having been taken captive by them at an early period of his life, and who had offered to be their leader in this as in many other expeditions. What must have been the feelings of the Jesuit priest, Francisco Maria Rasponi Bergomas, long curate of the town,

when, on looking out of the church before he had taken off his sacred robes, he perceived the heaps of dead bodies, and the streets swimming with blood? Who can express his horror? This bloody fight elated the minds of the Abipones, in proportion as those of the Guaranies were depressed by it. With greater boldness and frequency, they continued to slaughter the Indians, and to seize the cattle, both in the estate, and in the fields adjoining the city. In one day, four thousand oxen and immense droves of horses became the prey of these rapacious thieves. Let not those that read this accuse the Fathers who presided over the town of sloth or inactivity: nothing was omitted by them which seemed advisable for the security of their people. All access was forbidden the enemy by means of ditches and palisades, and additional guards armed with muskets. Scouts were dispatched every day to explore the roads. Sentinels were placed in suspected situations, as in a watch-tower. But what did all this avail? Those who were commanded to watch and to guard behaved as usual: danger was frequently the nearest when every thing was thought in the utmost security. They said their accustomed *Namaïraichene*, "we shall be safe," and when they felt drowsy, slept without care or apprehension. Thence it often happened that

whilst they ought to have watched for the public safety, unmindful even of their own, they were surprized and slaughtered by the Abipones. In the town of St. Iago, while the people were attending divine service, the Abipones came, and of the many hundred who were keeping watch, part they slew, and part they led into captivity, having, at the first onset, carried off some hundred horses. As numerous bloody incursions were repeated within sight of the same town, few days passed without fears, or alarming reports. The same fate befel Nuestra Señora de Fè for many years; on which account Juan Baptista Marquiseti, a man of our order, and curate of the place, surrounded it on all sides with ditches to keep out the savage horsemen, and supplied the Indians with a sufficient quantity of muskets: and his labours were amply repaid, for at length these tumults abated. Forty Indian soldiers sent from this town, and as many from the town of Sta. Rosa, to keep guard over their respective estates, perished on the fifth of February, a very few only escaping by the swiftness of their horses. On that day, alas! how great was the loss of horses and mules in both estates! Some thousands were driven away. In another place, a quantity of the herb of Paraguay, belonging to a Spanish merchant, was conveyed in many waggons from the town of Sta. Rosa to

the banks of the Parana, by Guaranies; to whom was given, as a superintendent and guard, a certain Spaniard, an active man, armed with seven excellent muskets; but without having time allowed him for loading any of them, he was surrounded by a troop of Abipones, and slain, with almost all the Indians, except two, and a crowd of horses and oxen. Fifty dead bodies were found lying on the field. I have thought proper to relate those slaughters which were most recently committed whilst I was in the country; for it would be endless to describe, individually, all which the Guaranies suffered in the space of so many years. The poor wretches, half dead at the remembrance of them, whenever they had an engagement with the Abipones, seemed to think more of undergoing death, than of inflicting it. This very fear of the Guaranies stimulated the Abipones to fresh pillaging, in proportion as it increased their confidence of victory; so that on an approaching fight, like the Spartans, they did not enquire how many the Guaranies were, but where. The terror of the Guaranies being perceived by the Royal Governour, some Spanish soldiers were hired, at his advice, and ordered to traverse the roads on horseback, for the security of their towns, to watch the march of the savages, and to repel them, or at

least apprise the inhabitants of their arrival. But the sagacity of the Abipones out-witted the vigilance of the Spanish horsemen, and their assaults were repeated with the same frequency as before, although with greater caution. In consequence therefore of the little benefit and great inconvenience which the towns derived from these guards, who were supported by them at a great expense, they were permitted to return home. But the savages were not always suffered to ravage with impunity. They not unfrequently atoned for the deaths of others by their own. Sometimes, as they were meditating an attack, they were discovered and repulsed. Sometimes they were overtaken in precipitate flight by the Guaranies, by whom they were very roughly handled, and obliged to relinquish their booty. The Guaranies might oftener have triumphed over the Abipones, would they have preserved their lives by keeping strict watch. Vigilance, as I have often observed, is the best armour against the savages. You will wonder, in reading this, that the Guaranies were such timid hares at home, when they are described by historians to have fought like lions in the royal camps, against the Portugueze, and even against the savages. They behaved nobly in the king's service, because they were governed by Spanish generals. At

home, when left to themselves, they did but little against the savages. They are swayed by the impulse of the moment, and consequently fulfil the duties neither of good soldiers, nor of good generals. They are indeed robust members, but they languish for want of a head. Even the best soldiers, without an able leader, must despair of victory, as the strongest ship, wanting a proper pilot and rudder, must give up all hopes of reaching port. The sword with which Scanderbeg slew thousands of Turks, wielded by a feeble hand, would scarcely wound the outermost skin of the enemy.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ABIPONES IN THE LANDS
BELONGING TO THE CITY OF CORRIENTES.

THE city Corrientes is situated towards the East, on the shore where the rivers Parana and Paraguay are united. I have mentioned this and many other remarkable circumstances respecting the city Corrientes, in the Introductory book. The Royal Vice-Governour of the city has some colonies of Spaniards and Indians under his authority, in an extensive and fertile territory; though he can scarcely raise three hundred colonists able to bear arms; who would be quite unequal to repulsing the savages, did not their military valour compensate for the want of numbers. For many years they have had to contend with the Payaguas, who practise piracy, with the Charruas, equestrian savages, and in Chaco towards the West, with the Abipones, Mocabios, Tobas, and Guaycurùs. The Abipones, called Yaaukanigas, roam over the opposite shore, being only separated from the city by the river Parana, which, however, proves no obstacle to their access; for though it is of a

great width, they easily swim across it, in the very sight of the city. Allured by this facility, it is incredible with what frequent incursions they ravaged the territories of Corrientes. It is true, that, in former times, they had for a short time maintained peace with that city, in order that they might there exchange the spoils collected from the other Spanish colonies, for necessary articles. These being their dispositions, they were kindly received in their frequent visits by the inhabitants, and even entertained as guests by the Vice-Governour. Of the number of the Abiponian guests was the Cacique Chilome, who, for some unknown cause, went privily, in the dead of the night, to the house of the Vice-Governour; which afforded the Spaniards occasion to suspect, that the savages were meditating to surprize the city, and that they were waiting for supplies on the opposite bank of the river to aid them in executing their project. This report being spread, all the people assembled. The Cacique and his companions were slain that night, by the terrified and tumultuous throng. This murder was the occasion of much bloodshed, and the beginning of a most furious war.

The Abipones, when informed of this deed of the Spaniards, exclaimed that Chilome was unjustly slain, swore to avenge so great an

injury, and did in effect employ all their strength, anger, and cunning in punishing the inhabitants of Corrientes, having called to their assistance the Mocobios and Tobas. The citizens passed few weeks without slaughters, not a day without alarms. Stricken with the fear of death, they grew weary of a life they knew not how to preserve, the calamity growing heavier day by day, inasmuch as fewer soldiers remained, numbers being slain in daily skirmishes with the enemy. The miserable remnant, struck with consternation at the fate of their comrades, became readier to fly the savages, than to put them to flight. The whole country was filled with perturbation and slaughter. The estates and settlements near the Parana frequently suffered from the fury and rapacity of the enemy. The little town of Sta. Lucia is about fifty leagues distant from the city, and inhabited by a few unwarlike Indians; in consequence of which it was incessantly molested by the savages. An Indian messenger came from that town and informed the Vice-Governour Ceballos, that the track of the Abiponian spies had been discovered there. Ceballos, to prevent all danger of a hostile inroad, sets off for that place with a troop of horse. When arrived at the spot called *Las Lagunas*, he receives letters from the curate

of Sta. Lucia, informing him that all things are safe and tranquil at present; upon which he begins to think of returning to the city. But at this conjuncture, a Spanish horseman, who had just escaped from captivity amongst the Abipones, arrives with news that on the neighbouring shore, and almost in sight, is the populous horde of the Cacique Ychamenrainkin, who had lately gone with his Abipones to plunder Cordoba; that none were left at home but the women and children, who were only guarded by a few old men; and that this numerous horde might be safely attacked, and easily taken. Ceballos thought that this opportunity of a successful enterprize was to be embraced with both hands, although many of the soldiers condemned his resolution, and even turned their backs. They said that a captive deserter was not a person to be rashly trusted; that they, who were few in number and in a hostile land, might perhaps be overwhelmed by a multitude of lurking savages; and that a victory bought at so great a risk was by no means desirable. But Ceballos, despising the murmurs of the soldiery, eagerly hastened the expedition, and ordered skiffs to be brought for passing the Parana, where it unites with the Paraguay. The fugitive acting as guide, in a few hours the vast company of

savages was discovered, and surrounded by the soldiers. The mothers were taken with their children, or cut to pieces whilst attempting flight, or struggling with the foe; there were many indeed, who eluded the Spaniards by cunning or swiftness, which was by no means difficult in those rugged roads. The booty consisted of numerous droves of horses, and various household utensils of silver, which the Abipones had formerly taken from the Spaniards. The soldiers, returning to the city with a vast crowd of captives, filled the inhabitants with joy and wonder. It is difficult to say the exact number of those who were taken, of every age and sex, but I think it amounted to several hundreds. The wife of the Cacique himself, and his little son Kieemkè, graced the triumph of the soldiers. Raachik, the grandson of the same Cacique, escaped by the way on his swift horse, through the negligence of the soldier appointed to guard him, and returned to his own country. Some of the captives were sent to the remoter towns of the Uruguay and Parana, that, being deprived of all hope of a return to their friends, they might be instructed in the Catholic faith amongst the Christian Guaranies.

The success of this expedition, though it ought to have obtained glory for its author,

Ceballos, served only to procure him the envy of his fellow-citizens, and, in the end, banishment. He was persecuted by the people of Corrientes to such a degree that he was obliged to quit the city, and sail with his family to the port of Sta. Fè. Do not confound this man with Pedro Ceballos, Governour of Buenos-Ayres, for no relationship exists between them, either of family or of country. After the departure of this excellent man from Corrientes, the affairs of the inhabitants grew daily more desperate. When Ychamenraikin understood, on his return from Cordoba, that so many women and children, together with his own wife and son, had been taken in his absence, he appeared quite frantic. Infuriated by the loss, and by his eager desire of vengeance, he called on all the nations of Chaco, whose friendship he could depend upon, to avenge this deed of the Spaniards. Hostile troops were seen traversing the plain as thick as locusts. The inhabitants were sought, and dragged from their safest retreats to suffer death or captivity. All the estates, villages, settlements, and roads were besprinkled with the blood of these wretches. I collect from the journals of that period, that seventy or more were killed in one day. Such numbers of dead bodies were carried in waggons from the country to

the city, that heaps of them were sometimes seen lying on each side of the parochial church, not single bodies in single graves, but all thrown together into one deep ditch. As in the remoter plains they could with difficulty find any to slay, they besieged the city with such a force, and so large an army, that for some days no one could depart from, or return to the city without danger of losing his life. Whilst guard was kept by day and by night, the faint-hearted crowd scarcely ever durst quit the churches, where they besought the forgiveness of offended Heaven, and the cessation of so heavy a calamity. The provisions already beginning to fail, and no hope of liberation appearing, their minds lost all courage, as their bodies all vigour. But at last the most merciful God seemed to favour the prayers of the supplicants; for on the eighth day of the siege the garrison made an eruption, which forced the Abipones to retreat to their encampments beyond the Parana.

After the short truce allowed them by the departure of the enemy, the people of Corrientes perceived that war was rekindling against them. Fresh violence was used by the troops of the Abipones towards the settlements and estates that were farthest from the city. Amongst them was a place called *Rincon de*

Luna, till then thought inaccessible to all assailants, because it was hemmed in on every side by deep and wide marshes and ditches, and the Spaniards were forced to approach it by means of a boat. The Abiponian horsemen swam across that sea. The place contained many thousands of cattle, and a sufficient number of Negro slaves to guard them, not one of whom escaped death or captivity, unless he concealed himself from the eyes of the savages. More than twenty youths were carried away, and a great number of the older men put to death. The churches were spoiled of the sacred utensils. Four large bells were taken away, and thrown into the water to prevent their being found. An incredible multitude of horses and mules were driven off: in a word, an estate inferior to none in opulence and security was, in the space of a few hours, brought to ruin. The same fate befel almost all the other estates of the Spaniards, which being now destitute of beef, and the fruits of the earth having been consumed long ago, they began to be at a loss for provisions. The scarcity of food daily increasing, they resolved to desert their native city, and passing through the river, to change their quarters, dreading death more than exile. Whilst the savages continued to lay waste the territories of Corri-

entes, neither the soldiers nor the captains were deficient in their duty. Bold incursions were repeated against them, and many movements and attacks made here and there. Spies were sent, day and night, to observe the motions of the enemy: but what Argus could watch men whose greatest care and dexterity were exerted to prevent themselves from being seen? The Spaniards frequently attacked the savages, but with various success; they were sometimes conquered, sometimes the conquerors. Ychoalay, the leader of the Abipones, was, in some skirmish, entangled by the soldiers in a noose used for catching horses, and would have been strangled had he not quickly extricated himself. But I firmly assert, that the cause of the fruitlessness of so many expeditions undertaken against the savages originated, not in the cowardice of the Spaniards, but in their boldness and intrepidity, blinded by which they were ignorant or insensible of the dangers which threatened them, and judged vigilance and swiftness unnecessary to their safety. The circumstance I am going to relate will be a proof of this. A company of Spanish horse was placed in a situation obnoxious to the enemy, as in an observatory. Whilst they ought to have taken a complete survey of all things in the open plain, they amused them-

selves with playing cards in the shade. Meantime a troop of Abipones suddenly appears, and carries away, before their eyes, the horses of the Spaniards, no one making any opposition. If thus they eluded them whilst awake and watching, was it a matter of much difficulty to slay and plunder them whilst asleep and without suspicion?

By the provident counsels of the elder Spaniards, estates and colonies of Indians had been placed on the higher shores of the Parana; that from them the enemies might be seen coming out of Chaco, and that the other remoter settlers might, by this means, be admonished of the approaching danger. The Parana, in these places, is often broken by little islands, which, affording resting-places to the horses when they are fatigued with swimming, offer the Abipones a very convenient passage. Hence, that all sudden assaults might be prevented by the neighbourhood of the settlers dwelling on the shore, Sta. Lucia, St. Iago Sanchez, Ohoma, and Ytati, four townlets of the Indians, were formerly built on the banks of the Parana, at intervals of some leagues. The Abipones, finding that these colonies stood in the way of their clandestine journeys to the interior parts of the province, resolved upon their destruction, and their endeavours proved by no means

fruitless. The town of St. Iago Sanchez was at length ruined. Whilst the able-bodied Indians were employed in cutting bulrushes, and a crowd of women, children, and old men were listening to the preacher, the town and church were suddenly besieged by the savages, and consumed by fire. Flight was impracticable: the priest and the whole congregation were burnt to ashes. The neighbouring townlet of Ohoma was annoyed by continual inroads, till the inhabitants, fearing lest it should undergo the same fate, deserted it of their own accord, and removed to safer places. Ytati was miserably ravaged by the Payaguas, Abipones, and Mocobios, but recovered when peace was made by the enemy; and is at this day rich in cattle, though not in inhabitants. The colony of Sta. Lucia was assaulted for many years, but never completely conquered, though the number of inhabitants was incredibly thinned. As the circumference of it is very inconsiderable, it is entirely surrounded by a slender wall, to which it owes its security, as I was assured by the curate of the place. This man had made use of two precautions for the defence of himself and his fellow-citizens; he placed a high chamber on the top of his house, whence he diligently watched the enemy advancing through the flat country. He kept

continually in readiness, moreover, a very small warlike machine, by the explosion of which, he both signified to his people, who were employed without the walls, that they should betake themselves home, as danger was nigh, and at the same time deterred the savages from approaching. Arriving at the town of St. Ferdinand, I was asked by one of the Abipones, which way I had come, and on my replying that I had passed through Sta. Lucia, "Alas!" said he, "that terrible Father lives there. He makes use of a huge musket; (alluding to the engine I have described.) Our horses could never support the thundering sound it emits, whilst we have laboured to approach it." Had he been candid, he would have added, that not the horses only, but also their riders, were often put to flight by the noise of that machine.

Whilst this little town of Sta. Lucia remained in security, the other towns and estates of the Spaniards were utterly ruined, being either sacked by the enemy, or deserted by the Spaniards through fear of the enemy. Therefore, whilst the country near the shore was entirely divested of the dwellings of the Christians, the Abipones crossed the Parana at their pleasure, and traversed the land, more like fixed inhabitants, than occasional visitors. The Spanish scouts sent from the city were generally eluded

by the savages, and frequently slain by them. But a troop of Spanish horse had remained for the defence of the estates situated near the rivers Sombrero, Sombrerillo, Peguahò, and Riachuelo, and of those nearer the city; they also served to guard the oxen brought from those estates to support the city. Wherever you set your foot in the surrounding fields, you may behold monuments of the cruelty of the savages;—here the remains of dilapidated buildings;—there, numerous crosses planted in the ground. If you enquire what those crosses mean, you will hear that thirty, forty or more bodies of miserable wretches, who were slain by the savages, were formerly buried there. They will show you, in another place, a field sadly noted by the blood and dead bodies of the Spaniards, who were slain in an unfortunate engagement with the savages.

Another misery was added to the calamities of the city, namely, the want of wood. The eastern shore of the Parana, which the city occupies, is not entirely deficient in trees, which afford wood for fuel, but none grow there supplying useful materials for building houses, ships, or waggons. The western shore, however, abounds in such trees; but this being the land of the Yaaukanigar Abipones, no Spaniard can approach it without endangering his

life. During the heat of the war, Father Joseph Gaete, of our College, who at that time managed the domestic affairs of the city, saw there was immediate occasion for a very long and firm plank, to prop a house which was almost ready to fall. To procure this with safety, he filled a ship fit to cross the river, with slaves, gave them a guard of soldiers, and accompanied them himself. But scarce had the trunk received a few blows from the axe, when the shouts of the Abipones were heard. The Negroes and soldiers, awaiting neither the arrival of the enemy, nor the Father's orders, left their tools, clothes, and food, flew to the ship, and entirely forgetting the plank which had been the object of their search, made for the opposite bank as fast as possible, flying "the cruel coasts and greedy shore"; their safe escape from which was reckoned amongst the blessings of their lives. From these accounts you may guess in what a condition the affairs of Corrientes then were. Upon the inhabitants of this city did the Abipones pour forth their most unrelenting persecutions, because they were the nearest and most hateful to them. Separated from the Corrientines by the river Parana alone, they easily reiterated their incursions, attracted to plunder by the short distance, and stimulated to revenge by

the ever fresh remembrance of the injuries they professed themselves to have received. The peace concluded with the Abipones in the year 1747, and the colonies founded for them, at length put an end to these long calamities. By these means, also, the savages in Chaco were appeased, or at least restrained, so that the Corrientines, after weathering this furious storm, began at last to recover from their sufferings.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE EXCURSIONS OF THE ABIPONES AGAINST THE
COLONIES OF ST. IAGO DEL ESTERO.

LONG after the other colonies throughout Paraguay had been struggling with the enemy, the country of St. Iago continued free from molestation and totally unacquainted with the Abipones, and their powers; for these savages had at that time discovered no way of approaching them; but at last the inhabitants themselves were their instructors. They were in the habit of going in troops out of their own country to the river Parana, for the purpose of hunting the numerous stags which frequent its banks. These hunters sometimes held familiar intercourse with the Abipones, and sometimes, abusing their friendship, carried away their horses. The savages, provoked by these injuries, pursued their footsteps when they departed, and in this way first began to obtain a knowledge of the province of St. Iago, and afterwards to disturb it with arms.

I have found all the Spaniards throughout Paraguay to be active, intrepid, endowed with a handsome form, great strength, and a noble

disposition, agile in swimming, and remarkable for skill in horsemanship ; but I fearlessly assert that the St. Iagans are better qualified than any of the rest to pursue the savages. Both themselves and their horses are extremely patient of labour, travelling, and inconveniences of every kind, and are satisfied with that food which is most easily procured. On sudden expeditions against the savages they make a composition of maize flour, preserved with honey or sugar : this, mixed with water, is all their provisions, as it allays both hunger and thirst ; and in travelling with them I did not find it unpleasant, especially when the weather was particularly hot, as it possesses an excellent property of cooling the body, and quenching the thirst. The soldiers use it to save time and labour, for neither wood nor fire are required to cook this flour. When they dismount from their horses to cross a lake or river, each man draws water for himself in a little horn cup suspended by a string, and drinks it mixed with this flour, which saves time, and enables them more conveniently to pursue the savages. The Spaniards of Cordoba, Buenos-Ayres, and Sta. Fè, when they took a journey on account of the Indians, used to drive before them whole droves of horses and oxen. Whilst a soldier of St. Iago, with but one horse, makes a jour-

ney of many days and even weeks, the former change their horses frequently in one day, and consume a great deal of time in catching and harnessing them. That fresh meat may be always in readiness, they kill oxen every day, so that much of their time is spent in cutting the flesh, roasting and eating it, and in seeking fuel for the fire to cook it with. It is no wonder therefore that the slowly pursuing Spaniards are almost always eluded by the savages who prosecute their flight without interruption, and that the soldiers of St. Iago are dreaded on account of their swiftness. Moreover the fires which the other Spaniards kindle on the way are to be condemned, because the smoke often betrays them to the Indians. When their flour is consumed, the soldiers of St. Iago support themselves by the wild animals which they hunt on the way. Few of them are furnished with muskets; their chief arms are spears, which, though not of the best quality, are more formidable to the savages than the fire-arms of others.

Another of their excellencies is a wonderful sagacity in exploring. None are quicker than they at discovering the hidden retreats of the savages, at finding any fugitive, whether it be man or beast, or at bringing back any thing stolen. This quickness at exploring enabled

them not only to discover the savages, but to intimidate and overcome them in time of war; for to discover the enemy, either whilst they are concealed in their secret retreats, or contemplating a surprize, is a great part of victory in America. This I learnt for certain, that the horsemen of St. Iago, on account of their swiftness, and singular skill in exploring, were more dreaded by the Abipones, and seldomer and more cautiously attacked than the other Spaniards. St. Iago itself, from being surrounded by lesser colonies, never suffered either danger or molestation from the savages. The whole neighbourhood enjoyed the same exemption; for a row of surrounding dwelling-houses, like little fortifications, forbade all access to the savages, or at least rendered it very dangerous. The storm of the war seems, for many years, to have fallen on the territories that are washed by the river Salado, and on those near Cordoba. The passage from Chaco to these places is easy, and the outskirts of provinces are everywhere more liable to the incursions of hostile nations. The Abipones frequently overran these territories for the sake of plunder. Many were slain in the fields and houses, some taken captive, and others robbed of their goods and cattle. How great were the sufferings of Moppa and Salabina, old townlets of the Indians, and the

neighbouring places! In Manumo many were killed on the same day. All the men being slain, a Mulatta woman snatched up a sword, and slew an Abipon, but she was soon killed herself by the rest. The journey from Sta. Fè to St. Iago was, at that time, most perilous. The ways were strewed with the dead bodies of the Spaniards. Miguel de Luna, who, though more remarkable for greatness of body than of mind, had been promoted to the rank of camp-master, was returning from the estates of Sta. Fè, accompanied by a great number of horses and oxen, which he had purchased. Whilst reclining at noon, under the shade of a tree, he was surprized by a company of Abipones and Mocobios. Of his companions some were employed in catching the horses which had been let loose to pasture, others in killing oxen. Some of the Spaniards were pierced by the spears of the Abipones in the first attack: the rest were saved by means of their horses' hoofs, leaving the cattle and baggage in the hands of the enemy. Tinko, a man famous for his knowledge of ways and tracks, caught hold of his master Miguel with both hands, and placing him like a bundle on the crupper of his horse, galloped away so quickly that Miguel had no time to seat himself in a proper position. The servant and his master were pursued

in their flight by a party of savages, who kept endeavouring to wound them with spears, but none durst approach for fear of the musket which hung suspended from Miguel's back, though this musket was in such a condition that the enemy had little occasion to fear it, nor could its owner expect it to yield a single spark of fire. Many years after, I saw this noble pair of fugitives, as well as that famous instrument of defence, at which I laughed heartily, for it was hardly worthy of the name of musket.

The same road which had been the scene of these events became always liable to the incursions of the savages, and proved fatal to many who journeyed there. Alarcon, Las Tres Cruces, La Viuda, Las Sepulturas, Don Gil, Doña Lorenza, and other places near the river Salado, are wont to inspire terror by recalling the memory of the numerous slaughters perpetrated there. Throughout these extensive tracts of land, estates once flourished opulent in cattle, which being laid waste by the savages, a mournful solitude, opportune for plunderers, had succeeded. Hence the road hanging over the river Salado was deserted by the St. Iagans, who, for the sake of security, thought proper to frequent another, named *El camino de los porongos*. But whilst they avoided Charybdis

they fell upon Scylla, for there the Abipones wandered in troops, bearing destruction to all they met. One Barassa, and three companions, as they were conveying merchandise on mules from the city of Sta. Fè, were cruelly murdered in the field called *Los monigotes*, whilst I was in Paraguay.

The slaughter of the Spaniards of St. Iago in the woods named Hierro, was much more desperate. To give you some idea of the extent of it, a little prefacing is necessary. To seek honey and wax in the woods, to purify and prepare it, and to sell it to others, is the principal and peculiar trade of the inhabitants of St. Iago. Slaves are sent for that purpose by the more opulent, with a director, to the remotest woods, where natural bee-hives are found in hollow trees. Cottages are built for the labourers of boughs and straw, where there is a field close by, and a good opportunity of getting water. They always keep a number of horses and mules; the former for the purpose of travelling and hunting, the latter for that of carrying burdens of provisions, wax, and honey. They are all extremely solicitous to have in readiness very swift horses, with which they daily sally forth to hunt wild animals, the flesh of which they use for food, and the skins for bags to hold the honey. Whilst the rest wander through the wood, their director

boils the wax collected the day before, and prepares food for his companions on their return. There is one place particularly abundant in honey; it is a hundred leagues from St. Iago, and is named Hierro.

This circumstance was well known to Oaherkaikin, the crafty leader of the Abipones, and thither he came to commit depredations with a faithful troop of followers, nor was he disappointed in his hopes; for he found a vast number of Spaniards in that place seeking honey. The most distinguished of these was Lisondo, than whom, the Commander-in-chief, Barreda, declared, he had not a braver nor more active soldier. One of the slaves, who had gone to a neighbouring ditch to draw water, spied an Abiponian horseman leaning upon his spear, and having his face painted with dark colours; upon which he called out *Amigo*, friend. This salutation being sternly rejected by the savage, the slave, greatly alarmed, told what he had seen to Lisondo, who, always intrepid, said he saw no immediate occasion for fear. Soon after, the bands of Abipones sprung forth from the various parts of the wood where they had concealed themselves, and slaying all they met, rushed into the cottage of Lisondo, who, armed with his axe and his presence of mind alone, broke the spears of four of the

assailants, but at last fell oppressed by numbers. He expired wounded in many places, having been first dragged out of doors by strong straps of leather, with which his hands and feet were bound. Lisondo being slain, the few who escaped the eyes and hands of the savages, saved their lives by flight. Three or four leapt on to the same horse, and beginning their journey without any provisions, the fugitives were threatened with fresh dangers of death. They had to travel at least fifty leagues, in a vast solitude, before they could reach the dwellings of men. Hence, wasted with hunger, thirst, and apprehension, they at length reached home, many of them on foot, and though they had escaped death, looked more dead than alive. Meanwhile, in the scene of so much bloodshed, a vast quantity of wax and honey, a number of excellent horses and mules, the large brazen caldrons for refining the wax, the axes and various other iron implements, and the wearing apparel, became the prey of the savages; whilst the owners at St. Iago bitterly deplored the deaths of the men, and the loss of their property. The Abipones who committed this slaughter were those who, till then, had refused to enter the colonies founded for their nation; but they soon after took refuge in them to avoid the vengeance of the Spaniards.

The Abipones raged with still more violence and pertinacity against those colonies which look towards the south, and are near the territories of Cordoba. Zumampa, Las Barrancas, and El Oratorio, for a long time witnessed the cruelty of the savages. A whole village was destroyed, while some of the inhabitants were slain, and others made captive, scarce one or two surviving. This country is intersected by a high road, through which waggons laden with Peruvian money frequently pass to Buenos-Ayres. The certainty of booty and great facility of committing depredations had attracted the Abipones to these parts of the province, to the great annoyance of merchants, who were thus necessitated either to lose their merchandise, or to bring soldiers at a great expense to defend the waggons and their drivers, who often lost their lives as they were endeavouring to defend the lives and properties of others.

These and many other things of this kind were committed by the Abipones against the inhabitants of St. Iago, who knew not that they had to deal with a people accustomed to leave nothing unrevenged. They frequently eluded the attempts of the enemy by vigilance, oftener warded them off by dint of brave exertions. They often returned slaughter for slaughter,

wounds for wounds. They had made such frequent inroads into Chacò, and so many successful invasions of the hordes of the savages, that the soldiers were scarce sufficient to guard the captives. I cannot commend the soldiers of St. Iago without launching out into the praise of their general, Barreda. Excuse me if I make some tribute to my love for this man, and appear somewhat prolix in what respects him but fear nothing in regard to veracity. Barreda is indeed my friend, but truth still more so.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE EXPEDITIONS OF FRANCISCO BARREDA, GENERAL OF THE ST. IAGANS, AGAINST THE ABIPONES AND MOCOBIOS.

ASTIGI, a city of Andalusia, was his native place. He was born of a most respectable family, and had been in the King's service from his earliest years. He set sail from Cadiz for Paraguay, while yet a youth, bearing letters from the King, in the office of naval secretary. This voyage is often performed in three or four months, with a favourable wind; Barreda and his companions, miserably tost about the ocean, scarce reached the port of Buenos-Ayres on the tenth. Having dispatched their business in that city, all things were put in readiness for returning to Europe, and they entered the vessel. But just as they were going to raise anchor, a furious south wind encountered the ship, turned it on its beam-ends, and would have sunk it, had it not been held by steady anchors. The crew remained the whole night on a sand bank, expecting death every moment. The shades of night increased their fears and their danger.

All must have perished, had not a boat arrived, at day-break, from the shore, which is three miles distant from the place where the ships lie at anchor. Barreda conceived such a horror of navigation, that, when his companions returned to Spain, he remained in Paraguay, reserved by the Almighty to repress the boldness of the savages, by whom he was more dreaded in his age, than the sea had been by him in his youth. He was removed from Buenos-Ayres to Salabina, a little town in the country of St. Iago, where his skill in writing rendered him very useful. He volunteered to accompany the soldiers in an incursion against the savages, and after having, in repeated campaigns, given signal proofs of wisdom and valour, was promoted first to command a troop of horse, afterwards to lead them against the savages, and lastly to be chief ruler, in the Governour's name, over the whole territory of the river Salado; in which station, he commended himself to the Royal Governour of Tucuman, by his many brave and noble actions, the chief of which was his prevailing upon the Vilelas to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. By means of his industrious efforts, ten thousand Vilelas quitted their lurking-holes in the woods, entered the new colonies, and received baptism. The small-pox, which broke out soon afterwards,

cut off greatest part of them, and the survivors settled first in the land of Cordoba, and afterwards in the territory of St. Iago, where, as they daily decreased more and more under other masters, they were committed to the care of the priests of our order.

Barreda pursued the Abipones and Mocobios, who continued hostile, with the rigour of arms, as he had conciliated the peaceful Vilelas by gentle measures. If he did not entirely repress their boldness, he certainly restrained and punished it with frequent discomfitures. The Royal Governour, desirous of rewarding his merit, conferred on him the supreme administration, in his name, of all affairs, civil and military, in all the colonies of St. Iago. How well he answered to the good opinion entertained of him, you may discover from the circumstance, that he held this office for thirty years, and never laid it down till his death, equally beloved by all good men, and dreaded by the savages. Many declared that they saw nothing to object to in him but his goodness, which almost appeared carried to an excess. In the punishment of criminals, he showed himself more lenient, than hasty or severe; for he used to say he would rather suffer ten guilty men to escape unpunished, than punish one innocent man. Whenever he pronounced sentence, as a

judge, he endeavoured to favour the Indian rather than the Spaniard, usually saying: *Hé de attender a la parte mas flaca*: I must defend the weaker side. He had a very gentle disposition, by which he conciliated all hearts; his person was handsome, and his body large and vigorous, so that it was easy to infer how great a soul inhabited it. In uprightness of conduct, in purity of mind, and in sincere piety, he excelled, or at any rate equalled all the civil and military commanders of his time. His love and reverence for the priesthood were very great. In the presence of hundreds of soldiers, and of my Abipones, he disdained not to honour my hand with a pious kiss; and to assist me as I was performing the sacred rites. He devoted himself entirely to promoting the advantage of the province committed to his care, so that he had no time to think of heaping up riches, which is commonly thought the chief business of Europeans in America. But though not very opulent, he was exceedingly liberal. In short, by the splendor of his virtues, and by his famous achievements against the savages, he obtained an immortal reputation, but at the same time excited the envy of cowards and sluggards; a fate which attends all eminent men, and is their constant inheritance. Noble actions however clearly refute the accusations of the envious. Barreda not only

attended thirty expeditions against the Abipones and Mocobios, but headed them all himself except three. The number of his victories, such victories as are gained in America, was the same as that of his expeditions. You would have thought that fortune waited on his footsteps. But he used to impute his success not to fortune, but to the favour of the Almighty, and to the activity and sagacity of his soldiers; as if he himself had contributed little or nothing to the prosperous event of the war. Yet it is allowed on all hands that the success of these expeditions was chiefly owing to the prudence, industry, and caution of Barreda. But he was not one of those generals, who, to speak in the words of Livy, enter a contest, relying more on their courage, than on their strength. The desire of fame or booty never induced him to hazard an attack, unless he thought the hope of victory greater than the likelihood of the most trifling slaughter. In order to judge of this he carefully marked the situation of places, the numbers of his adversaries, and the opportunities of the journey and of the road. A band of scouts was daily sent forward, to discover the ambuscades of the enemy, to examine their dwellings and their numbers, or to surprize them unawares. Barreda detested any slaughter of the savages, if attended by that of his own

soldiers. "Where I am present," he said, "every thing goes on well. But if," added he, "I were utterly to destroy all the savages in Chaco, at the expense of two soldiers only, verily, on my return to the city, I should expect to be saluted with mud and stones. The people are extremely desirous of the deaths of the savages, but expect their own soldiers to be immortal in every battle." As it had been clearly proved that Barreda was by no means rash in undertaking expeditions, the people of St. Iago with willing minds followed whithersoever he led, and under no leader did these excellent soldiers make more daring achievements.

I have already mentioned that the people of St. Iago possessed a singular skill at exploring, but that Landriel excelled in this respect is doubted by no one. Barreda made use of him for many years as the chief instrument of his victories; and by this penetrating discoverer of the savages he was accompanied wherever he went. Other Spaniards, too, out of the territories of St. Iago, took him for their guide whenever the savages were to be attacked or repelled. I will give you an account of a victory which Barreda gained chiefly by means of this man. As Landriel was on his way home from the woods, where he had been employed

in collecting wax and honey, he fell in with Barreda, who had just set off on an expedition against the Abipones, with many hundred horse. "Tarry here awhile," said Landriel to him. "Let me carry home the mules loaden with wax and honey, and to-morrow I will return provided with proper horses, and conduct you straight forward to the dwellings of the Abipones. I saw them myself very lately, and was compelled by hunger to slay some of their oxen." Landriel was joyfully beheld by them all as a propitious star, and not listened to without inspiring confidence of victory. He stood to his promise, and returning the next day, was the life of the party, and the eye and right hand of Barreda. In a few days, as he knew the Abiponian horde to be at no great distance, he stations the forces which were proceeding into Chaco, in a secure place, whilst he himself, with another soldier, goes to discover whether the Abipones continued in the same place where he had first seen them. In the evening, leaving his horse to the care of his companion, he hastens alone and on foot to the place where he had lately espied the dwellings of the savages, but finds that they had changed their quarters. He knew that close by was a lake, affording great convenience for a savage horde. Thither he steals, and perceives from

the number of fires that the Abipones, whom he sought, had settled there. Returning to the place where he had left his horse in the care of his companion, he finds that both were departed; for the soldier, imagining that Landriel must have been intercepted by the savages, from his staying so many hours, had consulted his own safety by flight. Barreda, and all the other soldiers, after vainly expecting Landriel's return for so long a time, began to entertain the same suspicions. They were not aware that Landriel had to return on foot, the same distance which he had gone on horseback. But when at length he returned safe, Barreda resumed his courage, and all the rest their hope of victory, especially when they understood that the retreat of the savages had been discovered.

The journey was now begun, forthwith, under Landriel's guidance; and when after many hours they had crossed a plain which was flooded to such a degree as to bear the appearance of a lake, the dwellings of the Abipones were seen, and instantly attacked. The very few men in the place could not stand the assault of the Spaniards, but preferred flight to combat. The Cacique who governed that horde, with most of the efficient men, were then absent: doubtless, had they been at home, the attack would not

have proved entirely bloodless. Some of the Indians, however, who were slower in their flight, were slain, and a train of women and children taken captive. Various silver utensils, the fruit of much plunder, many hundreds of horses, and numerous oxen, were the booty of the Spaniards. The day being nearly ended, the Spaniards passed the night in the same place; not sleeping, but watching, and all the captives, many hundreds in number, were guarded in the fold where the horses had formerly been kept.

Amongst the captives were some Spanish women, who had been formerly taken in war by the Abipones; one of these persuaded the soldiers to return by a different, and more convenient way than that by which they had come, and this proposal was eagerly embraced by the soldiers, whose clothes were still wet with the water of their yesterday's journey. Meantime the report of the incursion of the Spaniards provoked to the desire of vengeance all the Abipones who dwelt in the vicinity. Exasperated by the captivity of their wives and children, they fell upon the last company of the St. Iagans, but met with a brave repulse. Some of the soldiers, however, forgetful of the danger, were nearly slain by the savages, whilst at a distance from their companions. One of

them falling from his horse into a marshy place, would soon have been pierced with spears, had not Captain Gorosito succoured him by the intervention of a musket. The Indians, perceiving that their skirmishes had produced no effect, withdrew to their places of concealment, leaving the Spaniards to pursue their journey, without further molestation. Alaykin, ill enduring the loss of so many people and horses, began to think of establishing a peace with the inhabitants of St. Iago, and of requesting a colony for himself; both of which he obtained, by the intercession of Barreda. Numbers were slain, and about two hundred taken prisoners, in another excursion undertaken by Barreda against the Mocobios, most of whom, terrified by so much slaughter, took refuge in the town of St. Xavier, which had been founded in the territories of Sta. Fè, for the Caciques Aletin and Chitalin, and at that time contained about twenty families, but was wonderfully increased by the accession of those whom Barreda frightened into entering it, or freed from captivity and sent thither. I pass by many other expeditions of this kind which Barreda successfully conducted against the savages; some of them, however, I shall touch upon in treating of the affairs of Cordoba. Barreda always maintained that his assaults on

the savages would have caused less effusion of blood, had his soldiers, though excellent in every other respect, paid more obedience to his orders. You shall now hear the complaints he made against them.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF CERTAIN DEFECTS IN THE SOLDIERS OF ST. IAGO, OF THEIR COMPANIES, AND OF THE DEGREES OF MILITARY RANK AMONGST THEM.

THE soldiers of St. Iago were accused of three defects by their old general, Barreda. The first is, that in an assault, they neglect to surround the dwellings of the savages on every side, and thus give them an opportunity of escaping. They make the first attack in front, leaving a way to the wood, whither the enemy may take shelter. Experience has taught them that the Abipones and Mocabios fight desperately when straitened. They knew well that the province would be more disturbed by the deaths of two soldiers, than rejoiced at the slaughter of two hundred savages. Induced by these considerations, the soldiers of St. Iago, slighting the orders of their commander, attack the enemy on that part which they think least dangerous to themselves. Another subject of complaint to Barreda, was, that, though he commanded them to make the attack in silence, they still would rush on with shouts and senseless clamour. The third ob-

jection was, their greediness for booty. When an unarmed multitude of women and children were taken, whilst the men escaped, the soldiers, scattered up and down the plain, were eagerly seeking droves of horses, when they ought to have been employed in pursuing and slaughtering the fugitives, and in watching diligently, lest the savages should shake off dread, quit their lurking-holes, and again exhibit their faces in the field. Barreda himself, in an expedition against the Mocobios, ran great risk of losing his life; for as he remained in the plundered camp, with but one companion, the rest being employed in catching the enemy's horses in the plain, a Mocobio suddenly started up from under a mat, and before taking to flight, shot an arrow at his breast, which would have proved mortal, had he not been protected by his woollen garment: the man was immediately pierced with a musket ball. Who would not laugh at the paltry plunder of the enemy's camp? They search every corner, and collect jugs, pots, gourds, shells, skins of beasts, emus' feathers, in short whatever they can find, leaving nothing behind but the dust. With much care and trouble they carry home all sorts of trash, to be exhibited as trophies to their neighbours and to posterity.

Not one soldier receives any pay, through-

out the whole district of St. Iago. The colonists are all divided into companies, some of which consist of two hundred men, more or less. Each has its captain, lieutenant, ensign, (though that is a mere title, for they have no ensigns,) and corporals. It is the captain's duty to call out the soldiers to an excursion. The lieutenant's business is to guard the horses, both by day, when they are driven all together along the road, without riders, and by night, when they are grazing in the open plain. Many take long journeys on one horse, but the more opulent carry four, or even ten, and ride them by turns. The ensigns act in the place of the lieutenant, when he is absent, or resting. In each of the territories of the province, there is a master of the watch, called *Sargento Mayor*, who has the chief command both over the captains and their companies, and orders which are to go to war. This officer, sometimes from partiality, sometimes from being corrupted by bribes, suffers the richer people to remain at home, and forces the poorer, and generally the least able, to attend the militia. All condemn, but none dare to correct this abominable custom, the pernicious effects of which extend to the whole province. Barreda permitted nobody to be appointed for an expedition, who did not possess

at least four horses, and who had neither brothers nor grown-up sons at home, to manage his domestic affairs in his absence. During my stay there, the whole province of St. Iago contained eleven companies, which took their names from their captains. Beside these, there is a company of scouts, called *Batidores del campo*, containing fewer than the others, but those few of tried sagacity and courage. The chief and the champion of this company was Landriel, who, as a remuneration for his well-known merits, was declared camp-master by the Governour of Tucuman. But I should have been better pleased to have heard of his having been enriched with money, or a pension, than adorned with an empty title. According to report, his father was not of low birth, but his mother must have been an Indian, to judge from his features, speech, and complexion. He was born in a village of St. Iago. Reading and writing were the extent of his attainments. He was courteous and upright in his manners, endowed with a quick understanding, with singular prudence and piety, and robust, though middle-sized in stature. He always led a single life, to the best of my remembrance. I visited him on my return from the city, when he dwelt with his mother, in a miserable hut, not far from Soconcho, on the banks of the river Dulce,

and was grieved to witness the poverty of so famous a man. The Governour granted him the field Alarcòn, which extends many leagues, and is rich in woods, but being surrounded with a vast desert, and consequently liable to the incursions of the savages, cannot be cultivated with safety.

The last, and chief company, consists of the captains who have served out their time, and are called *Capitanes Reformados*. These attend the Vice-Governour, the Commander-in-chief in excursions, but are exempt from the other journeys and burdens of the war. To obtain this immunity, those who are more gifted with wealth than courage purchase the title of a reformed captain, though they never discharged the office either of captain or lieutenant. You can hardly imagine how ardently all the Americans, both Indians and Spaniards, sue for military dignities, and how much they are delighted with these honourable titles. Do they faint with hunger, thirst and wretchedness?—salute them with the title of captain, or master of the watch, and they will revive,—*in cælum, jussuris, ibunt*. There was an old Spaniard who knew how to make waggons, gates, and mill-wheels, and was, on this account, styled a mathematician by the ignorant vulgar, who doubtless accounted him superior to Archi-

medes. Barreda was in want of this man's assistance in constructing the gates and window-beams in the new colony of Concepcion; but being well aware that the old workman would never be persuaded to go to the country of the Abipones, being more attached to his own house than a tortoise to its shell, he made use of an honest stratagem to obtain his purpose, and immediately declared him a reformed captain. In a few days, Barreda gives out his intention of taking a journey to the colony. According to custom, two companies and all the reformed captains were called out, amongst whom, this most noble artificer, as he had lately been elected one of their number, could not refuse to go. Barreda jocosely told me the whole story, in the new town of Concepcion, and charged me always to salute the said workman with the high-sounding title of Captain, saying it would be an excellent method of stimulating him to exertion. I took the hint, and whenever I had occasion to visit the workshop, interspersed every sentence with *Señor Capitan*. "Very true," said he; "by the grace of God I am a captain; that can't be denied. But what of that?" And then he complained to me, that many did not know that this was the case. I immediately employed all my rhetorical powers in extolling the per-

fections of a reformed captain in general, and his own exceeding merit in particular; and in this panegyric I took care that every sentence should begin and end with, *Señor Capitan*. At my request, this mode of speech was adopted by Barreda and all the rest, which artifice succeeded so well, that the good old man made the gates, doors, and other necessaries, with all possible dispatch, though not in the most skilful manner: such was the potency of the unprofitable title of captain amongst them, which I have seen confirmed by another event of the same kind, that took place in the town of Concepcion.

Barreda ordered the soldiers to hedge round a very large field, to plough, and sow it with maize, melons, cotton, &c. and he himself laboured with his own hands, that the Abipones might not be ashamed of the plough. At the end of four days, being obliged to return to the city, he gave it in charge to one of the common soldiers, to get it properly ploughed and sowed during his absence, promising him, by way of reward, the title of reformed captain. Lured by so sweet a bait, the soldier exceeded Barreda's expectation, and almost went beyond himself. From the rising to the setting of the sun, he made the oxen fly with the plough, and himself and his companions overflow with sweat, caused by toiling under a burning sun;

careless of the heat, of food and sleep, he laboured with such ardour, that his task was finished sooner than could have been imagined. Barreda, on his departure, by sound of drum, proclaimed this strenuous ploughman a reformed captain, to the surrounding troop of horse. But you will laugh to hear how transitory is human greatness. In less than three days, this new captain lost his dignity, and the favour of him who conferred it. It is worth while to relate the cause of his disgrace, which will discover a shameful custom of the soldiers of St. Iago. When absent, they are possessed with an incredible desire of home. Those who are sent to the colonies of the Abipones pursue their journey thither very tardily, but return with amazing quickness. They fatigue their horses with hurrying day and night, as, though they may have no wounds to show, they wish to present themselves at home, alive and safe, as soon as possible. From this extreme desire of revisiting their friends, it often happens that the soldiers, whilst striving with each other in haste, desert their leader. Barreda, in the journey I mentioned, was offended to find so very few soldiers remaining in his company, and particularly at the absence of him whom he had named captain but a few days before. He sent a man forward to signify to

him that he was degraded from his rank. Grieved and surprized at this intelligence, he condemned his own haste, and almost wept for the loss of his title. Landriel became his counsellor, and advised him to fill the horns, which they used for jugs, with fresh water, to carry them to Barreda, and say that he had hastened to fetch cold water from the river Turugon, as none was to be got within many leagues. Barreda, parching with thirst, was so pleased with this civility, that, not perceiving the deceit, he restored to the good man the title of captain. I relate these unimportant circumstances to show you what a value the Spaniards set upon military titles. Hence, whenever you meet a Spaniard or half Spaniard in the country, if you wish to avoid giving offence, be sure not to accost him by his name or surname alone, but always add his title, if he have any. If he be of the very lowest condition, call him *Señor Cabo de esquadra*, or *Señor Sargento*. If you observe wrinkles in his forehead, grey hairs on his head, and shoes or boots on his feet, though his clothes be ever so shabby, you may have no hesitation in calling him captain: but if he have silver clasps to his bridle, brazen stirrups, (we generally use wooden ones,) spurs of silver, and a staff in his hand, be assured that he holds the title of *Sargento Mayor*, or

Maestre de Campo. In a noble city of Tucuman, where I resided for some time, all the richer sort of people are called camp-masters, and in fact they are so; for a knowledge of agriculture and the breeding of cattle is the sole means of maintenance and nobility to the inhabitants of that place. You would be thought a savage and fit to be hunted out of society, unless you made abundant use of these honourable appellations, which they seek with such ardor. A man of our order happened, on a journey, to fall in with a Spaniard in a place where four roads met, and, whilst considering which way he should take, repeatedly addressed his companion with the title of captain: till the man, thinking himself insulted, said, with a threatening look, “ Good Father, how long will you continue to make me angry? You must either be a stranger, or very ignorant, since you don’t know that I am a *Sargento Mayor* :” so much displeasure do they evince if their ears are not gratified with their proper appellations. But they are not ashamed to be saluted with titles which do not really belong to them. I saw Barreda writing letters to the Governour of Tucuman, in which he honoured him with the title of colonel, though he was only lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of infantry. I reminded Barreda of this

circumstance, thinking it must have slipped his memory. But he replied that he had written it purposely, not through forgetfulness: that I was unacquainted with the customs of America, where it is necessary to politeness, to add one degree, at least, to a title of dignity.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE ATROCITIES OF THE ABIPONES TOWARDS THE
PEOPLE OF CORDOBA.

CORDOBA, the principal city of Tucuman, a Bishop's see, contains an academy which was a few years back as famous as any in South America, and is extolled for its splendid edifices, and its opulent and honourable citizens. The ruler of Cordoba is not styled a Vice-Governor, but a Viceroy. The situation of the city, which is washed by the little river Pucarà, and surrounded by hills, is neither very pleasant, nor very healthy. The country on the side of Sta. Fè, and Buenos-Ayres, is a plain more than a hundred leagues in extent, of most fertile pasture-ground; but the part looking towards the kingdom of Chili, and the territories of St. Iago, is irregular, sometimes sinking into low vallies, sometimes rising into irriguous hills; where feed an infinite multitude of cattle, horses, mules, and sheep, in which the principal and almost only riches of the Cordobans consist. This part of Tucuman, except the city, enjoys a healthy temperature, and a cool breeze arising from the vicinity of the mountains of

Chili; the population is numerous, and the inhabitants frank, robust, and intelligent, but deserving of a better fortune in war. Larger woods of quince, pomegranate, orange and peach trees are no where to be seen: there are also figs, nuts, and other fruits peculiar to America.

The land of Cordoba might be esteemed fortunate, had the inhabitants ever been allowed to rest from the incursions of the Pampas, Abipones, and Mocobios. If, as I have related, the rest of Paraguay was often disturbed by the inroads of the Abipones, the Cordobans were so tormented by their perpetual hostilities, that neither place nor season was free from fear and anxiety. Not only the remote and solitary estates, but even the immediate vicinity of the city was so confidently attacked by the Abipones, you would have thought that women only dwelt there, or that all the inhabitants were asleep. This extensive province always possessed sufficient numbers, and sufficient strength to repel the Abipones; the only things needed were courage and proper leaders, who by their example might animate the people to the defence of their country, direct the forces it contained to some advantage, and make use of the strength that really existed: for certainly

in no part of Paraguay were there to be found more expeditious horses and horsemen than here; not to mention the agility, and skill which the latter possessed in other respects, their height, singular strength, activity, and abundance of armour: for their superior opulence enables them, more easily than the other Spaniards, to obtain the necessary instruments of war. Oh! that the people of Cordoba would learn to know themselves, and their own strength! that they would shake off their innate dread of the savages, whom they could easily vanquish, would they but summon up courage to make the attempt! The Abipones, conscious that they were dreaded by the Cordobans, insolently reiterated their assaults, and generally with impunity. The high-way leading to Peru, and to the cities of Buenos-Ayres and Sta. Fè, was seldom free from carnage and robberies, never from danger: insomuch that travellers always either suffered or apprehended murder from the savages. There was no such thing as security. Neither the summits of the highest hills, nor the deepest recesses of the forests afforded any defence. The Abipones examined all places, like hounds, and seldom returned empty-handed. On St Joseph's day, before dawn, a vast troop of Abipones, under their leader Alaykin, burst into the estate of Sinsa-

cate, which is about ten leagues distant from the city. This place was then administered by the secular priest Carranza. A great number of people, who had assembled the day before from the neighbouring estates, intending to be present at divine service in the church of Jesus and Mary, were there at that time. The savages either slew, or carried into captivity all they saw. The number of captives, Spaniards and Indians, was five and twenty: many more were slain, and the rest saved themselves by flight; every thing was plundered, and the mules and horses which filled the neighbouring fields, driven away. The estate was saved by the lofty walls of the church Jesus Maria, though it suffered a great loss of cattle. The soldiers of Cordoba, moved by the dreadful report, at last arrived from the city, that, though unable to restore life to the dead, they might at least procure the liberty of the crowd of captives. They pursued the fugitive Abipones for some time, till their further progress was stopped by a vast lake, which, though crossed by the Indians without hesitation, seemed to the Cordobans an ocean impassable on horseback, and requiring the assistance of a boat; so that they were obliged to retire out of sight of the enemy. The people of Cordoba, notwithstanding that they excel in point of horsemanship, are little

qualified to pursue the savages, from their inability to swim; the cause of this deficiency is that most of them live in a place where swimming is not customary, or where there is no opportunity for practising it. There is a place, between Cordoba and St. Iago, called Rio Seco. Scattered here and there in little vallies between the hills are great numbers of well-peopled estates, and cattle of every description. In this place is a large, elegant stone church, which owes its celebrity to an image of the Virgin Mary, and whither numbers flock from all parts, as it has been distinguished by the favour of Heaven and the gifts of the pious. The Abipones had informed themselves of this circumstance from their Spanish captives. The opulence of the place afforded them great hopes of a rich booty. Having diligently examined every thing through their spies, they resolved to occupy the narrow straits of the rocks, and block up all the ways, to deprive the Spaniards of the means of flight. They either slew, or made captive, all they found in the neighbouring fields, and in the houses, without opposition: the whole country was devastated. An immense number of horses and mules were taken by the savages. The church itself was forced, while affording shelter to those who survived the massacre, and had fled thither for refuge.

They broke open the door with an axe, though it was secured with bolts and plates of iron. These sacrilegious thieves carried away the sacred silver utensils, the bells of the tower, and even the image of the holy mother, with that of St. Joseph; and when they had murdered all the inhabitants, and plundered all their possessions, they departed laden with spoils, and the heads of the slain. But it so fell out by divine dispensation, that Barreda was just then meditating an excursion against the savages, at no great distance, and upon receiving information of this outrage of the Abipones, immediately flew thither with his followers. After pursuing the fugitives for a long time, day and night, he learned that they had separated into two companies and gone different ways. The height of his wishes was to rescue out of the hands of the savages the image of the divine mother, and though he hesitated a little which way to take, yet, by God's grace, he finally chose that which led to the party in possession of the holy image. Proceeding for some time with all speed, he at last surprizes the Abipones, sitting unsuspectingly on the ground while their horses were feeding in the pastures. The approach of the St. Iagan soldiers being perceived, the infantry threw themselves into an adjacent wood. The Spaniards instantly flew to the baggage which

the savages had relinquished, and joyfully discovered amongst the rest the image of the Virgin. The enemy's horses were collected and their saddles burnt. The wood was, for some time, surrounded on all sides by the soldiers; but at length, the Abipones showed such obstinacy in their lurking-holes, and the horses were so weakened by three days' hunger and fatigue, that Barreda began to think of retreating. Nothing was ever heard of the image of St. Joseph, but most likely it was thrown into some deep marsh. This hostile aggression upon Rio Seco induced the Cordobans to surround that church with high stone walls, strengthened with four towers, that it might no longer be exposed to the injuries of the savages, and that, like the other colonists, they might defend themselves in those fortlets, on any impending danger.

The Abipones penetrated also into the valley of Calamuchita, which, though inclosed by rocks, is rich in herds, at the instigation of a Negro slave, who, being offended by his master, chose to satiate his desire of vengeance by the hands of the savages, since he could not by his own. Much blood was shed there, and every thing plundered that came to hand. At Zumampa and the neighbouring places, slaughter and rapine were almost daily committed. The parish of St. Miguel in Rio Verde was depopulated by

continual assaults. Those territories, especially, by which the Rio Segundo flows, were not only infested by the Abipones, but chosen by them as places of abode, where they laid in wait for travellers to Sta. Fè, or Buenos-Ayres. The place called Cruz alta afforded great opportunities for pillaging. The terror excited by the slaughters committed there increased every day. On account of the magnitude of the danger, the waggons for conveying merchandise could never pass to and fro, except in large companies. The men appointed to defend the caravans, being generally of the very lowest order, unfurnished with muskets, armed with spears alone, and moreover entirely destitute both of courage and vigilance, were every one slain. The Abipones seized the merchandise and the droves of horses and oxen, and burnt the waggons to ashes. These tragic events happened very frequently, and were most ruinous to traders. One, which is of more recent occurrence, I shall relate, and pass by the rest. Five and twenty Cordoban waggons bound to Sta. Fè were attacked by the Abipones, on their second day's journey, a few leagues from the city. The drivers and guards were all killed whilst sleeping, as usual, at mid-day, in the plains, (except one who was feeding the oxen on horseback.) Amongst

the number of the slain was Father Diego Herrera, a Jesuit, destined for the towns of the Guaranies; he was only deprived of his clothes in the first attack, but lost his life in the second. A rosary, a square hat, and a habit were carried away by the savages as trophies, and the prayer-books scattered about the plain. Kebachichi, the leader of that expedition, wore the slain priest's robe and square hat at all public drinking parties, in commemoration of the bloody deed. This man, who some years after resided in the town of St. Jeronymo, when upon a visit to us in the colony of Concepcion, requested my companion to give him a hat, and on being refused, said to the Father in a threatening tone, "Dare you deny me a hat? Don't you know that I am a slayer of Fathers?" The Vice-Governor of Sta. Fè, to avenge those who had suffered the loss either of their lives or their properties, marched with some of his companies into Chaco; but the event did him little honour. He met with a horde of Abipones, but they falsely declared themselves innocent of the slaughters that had been committed. Meantime the arrival of the Spaniards being spread throughout the neighbourhood, more and more companies of Abipones assembled, and at last raised such a numerous army, that the Vice-Governor thought it more advisable to treat the

Abipones with biscuit and other gifts as friends, than to assault them with balls and gunpowder as enemies; which cowardice in their general filled the soldiers with indignation. Fearing a dangerous return, he hastened toward the city, the Abipones pressing behind with equal speed. The soldiers themselves condemned this retreat; for impunity and the inactivity of some of the Spaniards renders the savages more and more bold in their attempts; yet they are astounded if any one summons up a little courage to oppose their assaults, and presents a musket in a threatening manner. This was found by Galarza, Viceroy of Cordoba, who, in returning from Buenos-Ayres with some waggons, encountered Kebachichi and a troop of Abipones. Galarza, seeing the enemy at hand, leapt from his horse, that he might more conveniently make use of his musket. But whilst he was hastily tucking up his travelling-dress that it might not retard him in using his arms, his horse took fright and ran away, and being furnished with precious trappings, and with pistols, was stopped by an Abipon. But none of them dared approach the enemy's waggons, because they were defended by Galarza, who was armed with a musket. The enemy were deterred from plundering the waggons, and slaying the attendants, by Galarza's presence of mind, and by the

sight of this musket, which was nevertheless incapable of doing any harm. But he could not prevent the oxen and horses, which were at a distance from the waggons, from being carried off. The neighbouring fortification of Mazangani seems to have deterred these two and twenty Abipones from attempting any thing further. Whenever I heard this fortification spoken of, I figured to myself a place fortified with ditches, trenches, walls, mounds, artillery and a garrison. But how was I deceived! In travelling from Buenos-Ayres to Cordoba, I perceived Mazangani to be a square area, scarce fifty feet in diameter, and hedged round with trunks, and thorny boughs of trees. At the side of it stands a miserable hut covered with straw, and built of sticks and mud, inhabited by a poor wretched man who there exercises the several functions of Governor, garrison, and watchman; for he ascends a high tree placed in the middle of the court to discover if any savages are to be seen in the surrounding plain. In order to deter them from approaching, and at the same time to apprise the neighbourhood of their arrival, he fires a cannon. This is a faithful description of that terrible fortress. Yet those who reached it thought themselves, as it were, in port. From this you may judge how little was necessary to repel those heroic

savages. But rendered daily bolder by frequent experiments, they learnt at last to despise these little fortresses: for by casting fire with their arrows they easily burnt the hedges, the cottages, and the defenders of them. Hence the Spaniards, for the preservation of their safety, erected little stone or brick fortresses in various places, and strengthened them with warlike machines.

The plain called El Tio, which lies between Sta. Fè and Cordoba, is uninhabited for almost thirty leagues, and consequently dangerous to travellers; for not only the desert, but also a long wood which crosses the plain ground from North to South, affords the Abipones an opportunity of pillaging and making surprizes, especially at El Pozzo Redondo; for after a great deal of dry weather, in this vast plain not a drop of water is to be found, nor a bit of wood to make a fire with; but both are supplied by the lake called El Pozzo Redondo, which is near a wood. To travellers, therefore, who have crossed the plain and are parching with thirst, nothing is more desirable than this lake, and at the same time nothing is more formidable, since they cannot reach it without risking their lives; for in this place the Mocobios and Abipones lie in wait for the Spaniards, whom they know to be in the habit of travelling

by it. I have twice taken a journey to El Pozzo Redondo, accompanied by four Spaniards. The first time we were in great trepidation from the memory of slaughters recently committed there; on the second we had nothing but inconvenience to endure, a two years' drought having entirely dried up the lake. We and all our horses must have perished with thirst, had not a great quantity of rain fallen that night, accompanied with thunder. To increase the general consternation, our guide told us that a certain Spaniard, in the service of the Royal Governor, who had attended many campaigns in Europe, formerly passed a night in this place. To the affirmations of the Paraguayrian soldiers who accompanied him, that this place was dangerous from being liable to the insidious attacks of the Abipones, he boastingly replied, that those American pillagers were more worthy of derision than of dread. But the Abipones assailing them the next day, he was so terrified at their yells and their very aspect, that he suffered every indignity to which cowards are liable. The savages carried off the horses, and whatever else pleased their fancies. The European hero owed his life to his Paraguayrian companions, and learnt to fear what he had thought a jest the day before. But during the latter years of my residence in Paraguay, the plain

of El Tio was placed in security. Fortifications were erected in two places, where a company of soldiers keeps continual watch, and daily reconnoitres those parts whence the approach of the savages is apprehended. Ever since Alvarez, master of the horse, was preferred to the command of these guards, great restraint has been put upon the licence of the savages, who before left nothing untouched, nothing unattempted. I myself have witnessed what universal dread they excited, when we sixty Europeans, accompanied by some Spanish natives, performed a journey of one hundred and forty leagues, from the port of Buenos-Ayres, where we had landed a little before, to Cordoba. Our company consisted of about a hundred waggons, each drawn by four oxen, but the number was doubled when they had to cross marshes: the driver goads them on with a long pole, armed with a spike, and a horseman generally goes before to show the way. These heavy waggons are supported by two huge wheels, and have an arch at the top covered with a hide, that the rain may run off them. The sides are sometimes enclosed with boards, sometimes with mats, and have the appearance of a basket. No iron is employed in any part of them. In the hind part where the door is, there is a ladder to ascend

by; in front there is a window. Each waggon is generally occupied by one person, sometimes by two, and serves for house, bed, and dining-room; for in the midst is placed a mattress, on which you are conveyed along, with a jolting that, for the two or three first days, produces vomiting, like sea-sickness. Most of the journey is performed in the night, for the oxen cannot long bear the heat of the sun in the daytime. Six pair of oxen are assigned to each waggon, that they may relieve one another in the labour. To watch and feed so great a number of cattle, many guards are necessary, each of which have need of many horses. Neither they nor the drivers, nor the men who ride before the waggons, are supplied with any other food except beef, which is also the daily fare of the travellers in the waggons; so that a great many oxen are consumed every day to satisfy so many hungry stomachs. From this you may judge how great must be the number of men and beasts, when a hundred, or more frequently two hundred, waggons of this kind, travel a hundred and forty leagues of desert land together; and, good heavens! what a noise they make! for the wheels are never greased; they even catch fire sometimes by the continual friction of the wooden axle, and wrap the waggon itself in flames. Excepting a few

estates and cottages in the neighbourhood of Buenos-Ayres and Cordoba, you find nothing but a plain, void of inhabitants, buildings, trees, rivers, or hills, but abounding in horses, wild asses, emus, does, skunks (zorrinos,) and tigers. Fuel and fresh water are forced to be carried for the daily consumption of the travellers. We were often obliged to drink the muddy rain water which remains in the ditches, though the very beasts, unless parching with thirst, would have refused it. This immense wilderness which we had entered daily threatened us with fresh difficulties and fresh dangers, greater than any we had experienced in a three months' voyage on the ocean. Scarce a day or night passed without tidings of the Spanish scouts having seen the footsteps of the savages, or heard their whistles or pipes; in consequence of which, most of the waggons were daily placed in the form of a circle, for their mutual defence, and furnished with spears and muskets. But whenever the Spaniards recollected how many former travellers had fallen into the hands of the Indians, in these parts, they thought the very rustling of the grass a harbinger of the approach of the Abipones, and whilst the veteran natives of Paraguay were thus alarmed at shadows, they inspired us novices in America with continual

dread. Our fears, however, proved groundless, for none of the savages presented themselves to our sight; a circumstance which we attributed to the special favour of God, since that part of the country had for many years been the theatre of rapine and slaughter.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE FRUITLESS EXCURSIONS OF THE CORDOBANS
AGAINST THE ABIPONES.

WHAT! you exclaim, did the minds of the Cordobans at last grow callous to so much slaughter?—Were they so tame as never to think of revenge?—Did Cordoba want men, or arms, or strength? In neither of these requisites was that flourishing city deficient. The Cordobans have always in readiness twelve thousand men fit to bear arms. Cordoba abounds in swift and strong horses. The bodies of the inhabitants are strong and vigorous, and their minds filled with the desire of military glory; they might not only put the Abipones to flight, but reduce the whole province of Chaco: in short, they might do every thing against the savages, did not the vain fear with which they are possessed make them despair of doing any thing. Whilst depressed by the recollection of the slaughters they had suffered, they thought victory must always attend the Abipones; they dared attempt nothing against them, and were thus forsaken by fortune, which usually favours the brave. I will here

describe some expeditions of the Cordobans, the issue of which was always either unfortunate or ridiculous.

The Abipones laid waste the territories of Rio Segundo, and some Cordoban forces were sent out to repress them. The enemy was overtaken in the open plain. On one side stood the Spaniards, on the other the Abipones, in battle-array. They threatened one another for a long time, but no one had courage to begin the attack, till at last an Abipon leapt from his horse, approached the ranks of the Spaniards, and challenged one of them to single combat. Many of the soldiers would have been willing enough to engage with this bold one, but the leader of the expedition forbade them to stir hand or foot, under pain of death; perceiving which, the Abipones slowly departed, each his own way, leaving the Spaniards to themselves. The Cordoban captains acted in the same way on other occasions, and by thus betraying their own fear, rendered the savages still bolder in their projects. To pacify the minds of the people, endless expeditions were undertaken against Chaco, but all unsuccessful. There were many causes for this. These delicate warriors always drove before them a vast number of horses and oxen, consequently the journey was retarded by the multitude of

beasts. The number of captains was too great in proportion to that of soldiers; there were too many to give commands and too few to execute them. Besides laden mules, they carried a good many waggons for conveying provisions, which are always sure to impede a journey. Moreover, the Commander-in-chief made use of a chariot for show. I myself saw a place in Chaco where that chariot and all the waggons were burnt by the Cordobans, when, surrounded by pools and marshes, they could neither go back nor forwards. Doubtless the ways which led to the retreats of the savages in Chaco, were dangerous to the Indians themselves. The nature of the soil is such, that after a long cessation of rain, it grows as dry as a flint, and denies even the little birds wherewith to drink; but if the showers be frequent, you will not find an inch of dry ground to walk or lie down upon. As the plain is varied neither by fountains, hills, nor stones, but runs out into a vast extent of even ground, covered with turf, when deluged with rain it presents the appearance of a lake. At other times the road is intercepted by marshes and overflowing rivers, which occasion delay, even if the soldiers can overcome them by swimming; but if this be not the case, they are entirely prevented from proceeding, being unprovided with bridges or

skiffs. The place of these is supplied, as I have said, by the pelota; but, as those vessels are capable of holding but one man at once, much time will be consumed whilst four hundred soldiers are transported, in this manner, to the opposite shore; and likewise so much noise must necessarily be made during the process, that the enemy, apprized of their arrival, will either take to speedy flight, or rush on the Spaniards whilst unprepared and separated from one another by the river. If, therefore, you would know the chief reason why the Spaniards so often returned ingloriously home from Chaco, without even obtaining a sight of the savages, it was that they could not swim.

Of this I had a most creditable witness in Landriel, who sometimes acted as guide to the Cordobans in their expeditions into Chaco; and under whose conduct they arrived, after many days' journey, at the eastern shore of the river Malabrigo, on the opposite side of which the Abipones Riikahes were accustomed to pitch their tents. It was a difficult matter to discover their lurking-holes, to attack which was the object of the expedition; the whole plain being deluged with water to such a degree that no traces of either man or beast could be found there. The only things that appeared above the surface of the water were some large

ant-hills, from one of which Landriel perceived that a honeycomb had been lately taken. This circumstance led him to conjecture that the Abipones must be somewhere near, and after much search he discovered a large horde of them, which might have been attacked, conquered, plundered, and destroyed on the same day, had Landriel brought soldiers of St. Iago, Corrientes, or Sta. Fè, all excellent swimmers, instead of Cordobans who are ignorant of that art; for as they drew nigh to the hostile horde, it was necessary to cross the river Malabrigo, which, being at that time greatly overflowed, would neither suffer a bridge, nor allow of being forded. The soldiers might all have been transported to the opposite shore on a hide, but they foresaw that a passage of this kind could not be effected in less than a day, whatever haste were employed. Meantime the Abipones, roused by the noise of the Spaniards, or by the neighing of their horses alone, would have placed their families in safety, and undoubtedly attacked and routed the Cordobans, who were never formidable to them, and would be still less so at that time, when their forces were divided by the river. After discussing these matters, they concluded that it was most advisable to hasten their return, which they did, falling, rather than marching; for the way had been

rendered slippery from the inundation, and dangerous on account of the deep holes underneath the water. Numberless multitudes of wild oxen had formerly filled the plain, and the bulls by tearing the ground with their horns, as is usual with them when enraged, had occasioned those numerous holes: which are the more dangerous to horsemen because when covered with water they cannot be seen: many of them are one cubit deep, and equally wide. If any of the Cordobans slipped into one of these holes, his comrades all followed him, and fell in too, and when Landriel advised them to turn their horses a little to the right or the left, for the sake of avoiding the ditch where their companion had fallen, they seldom attended to his admonitions, saying, "It is true we saw our fellow-soldier fall in there, but we also saw him get safely out again. If we go another way we shall perhaps fall into a deeper ditch, whence we may not rise without injury." These holes are properly called by the Spaniards *pozcos*, or wells, because they receive the rain-water, and preserve it a long time for the use of travellers, when the plains and woods are parched by a dry season. From what I have related you may collect, that the expeditions of the Cordobans into Chaco, so far from subduing and overawing the savages, served only to con-

firm them in their disposition to plunder; indeed they became more unrestrained in their attacks upon the colonists of Cordoba, in proportion as they became more fully convinced of the imbecility of the Cordoban soldiers, whom they believed incapable of returning injury for injury, slaughter for slaughter, and deterred from venturing into Chaco by the difficulties of the journey thither. To ensure the safety of the merchants, soldiers were at last hired to keep guard continually over those places. The tax laid on the herb of Paraguay, which is conveyed in waggons into Peru, was the chief source of the money for paying the soldiers. But this provision, though it thoroughly drained the purses of the merchants, did not much lessen the boldness or frequency of these robberies, the savages sometimes craftily deceiving this little band of soldiers, sometimes intimidating it with superior numbers. It is true that when most part of the Mocabios and Abipones were settled by us in the colonies, the province, delivered from so many enemies, began to breathe once more. The remainder of both nations, who still wandered without these colonies, though they disturbed and laid waste the country of Sta. Fè and Asumpcion, hardly ever attempted any hostilities against the territories of Cordoba; which tranquillity they owed to

Alvarez, captain at Rio Segundo, and to Benavides commander at Rio Seco. As soon as those brave men took upon themselves the direction of military affairs the Cordobans became bolder, and the Abipones more timid in their attacks, especially after one of them had been taken in the plain by a Cordoban soldier, and the formidable Pachiekè, son of the Cacique Alaykin, slain. When we returned to Europe, almost all the Abipones deserted the colonies we had founded and taken care of. Weary of the peace and friendship which had been established between them and the Spaniards, they resumed their arms, with what success is best known to those who had to contend with the savages, enraged and distracted at our departure. I have shown how formidable and destructive the savage tribe of Abipones was to the whole province, and how little the arms of the Spaniards availed to check and restrain them. What fruit we had of our endeavours in subduing and reclaiming them is yet to be related.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE FREQUENT ENDEAVOURS OF THE JESUITS IN
REDUCING THE ABIPONES TO OBEDIENCE UNDER THE
KING OF SPAIN AND CONVERTING THEM TO THE
CATHOLIC RELIGION.

AMONGST those who in the last century interested themselves in the conversion of the Abipones, Father Juan Pastòr, a Spaniard, merits the first place. Long celebrated for his apostolical missions to the Indians, he was made master of the college at St. Iago del Estero, when he conceived the project of visiting the Abipones, and, if he found them tractable, of instructing them in Christianity. They were then dwelling above a hundred and sixty leagues from the city of St. Iago. The difficulty and ruggedness of the roads were almost greater than you can conceive; but the perseverance of this intrepid man overcame every thing. He chose for his companion Father Gaspar Cerqueira, a native of Paraguay, who understood the Tonocotè language, which is used by many nations, and was of much service to him in this great expedition. After crossing a vast wilderness of nearly a hundred leagues, they

turned aside for a while amongst the Matarà Indians, who, though they had all received baptism, and were governed in one colony by a secular priest, had little more than the name of Christians. Bárzana and Añasco, priests of our order, and before them St. Solano, had certainly not been useless amongst them; but the lapse of time had entirely eradicated from their minds whatever they had learnt of Christianity. Drunkenness was daily practised amongst them. The rites which they yearly celebrated to the souls of the departed were moistened with drink, more than with tears. Maize, ground by the teeth of old women, and fermented in water, served them for wine. Each was ordered to bring with him an emu, to furnish out the funeral table. After feasting three days they devoted one hour to weeping and lamentations, and then wiped away their tears and returned to their cups and dainties. When heated with liquor, they frequently polluted these anniversaries with quarrels, strife, wounds, and mutual slaughter.

Their pious guests Pastòr and Cerqueira spared no pains to obliterate the memory of so great an impiety committed by a people who called themselves Christians. They never ceased day or night to admonish them of their duty: and their private conversations and public sermons

in the church effected so much that many, after confession, sincerely promised amendment. I have seen a few remnants of this nation which are still surviving in a wretched little town called Matarà, on the banks of the Salado. In former times they were in subjection to some private individuals, Spaniards of St. Iago, and, though once numerous, fell away by degrees. After some days' stay, the Fathers pursued their journey to the Abipones, accompanied by the curate of the place and the principal Caciques, with a company of soldiers, who hoped, by means of the Fathers, to regain the friendship of the Abipones, between whom and their nation an ancient and bloody feud existed. The Fathers had certainly much need of their company. Sixty leagues of the journey still remained, through an unknown country, full of woods, lakes, and marshes. Had they not had the Mataràs for guides and protectors, they could neither have safely undertaken such a journey, nor prudently proceeded to the business they came upon. They were obliged to creep for a long time through trackless woods, and at every step to struggle with briars, which generally proved a bloody contest. To assuage the burning thirst occasioned by extreme heat and bodily fatigue, they could meet with nothing but stinking water out of pools and

ditches, which offended their nostrils to such a degree that the poor creatures almost thought thirst preferable. They could not turn their eyes without perceiving traces of tigers, nor move a step without meeting swarms of gnats and other insects: insomuch that the stings of the one, and the apprehension of the other, prevented them from resting at night, though sore fatigued in the day-time. Issuing from the woods into the open plain, they found themselves surrounded by continuous marshes occasioned by the inundations of the river Bermejo, which, deserting its channel, spreads to the extent of five leagues. A vast plain, white with waters, presented itself to their eyes. By the number of difficulties you may judge how great must have been the courage of the Fathers, who not only endured them unrepiningly themselves, but by their example inspired patience into their Indian companions. Vanquished by none of the asperities of the way they all persevered in their journey, till they reached the territories of the Abipones.

When two leagues distant from their stations, fearing that the Abipones would take them for enemies, they halted awhile in that place, attended with guards, whose flight was more apprehended by the Fathers than an attack from the Abipones; for they well knew that the

Mataràs trembled at the very name of these savages, and were half dead with fear at the idea of being so near them. The eloquence of the Fathers was scarce sufficient to do away their fears. To ascertain that all was safe, it was intrusted to Father Cerqueira to go forward with two companions, and endeavour to find out some method of presenting himself to the Abipones and entering their hordes, without being suspected of hostile intentions. The Father had scarcely gone a league when he met a troop of two hundred Abipones, who had been apprized, by their emissaries, of the arrival of foreigners. Approaching them, of his own accord, he spoke to the savages in the Tonocotè language, which many of the Abipones, at that time, were acquainted with. "You are greatly mistaken," said he, "if you imagine that I am alarmed at seeing you, which is the very thing that I most desire. After crossing immense wildernesses, and struggling through an hundred dangers for your sake, I am here at last. Do not take me for an enemy, nor cherish unkindly feelings towards me. Behold I come unarmed to teach you the way to happiness. If you have your own welfare at heart, do not reject the Author of it in me, but rather look upon me as a friend, and as the messenger of the great Creator of all things."

The savages, satisfied by this harangue, exchanged threats for welcomes, and emulated one another in showing civilities to him whom at first they had surrounded with arms. The Father took advantage of this happy disposition in his favour, and informed them that another Father, of the same mind as himself, remained a short way behind with a few companions, and that he was coming laden with scissars, hooks, needles, and glass-beads, with which he intended liberally to remunerate those who would listen to the law of God. The Cacique of the neighbouring horde, instigated by the expectation of these trifling gifts, commanded his son, with a proper attendance, to bring Father Pastòr speedily to him. On his approach he was received in the neighbouring horde with public marks of rejoicing, and a festive percussion of the lips, and accosted by the name of the Great Father. After explaining the reasons of his coming, he distributed amongst those present, the pins, and other gifts above-mentioned. Food was then produced, which the guests, in spite of their hunger, would gladly have been excused from tasting; for it consisted of stinking fish, with no other sauce than the good-will of the givers. But the Fathers, that they might not appear to despise this savage delicacy, forced them-

selves to taste some of it, though against their stomachs. The next day, Father Pastòr, planting a cross in the ground, dedicated that land to Christ, and performed divine service in a tent, at the conclusion of which, he led round the Abipones, in the manner of supplicants, and taught them to kneel before the cross. The savages behaved wonderfully well on this occasion, listening with attentive ears and minds to the preacher whilst he explained to them the reasons of his coming, and the heads of the holy religion. Caliguila, then chief Cacique of that nation, greatly approved of their words, and conducted both Fathers, with much honour, to his horde on the opposite shore of the Bermejo. There they were received with joyful acclamations, and eagerly attended to, whilst they endeavoured to instruct the savages in the Christian faith, and to instil into their minds a sense of religion. The report of their arrival spreading throughout the neighbourhood, the concourse of strangers increased every day. Caliguila permitted our religion to be promulgated amongst his people. He publicly declared that the Fathers were at liberty to build a little church, to baptize infants, and to instruct them in the ordinances of Christianity; with this condition, that the young men were not to be detained before and after

noon in long prayers and ceremonies, lest inactivity and sedentary habits should damp their martial ardour, and lessen their dexterity in the use of arms. But the Fathers denied that this alacrity and military knowledge were destroyed by the exercises of piety, and this they proved by the example of the Spanish youth. Caliguila, however, besought the Fathers in the name of the rest, that they would allow the boys always to carry a bow and arrows, even during divine service, that they might never run the risk of being endangered by a sudden attack from the enemy whilst unprovided with arms. This proposal they willingly acceded to, as it contained nothing repugnant to the laws of Christianity. But the Fathers had occasion repeatedly to warn the savages, who still savoured of their ancient superstitions, from the performance of their old rites of sepulture and divination.

The conditions on both sides being accepted, the cross which they had made of a lofty palm tree, was erected in that place with many reverential ceremonies. The Abipones were instructed in the heads of religion, in daily assemblies, all their savage customs and notions extirpated, and persons of every age fortified against the artifices of the jugglers. Father Pastòr, seeing an aged female of this profession on the point of

death, vainly endeavoured to administer baptism to her. The obstinate old woman withstood the earnest exhortations of the father, whether he promised her the eternal joys of Heaven, or threatened her with torments from the evil spirit. She replied, with a laugh, that she had little occasion to fear the evil demon, with whom she had been familiar so many years. But others of better understanding began to believe what the Fathers told them, and openly to distrust the arts and words of the jugglers. To sum up all, by continual perseverance they wrought so much, that in a few weeks, they joyfully beheld something like Christianity beginning to flourish amongst these savages.

Father Cerqueira returning to the Mataràs, Juan Pastòr redoubled his efforts. Though enfeebled by age, and with strength by no means athletic, he built a little hut of sticks and straw, and plastered it over with mud. In a short time, he wrote out with much labour, an epitome of the Abiponian tongue; of this vocabulary, when I was there, nothing but the memory remained. But alas! these flourishing hopes of the improvement of the Abipones were all destroyed by an unexpected messenger, who called Juan Pastòr home on urgent business. Nor was there at that time

any one to supply his place, so great was the scarcity of priests of our order. Father Lozano, in his History of Chaco, says, that Pastor was sent to Europe to treat of the affairs of the province in the courts of Rome and Madrid, and that he had collected out of various countries, and intended to bring into Paraguay, the number of Jesuits necessary for the settling of so many savages. But just as he was going to set sail with his apostolical supplies, he received letters from the Royal Senate, at Madrid, prohibiting him from carrying any foreigners into Paraguay. In consequence of which he was obliged to send back the other priests into their native countries, and with a very few Spaniards, for the most part young men, and according to our established rule, unfit to be ordained for many years, sailed to Paraguay, still labouring under the want of priests for so great a number of colonies. This decree of the rulers of Madrid, excluding all foreign priests from Paraguay, was certainly extremely disadvantageous to the Spaniards themselves. For if those German, Italian, and Flemish Jesuits had arrived in Paraguay, doubtless, by their labours, the Abipones, Tobas, and Mocabios would have been induced to submit to the authority of the King of Spain, and to receive the Catholic religion; whilst, left for

nearly a century in their savage state, they over-ran the whole province with hostile, and generally victorious arms.

But when, from her decreased population, Spain could no longer supply priests sufficient for the vast provinces of America, the court of Madrid not only invited foreign Jesuits whom they had formerly excluded from Paraguay, but even had them carried thither at the expense of the government, and to the great advantage of the monarchy. It would be endless to mention, individually, all the Italians, Flemings, and Germans, who, for many years, have rendered signal service to the Spanish monarchy, and the Christian religion, in Paraguay and the other provinces of Spanish America, in our times. This honour has sometimes been envied to foreigners, but never denied them.

CHAPTER XII.

A COLONY FOUNDED FOR THE MOCOBIOS AFTERWARDS
THE OCCASION OF ABIPONIAN COLONIES.

THE Spaniards, weakened by daily slaughters, were extremely desirous of procuring a peace with the savages, whom, for so many years, they had proved unable to vanquish by arms. Instructed by the experience of other nations, they were persuaded that the friendship of the Abipones and Mocabios could never be either obtained, or preserved, unless these people surrendered themselves to our instructions in civilization and religion. And nothing was more desired by the Jesuits, than the discovery of some means whereby the savages might be induced to inhabit the colonies founded for them. The Royal Governors of cities were liberal in their offers of assistance; but they seldom, or in a very limited manner, fulfilled their promises. Satisfied when the Abipones were driven by our means, into a new town, and kept from plunder, they left the care of feeding and clothing them entirely to us. They thought it a mighty performance to build a few huts of wood and mud in a new colony, to serve as chapels

and dwelling-houses for us and the Indians. These being completed in a day or two, by the hasty labours of the soldiers, they sent high-flown letters both to the Viceroy of Peru, and the court of Madrid, in which they declared themselves the founders of a new town, and the conquerors of a savage nation. But if those worthy Governors were really solicitous for the safety of the province committed to their care, and the firm establishment of the Indians whom they had delivered to our instructions, they should have made a point of furnishing every new colony with herds of oxen and flocks of sheep, with axes and other agricultural instruments, lest the savage inhabitants, from want of meat for daily consumption, of wool for weaving garments, and of ploughs for daily use, should be obliged to subsist by plunder or hunting, to wander without the colony, return to their native woods, and, destitute of all necessaries, to declare, that they looked upon war as more to their advantage than such a peace. But of this subject I shall treat more fully in another place. The city of Sta. Fè formerly cultivated, more than any of the rest, the friendship of the Abipones and Mocabios, some troops of whom, on the strength of a peace established between them, stationed themselves in the plains adjacent to the city, and were permitted to enter the

market-place for the purpose either of buying what they needed, or of disposing of what they had taken from the other Spaniards, with whom they were still at variance. They frequently visited our college. By daily intercourse with the Spaniards their ferocity gradually disappeared, and Aletin and Chitalin, chief Caciques of the Mocobios, were rendered so tractable by the presents and conversation of the Jesuits, that they refused not to be instructed in the holy religion along with their people. The Spaniards and Jesuits thought they should be well repaid for their labours, could they but induce a nation so formidable for numbers and military valour, to submit to God and the King. A colony was founded by Father Francisco Burges Navarro, a few leagues from the city, and distinguished by the name of St. Xavier. At first it only contained twenty families, but received such accessions from multitudes of fresh comers, that it increased beyond the expectation of all. As they were but a few in the beginning, the Fathers, by the liberality of the Spanish, but still more of the Guarany towns, were enabled so fully to satisfy, not only the necessities, but even the desires of the savages, that, deserting their predatory habits, they all rejoiced in their fortune, and instigated their countrymen, who dwelt more towards the North, to embrace

the same kind of life. The other Mocobios without the colony of St. Xavier, who, scorning the example of their countrymen, still continued to rove up and down their own territories, received a complete overthrow from Barreda, a few being slain, and about two hundred taken prisoners. Those who survived this slaughter, fled for fear, to the colony of St. Xavier, whither, likewise, the excellent Barreda afterwards sent many of his captives.

The colony, as it increased in the number of its inhabitants, made great progress in religious knowledge. Affairs assumed an extremely favourable aspect, much more so than, from the ferocity of the savages, could a short while before have been expected. Their native customs were exterminated; whatever savoured of barbarism and superstition was abolished, and succeeded by virtues of every kind. Persons of all ages received religious instruction and baptism, whenever they proved themselves worthy of it. They were as obedient in performing whatever was enjoined them, as docile in believing whatever they heard. Accustomed to spears and arrows, they nevertheless accounted it a pleasure to handle the plough and the axe, and to employ themselves in tilling the fields and in building houses. Two schools were opened, in the one of which children learnt

the arts of reading and writing, and in the other were instructed in music, and taught to play upon the musical instruments used in churches. One of their masters was Father Florian Pauke, a Silesian, by whose instructions many were rendered musicians and singers, and formed an agreeable addition to divine service. This being known throughout the province, the Mocobian musicians were invited to the cities of Buenos-Ayres and Sta. Fè, where they chaunted mass and vespers, accompanied by a full band of instruments. The sweet symphony excited the admiration of all the Spaniards, and even drew tears from many of them, when they thought of the terror which, a few years before, the parents of the young musicians had inspired them with, whenever their savage trumpets and loud shouts were heard in repeated assaults.

I have no sort of doubt, that both the commencement and progress of the fresh colony, under God, were chiefly owing to the exertions and good example of Aletin and Chitalin. The former, who was remarkable for the gentleness of his disposition and for natural probity, never neglected any thing conducive to the improvement of his people. He was always the first to attend divine service in the morning, and the holy institutions for teaching Christianity at mid-day. Standing by the little chapel with

a brazen bell in his hand, he called to the performance of their religious duties, those very people, whom he had formerly animated by sound of trumpet to slaughter the Spaniards. If any violation of integrity came under his notice, he either immediately corrected it himself, or requested one of the Fathers, to do so, whom he always honoured with the promptest obedience, and manifested the utmost alacrity in serving. In this alone he claimed pre-eminence above the rest, that, though the eldest of them all, he ever laboured the most both at home and abroad. Chitalin, who was more illustrious amongst his own countrymen for high birth and military fame, possessed such acuteness of intellect as occasioned Father Bonenti, the companion of Father Burges, to say we had the greatest reason to thank God, that this Indian Chitalin was devoid of book learning: for were this not the case, he of himself would be sufficient to deceive all mankind. But though of a very lively temper, in the prime of his years, arrogant, and proud of military fame, he submitted to the divine law and the will of the Fathers, and by so doing induced many to amend their conduct. Inconceivable is the importance attached to the examples of the Caciques by the Indians. The adage that the character of the king determines that of his

people, is no where more true than in America. The third Cacique of St. Xavier, who received the name of Domingo at his baptism, though younger than the two former, was superior to them both. Many years after the rest had entered the colony, he, with a troop of horse, spread terror and desolation throughout the land of Cordoba. Incensed at his countrymen on account of the peace they had established with the Spaniards, he long persecuted their town with the utmost virulence, and when the opportunity for slaughter was wanting, carried off droves of horses from the pastures of the city. Father Burges daily besought the Almighty to convert this mischievous man to a better course of life; his prayers were at length heard, and entering the colony, Domingo exceeded the rest in usefulness and good conduct as much as he had previously done in ferocity and the disposition to mischief. Some years afterwards, he obtained the captain's staff, as a reward of his merits, from Pedro Ceballos, Governor of Buenos-Ayres.

The example, authority and vigilance of such Caciques, caused this town, so lately composed of a barbarous and blood-thirsty rabble, to become a seminary of Christian piety. The strict observance of the marriage ceremony, the remarkable modesty of the youth of both sexes,

their prompt obedience, industry, and concord, together with the extreme good-will they manifested towards the priests, excited the admiration of the Spaniards, who had not yet quite forgotten their ancient barbarism. They desired baptism both for themselves, and for their children, as soon as they were born, though formerly, by an error common to all savages, they had considered it mortally dangerous. In the three last days of Lent, after hearing of the agonies of our Saviour, they all felt an eager desire to inflict tortures on themselves. Many cruelly lacerated their bodies, others carried crosses, like supplicants, as they had formerly seen practised by the Spanish penitents in the city of Sta. Fè. Nor could the young lads be restrained from following the example of their elders. Knotted leathern thongs supplied the place of scourges; and when crosses were wanting, they took yokes of oxen, axle-trees of waggons, heavy beams, or any timber at hand, to be applied to the purpose of making them. They seemed to take amazing pleasure in mangling their flesh. One of them, seeing the backs of his companions streaming with blood, cried, "See! how we are changed by the teaching of the Fathers! how unlike we are grown both to our former selves, and to our ancestors! Accustomed from boyhood to

shed the blood of others, we now voluntarily shed our own, and most justly. It is right that we punish ourselves for the numerous droves of horses that we have plundered, and slaughters that we have committed." According to the custom of the equestrian savages, the Mocobian mothers used fequently to kill their own offspring. By the extermination of this cruelty in mothers, together with the abolition of polygamy and divorce, the colony was enriched by a numerous progeny, though often diminished by the ravages of the small-pox. Father Francisco Burges, the founder, and for many years the Governor of this colony, was succeeded, or assisted by Miguel Zea, Joseph Cardiel, Joseph Garzia, Bonenti, Manuel Canelas, Joseph Brigniel, Joseph Lehmann, Pedro Pol, and Florian Pauke my successor when I was removed to the Abipones; from whose labours another colony of Christian Mocobios, distinguished by the name of Pedro and Pablo, took its rise. Over this colony presided the Cacique Amokin, who till that time had terribly infested the territories of the Spaniards with his Mocobios. You may have heard of a colony of Mocobios of the name of St. Xavier, situated near the city Esteco in Tucuman, in the last century, and it appears not foreign to my purpose to relate the origin,

state, and ruin of it, in this place. A great sedition was stirred up in Tucuman, at that time, by the Indians, and the Spaniards employed all their forces to repress the tumult. The city Esteco seemed doomed to destruction, unless the continual hostilities of the Mocobios were put a stop to. Alfonzo Mercado, Governor of Tucuman, thinking that peace might be more easily obtained without war, sent two Jesuits to pacify the Mocobios, and these legates were able to obtain, by fair words, what those who sent them could never have extorted by the sword. The savages promised peace, and maintained it, whilst Mercado was Governor of Tucuman, but receiving information that he had been succeeded by Angelo de Paredo, they renewed their hostilities. The Governor, to avenge the slaughters they had already committed, and to prevent them from attempting fresh, armed all the forces of the Spaniards, and of the tame Indians, and after twice entering Chaco, took and slew some companies of Mocobios. Although this expedition proved so fortunate, it by no means tended to establish the tranquillity of the province: for the survivors, though less numerous yet with redoubled spirit and courage, dared every thing against the victorious Spaniards, the memory of the slaughter they had suffered exasperating their

desire of vengeance, and supplying the place of numbers. Angelo de Paredo, therefore, softened by experience, adopted gentler methods to tranquillize the minds of the Mocobios. By gifts and conciliatory measures, he at length effected so much, that some companies of them, laying aside all enmity, settled in the neighbourhood of Esteco, and bore the appearance of a colony, which went by the name of St. Xavier. And as true religion is a strengthener of peace, and a certain instrument of good works, great pains were taken to induce them to embrace the Catholic religion. Father Diego Altamirano, a Jesuit, descended from a noble Spanish family, together with Father Bartolome Diaz, a native of Paraguay and well skilled in the languages of the Indians, were chosen to instruct these savages, but not permitted to reside amongst them by the provident Governor, who, fearing the ferocity of their disciples, wished to ensure the lives of the missionaries. On this account, they passed the night at Esteco; so that they were obliged to ride eight leagues every day in going and returning; as that city was four leagues distant from the settlements of the savages. Until a chapel could be built there, a very large cross was erected, near which the law of God was daily expounded. The Fathers spared no pains to civilize this

nation, but the character which they gained for singular patience was the only reward of their labours: for the Governor, who looked for the harvest, almost before the sowing was finished, destroyed the colony under various pretexts. The Mocobios who inhabited it, together with the other savages whom he had taken in his last expedition into Chaco, he distributed amongst the Tucuman cities in the service of the Spaniards; by which liberality he secured the goodwill of the people, and remunerated them for their assistance in the excursions undertaken against Chaco; but the savage tribes, thus torn from their native soil, conceived new hatred of the Spanish name, and have persisted to this very day in revenging the injury done them by the Governor, continuing ever hostile, ever mischievous to the whole province.

It cannot be doubted but that this colony was planted by the Governor in a most inauspicious season; for at the very time that he committed the Mocobios to the religious instructions of the Fathers, he persecuted their countrymen in Chaco with the utmost bitterness; nor was the situation of the colony approved by prudent persons. The city Esteco, which was a few years after destroyed by an earthquake, abounded in public vices proportionable to its wealth and power. The neighbouring Mocobios, who

were more powerfully impelled to vice by the example of the licentious and intemperate, than to virtue by the exhortations of the Fathers, thought themselves justified in doing what they saw practised openly and with impunity by the Christian inhabitants of the city. This, amongst others, was the principal reason why the town of St. Xavier, founded in our times, was removed to thirty leagues distance from the city of Sta. Fè, that examples of wickedness, which are never wanting in the most virtuous cities, might not meet the eyes of the Mocobios. The Fathers were obliged to be extremely careful in preventing their Indian disciples from associating promiscuously with other Christians, in many of whom they would discover vices, and impurities which they themselves were utterly ignorant of, or regarded with execration: for Spaniards are not the sole inhabitants of Paraguay; a mixed breed of Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians, are commonly to be seen there. Persons of good character, and respectable family, are never denied access to our colonies; on the contrary, they are well received by us, and permitted to lodge in our houses, sit at our tables, and survey any part of the town at their pleasure. But it was ordered by royal enactments that none of the dregs of society should gain admittance into the Indian towns, such being

the very men most calculated to pervert or delude the stupid Indians. To keep the town clear of these nuisances, no care and vigilance on the part of the Fathers could be deemed superfluous. Fellows of this description, though perhaps devoid of any evil intent in their coming, seldom depart without the commission of mischief: for they either cajole the Indians out of their clothes, and other property, or corrupt them by indecent jokes and actions, or, as is frequently the case, steal and carry home young men, marriageable girls, and even married women, to serve as domestic slaves, and often for worse purposes. Within two years seventy boys and girls were carried into captivity from the town of St. Stanislaus. The Bishop and Governor, when informed by me of the fact, threatened the raptors with I know not what; but vain was anger without strength, in a province where holy prelates had formerly been cast down by the seditious citizens, and Governors confined in chains and a prison.

The Abipones, on account of their old friendship with the Mocobios, were hospitably received and liberally treated in their visits to the town of St. Xavier. Pleased with the gifts and conversation of the Fathers, they at length began to approve that kind of life which the Mocobios had adopted. Kebachin, a man of

high reputation amongst the Abipones, promised to induce his fellow-hordestmen to request colonies for themselves, of the Spaniards. Debayakaikin, chief of the Abiponian Caciques, at length desired to live under our discipline, in the territories of Sta. Fè; but when the Governor of that city pointed out the banks of the river Salado, to build the new colony upon, the Abipones disapproved of that situation, and a business of so much import was consequently suspended: for Ychoalay, who possessed much more penetration than the rest, said that the Spaniards had pitched upon that situation with a design of rendering the Abipones subservient to their will, as they had done with regard to the remainder of the Calchacuis in Carcarañal. The dread of slavery disconcerted these useful measures, to the great disadvantage both of the Spaniards, and of themselves. By what means the whole Abiponian nation was settled in four colonies, remains to be circumstantially related.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FIRST COLONY OF ST. JERONYMO, FOUNDED FOR THE
ABIPONES RIIKAHÉS.

CORDOBA, impatient of war, and now no longer able to contend with her calamities, was eager to behold the Abipones appeased and reconciled. The instrument of attaining this desirable object was Father Diego Horbegozo, a Biscayan. He strongly urged the Abipones who frequented Sta. Fè, and the Vice-Governor Francisco de Vera Muxica, the latter to build, and the former to accept of a colony; and his wishes were gratified in both points. Ychamenraikin, chief Cacique of the Riikahés, besides promising peace to all the Spaniards, agreed to resign himself and his people to the care of the Jesuits, on this condition, that the youth alone should be taught the elements of religion, but that older persons should by no means be compelled to study them. The Vice-Governor readily subscribed to this condition, because he flattered himself that the efforts of the Fathers would induce all ages, indiscriminately, to attend to the truth; and also because he was of opinion, that peace,

by which the public tranquillity, and the lives and fortunes of so many mortals were preserved, should be accepted without hesitation on whatever condition it were offered.

The situation of the colony was wisely left to the choice of the Abipones, who pitched upon the northern shore of the river Rey. This place, which is seventy leagues north of Sta. Fè, forms the centre of that territory which these people claim as their own. Here you behold a plain, about two hundred leagues in extent, abounding in good pasture, in wood for fuel and carpenter's work, and in vast numbers of wild animals. The soil is excellent and suitable to seed of every kind. Not a stone nor even a pebble can be met with here, nor any springs, so that the water of this place, being solely procured from the adjacent ditches, is seldom sweet, never clear. Nearly all the smaller rivers within sight are composed of muddy, bitter water, so salt, as to be refused by the very beasts, but which sweetens when increased by violent or continual rains. The same is the case with the Rio Rey, the principal river of the vicinity, which, in dry weather, becomes so shallow that travellers may cross it on foot, but is often swelled to such a degree by the inundations of the Parana, and by unusually heavy rains, that, overflowing its

banks, it spreads far and wide, and assumes the appearance of a lake. When the waters recede, they leave a muddy marsh in every part, so that a foot of land can hardly be found, on which you can stand with safety. The Abipones, ever distrusting the friendship of the Spaniards, chose this place to prevent the possibility of being treacherously attacked by them; and they thought that the difficulty of the journey, by keeping off the Spaniards, would prove a guard to themselves. But some years after, when their minds were softened, and their suspicions of Spanish perfidy laid aside, they requested to have this town removed from the northern to the southern shore, where it was placed on a large and pleasant hill. So far concerning the site of this colony. Let us now proceed to other particulars.

Affairs being settled in the city of Sta. Fè, the head of the college, Diego Horbegozo, took a journey to the hordes of the Abipones, for the double purpose of gaining the good-will of the whole nation, and of observing the nature of the place where the town was to be situated. Having informed himself of the intentions of the Abipones, he returned to the city, and procured the sacred utensils for the priests, instruments for agriculture and house-building,

and above all, the cattle necessary for the support of the Indians. But those very people, who had promised mountains of gold to avert from their throats the knives of the Abipones, were niggardly, and slow in fulfilling their engagements. The care not only of instructing, but likewise of supporting the Indians, as in other cases, fell solely upon the Fathers, who had perpetually to struggle with the want of all necessaries. For the assistance their prayers extorted from the royal treasury never equalled the necessities of the colony, and the expectations of the savages. Two Jesuits were appointed to take care of the town: Joseph Cardiel, a native of Castile, a man of the greatest intrepidity, and a missionary of various nations; to whom was given as a companion another Castilian, Francisco Navalon, a man of the gentlest disposition, and well fitted for economical cares, so that he rendered infinite services to this town for twenty years.

In the year 1748, the Vice-Governor of Sta. Fè, with two Fathers, and a troop of soldiers, went to the place designed for the colony. A small chapel, a little hut for the Fathers, and another for the chief Cacique, were hastily constructed by the soldiers, of wood and mud, and covered with hay. A heavy shower coming on, it seemed to have rained harder in the

apartment of the Fathers, than out of doors; indeed the fabric altogether was such as no labourer or herdsman in Europe would deign to inhabit. The Abipones, assembled in this place, made use of their mats for tents, till, polished by some years' discipline, they constructed rather handsomer edifices, for sacred purposes, for the Fathers, and for themselves. Yet how languidly would these fabrics have been conducted, had they not been aided by the advice and even the personal labour of the Fathers! The court-yard of our house was surrounded with stakes, to guard against the incursions of our savage enemies, and to serve as a place of refuge for the women and children, whilst the men were fighting out of doors. The Abipones Riikahés, under Neruigini and Ychoalay, their chief commanders, constituted this first colony, which scarce consisted of three hundred people. The Caciques Naarè and Kachirikin settled here likewise, with their numerous Yaaukanigas, whilst the people of Corrientes were building them the town of St. Ferdinand. After some months Lichirain, and then Ychilimin, and Kebachichi, came with their people to the newly built colony, and subsequently more and more flocked thither. The greater number were attracted by the desire of novelty, rather than of religion. The

expectation of trifling presents, the beef which was every day gratuitously distributed, and security, were magnets which drew numbers to the colony. By observation, the town of St. Jeronymo is situated in the $28^{\circ} 50'$ lat. and the $317^{\circ} 40'$ long.

Father Joseph Cardiel being removed to the Mocobios, his place was filled by Father Joseph Brigniel, who had spent eleven years in the Guarany towns, and presided four years over the college at Corrientes. His companion for two years in the town of St. Jeronymo, and his pupil in the Abiponian tongue, I ever beheld in him the utmost industry and good nature, united with equal sanctity of life. He seemed created purposely to suit the tempers of the Abipones, who fly a supercilious person, and are won by easy manners. I told you before of his labours in investigating the nature of the Abiponian tongue, and in writing a vocabulary, grammar, catechism, sermons, &c. You shall now hear how much all the Paraguayan towns were indebted to him. In order that the benefit of the peace granted by the Abipones to the city of Sta. Fè might be extended to all Paraguay, he contrived to have the chief Caciques of the whole nation convened in the town of St. Jeronymo. Each of the Caciques was accompanied by a chosen

troop of his own horse, figures terrible to behold. Whether the peace faithfully offered by all the Spaniards should be accepted, and whether peace should be granted unreservedly to all the Spaniards, by the whole Abiponian nation, these were the subjects of deliberation in that savage conclave. At first, there was a great diversity of opinions. Many inclined towards according their friendship to the inhabitants of Sta. Fè, Cordoba, and St. Iago, to the exclusion of the Corrientines and Paraguayrians, denying the expediency of a universal peace which should embrace all the Spaniards. "Such a cessation," said they, "will cause the use of arms, and our ancient boast of military glory, to decay amongst us. Inactivity will destroy the love of war implanted in the youth of our nation. Grown effeminate like the pedestrian Indians, we shall be subjugated by the Spaniards, as soon as we cease to be formidable to them. War with one Spanish province at least is necessary to us, that we may still enjoy the opportunity of plundering those things of which we have need for daily use. We shall get more from the Spaniards as their enemies, than as their friends. It is better to be feared than loved by them; and who can promise himself their love unmingled with secret hatred, and desire of re-

venge, when he calls to mind, how sorely we have persecuted this province for so many years? The conquered seldom love their conquerors."

On the other hand, Ychoalay strongly advised that the peace should be extended to all the Spanish towns. "I maintain," says he, "that the friendship offered us by all the Spaniards, should not only be granted to them all in return, but eagerly embraced as a benefit. Are you apprehensive that the military spirit of your countrymen will be extinguished, or that your arms will contract rust for want of use? Are there not lions, tigers, stags, emus, and all the feathery and scaly tribes against which to direct your weapons? If you feel such ardour for fighting, turn your arms and your anger against the Yapitalákas, Oaékakalóts, Ychibachís, and other people with whom we are at variance. Does the recollection of former victories, and rash confidence in future ones, inspire you with such pride, that you scorn to receive all the Spaniards into your friendship? I allow that we have inflicted slaughters upon them; but will you always have the power, as you now have the inclination, to forget slaughters of their committing? The vicissitudes we have experienced sufficiently warn us not to trust too much to the changeful fortune of war. In-

deed I ever thought a certain peace with all the Spaniards much safer and better than the uncertain victories which you expect to gain from them. How pleasant to be able to enjoy undisturbed slumbers, without fear of the Spaniards, on whose approach we have passed so many sleepless nights! How many days have we endured hunger! How many lakes and rivers have we swam in our flight, to find lurking-holes in distant woods, where we might preserve our lives! Ah! I feel both sorrow and shame in the remembrance of our terrors! But does the hope of booty prevent you from promising a universal peace? For my part, I fear that if we frowardly persist in war, we shall ourselves fall a prey to the Spaniards, like the Calchacuis, who were much more numerous than we, and, with your leave be it spoken, more warlike. Think on it again and again, lest, if you now refuse the friendship of the Spaniards, their enmity may prove fatal to our whole nation, and give you cause to repent when it is too late."

Ychoalay, after he had addressed the savage assembly nearly to this effect, perceiving that some of the more refractory were not yet persuaded to a universal peace, added these words. "It appears that I have hitherto been preaching to deaf ears. If reason does not convince

you, if the dangers of war do not terrify, nor the pleasures of peace allure you, at least let pity soften your hearts. Lo! crowds of Abipones and Mocobios, made captives by the Spaniards, are dragging out a life of slavery, bitterer than any death. Numbers united to us by the ties of blood, and ancient alliances, banished from their country, dispersed in miserable corners of cities and estates, subject to the power of others, and oppressed with labour, now mourn, and are consumed with grief. The liberty of so many wretches is in your hands, and may be purchased this very day, by your concession of a universal peace. Again and again, I entreat you to consider; whether it be most incumbent on you to show anger to your enemies, or pity to your friends. The courageousness of mind you have always evinced in arms, you should now render more illustrious by accelerating peace."

This address had such an effect upon the savages, that suddenly adopting milder sentiments, they unanimously acquiesced in the advice of the orator. Peace was accorded to all the Christian colonies in Paraguay, with what perfect sincerity may be collected from the circumstance, that every Cacique had part of the land of the Spaniards committed to his custody, that he might prevent any of the

Abipones from doing injury or violence to any of the Spaniards. Debayakaikin was appointed to guard the city of Asumpcion; Kebachi-chi that of Corrientes; Alaykin, St. Iago; Ychamenfaikin, Sta. Fè; and Ychoalay, Cordoba.

This condition was annexed to the agreement; that the Abipones and Mocobios in captivity amongst the Spaniards should be sent home without a ransom, but that the Christian captives should pay a price for their liberty: and numbers did return to Cordoba, Asumpcion and Corrientes, though many of the Spanish, Negro, and Guarany captives had become so familiarized to the Abipones by long acquaintance, that fearing to lose the liberty they enjoyed amongst these people, even whilst in a state of servitude, they would on no account return to their own country. In the town of St. Jeronymo alone forty-seven of each sex remained voluntary captives, but, more intolerable than the savages themselves, they were a pest to the new colonies, a hindrance to religion, the torment of the Fathers, devisers of frauds and wickedness; in short, of such a character, that except baptism, which they received in their infancy, they retained nothing of Christianity. The same complaint might be made of the Abiponian captives who

returned from the Spaniards. Yet many Abipones and Mocobios, who had been civilized, and converted to the Catholic religion in their boyhood, would be induced by no entreaties to revisit their native land: but learnt a trade, and lived in the city, pleased with their condition, and much commended for honesty.

The annunciation of peace decided upon in this assembly was the more agreeable to the Spaniards, from being unexpected. You might have seen the whole province revive, and hold public rejoicings, but their joy was of short duration. For, some months after, Oaherkai-kin, with a small band of his followers, afflicted the territories of Asumpcion with slaughter and rapine. Whilst the other Caciques either did not know of this incursion, or connived at it, Ychoalay, indignant at such perfidy, thought it incumbent upon him to avenge the injury done the Spaniards, and the disgrace reflected on the Abiponian name. He knew Oaherkai-kin to have very few fellow-soldiers and companions. Full therefore of hope and of anger, he undertook a journey, with a small band of soldiers, for the purpose of putting him down. But just as they were on the point of battle, Ychoalay perceives that all Debayakaikin's soldiers had come to the assistance of Oaherkai-kin. Retreat would have been dishonour-

able. He tries the chance of war. A very few Riikakés fought bravely for a little while with a great number of Nakaiketergehes, though there was more shouting and trumpeting than bloodshed. The loss amounted to two men slain, and some wounded on each side. But Ychoalay narrowly escaped being killed, and was obliged to fly with his people. To save his life, he left his spear on the field of battle, a disgrace which likewise befel two of his companions. The Riikahés also left in the hands of the enemy a number of their horses. Urged by the instant peril, two or three leapt upon one horse, some unarmed, others naked, and fled, with all speed, to the colony of St. Jeronimo. This expedition proved the origin of a twenty years' war between the Riikahés and Nakaiketergehes. I shall confine myself to a brief narration of the most important events: for were I to describe all the successive vicissitudes of this war, I should consume more ink, than there was blood spilt in the whole course of it. Let me now give you the portraits of Ychoalay and Oaherkaikin, the authors of the war.

CHAPTER XIV.

SOME THINGS WORTHY OF NOTE RESPECTING YCHOALAY
AND OAHERKAIKIN.

OAHERKAIKIN, a Nakaiketergehe, and a tribesman of Debayakaikin, was of middling stature, lean, strong-boned, with a pale face, a stern countenance, small sunken eyes, and short hair shaven at intervals, like that of a monk; his limbs were all covered with large scars; his ears were bored to admit the knots of cow's horn which he wore by way of earrings; he seemed always either in the act of threatening, or absorbed in contemplation. He was a great lover of drinking-parties, a man of few words, though very affable to his followers; an implacable foe to the Spaniards; ever formidable, even when threatening nothing; wonderfully well-skilled in the use of the spear and other weapons, and in the arts of riding and swimming; extremely attached to the superstitions of the savages; a despiser of elegant clothing; and endowed with an intrepid and daring mind; but careless of his promises; given to falsehood and knavery; and well worthy of his name Oaherkaikin, which signifies a liar.

He was as crafty in eluding and repelling the enemy, as he was bold in attacking them. Having learnt, by means of his spies, that Nicolas Patron, Vice-Governor of the Corrientes, was approaching his horde with hostile intentions, accompanied by fifty horsemen, he would not await the arrival of the Spaniards, but went in person to meet them with a company of soldiers. Armed with a spear, arrows, and a military breastplate, and having his face blackened to make his appearance the more terrible, he stationed himself on foot, in a place where he had a wood at his back, and an unfordable river in front. On the approach of the Vice-Governor, he informed him, by means of a captive interpreter, that if he were inclined to fight, a corresponding desire was felt on his own part, and that the threats of the Spaniards excited laughter in him, instead of fear. The Vice-Governor, astonished at sight of the savage, and provoked at his insolent challenge, looked at his soldiers, and exclaimed, "Come, get ropes and catch this wild beast for me!" an order which struck consternation into the minds of the soldiers. "My Lord," replied a lieutenant of the name of Añasco, "if you are so desirous of taking this savage, do you try your own fortune, we have no objection to that; but, for our own parts, none of us have

either leisure or inclination to throw away our lives upon a joke." As great danger was to be apprehended in crossing the river, the opposite bank being occupied by the savages, they began immediately to think of retreat, and nothing was attempted against the enemy. Oaherkai-kin at a distance pursued the Corrientines, and carried away that very night a drove of horses from the colony of St. Ferdinand. The Spaniards were not insensible to this injury, but digested it in silence, fearing to provoke these hornets afresh. You shall now hear some particulars respecting Ychoalay.

He enjoyed every thing but the name of Cacique. He was born of a most honourable family amongst the Riikahés, and nearly related to Debayakaikin, who taught him, when a boy, to sit a horse, and to manage it. He was exceedingly tall, with an oval face, an aquiline nose, and strength adequate to all of the fatigues of warfare; indeed, the whole conformation of his body was exactly expressive of, and suitable to a military man. On the strength of a peace, established between the Riikahés and the people of Sta. Fè, the youth Ychoalay visited that city, and served the Spaniards for hire, either as a breaker-in of horses, or a guard in the estates. At length he assumed the name of his master, Benavides, and by this name he

was afterwards known, when a leader of the Abipones, and an enemy to the Spaniards; though his own countrymen called him Oahari in his boyhood, and at a more advanced period of his life, Ychoalay. Though averse to the Christian religion, he was so desirous of an acquaintance with the Spanish language, that in order to be more sure of attaining it, he went from Sta. Fè to the kingdom of Chili, whither a Spaniard was returning with a number of waggons: this man he served on the journey as a driver, and afterwards as a cultivator of vines, at Mendoza. Ychoalay, ever mindful of his origin, constantly showed himself the soldier, never appearing out of doors without a spear, and manifesting courage superior to that of the rest. Hence, when his companions were robbed or murdered by the Charruas or Pampas, in the deserts of Paraguay, Ychoalay, repelling force by force, remained a survivor. Some years after, he returned from Mendoza to Sta. Fè, and on his masters' refusing to pay him his wages, became disgusted with the Spaniards. Anger was turned into rage, when he learnt from a Spaniard of Cordoba, that his life had been attempted by an inhabitant of Sta. Fè. Weary of his condition, and of the society of the Spaniards, he rejoined the Abipones, who were, at that time, harassing the territories of

Cordoba with daily inroads, and accompanied his countrymen in all their plundering excursions, displaying so much valour as caused him to be soon after promoted from a fellow-soldier to be a leader of others. Shrewd and active, he always executed with wonderful bravery, and equal good fortune, whatever he planned to the injury of the Spaniards. He had a great share in all the victories which I have related as being obtained over the Spaniards, and in all the dangers and slaughters inflicted upon them. Frequent and successful expeditions gained him so much celebrity, that he was as much honoured by his own people as feared by others.

It is worthy of remark, that, though he vented his fury for a long space of time on the other Spanish colonies, he always spared those of Sta. Fè, and likewise that he never touched the lives of men devoted to religion, or permitted his soldiers to do so. He never suffered female jugglers to remain within his horde; and that they might not remove to some other, he pierced them himself with a spear, lest they should deceive his people with their artifices, or disturb them with bad auguries. Long acquaintance with Ychoalay gave me opportunities of observing many things in his character that were worthy of praise, many that deserved

reprehension. He had such an immoderately high opinion of himself, that he could never endure to hear any of his countrymen extolled for valour. Extremely self-conceited and opinionated, he was very impatient of opposition. His restless and turbulent disposition induced him to plan methods whereby he might circumvent or vanquish Oaherkaikin, and others of his rivals, not from the hope of emolument, but from the desire of overthrowing the celebrity they had obtained. This caused him to be always sowing dissensions, and hunting out occasions of quarrels, which proved the source of numerous disturbances in the new town, and prevented it from ever enjoying a respite from its enemies. Though at other times mild and courteous, when scheming expeditions against his adversary, he deprived his dearest friends of his conversation. Amongst various coverings for the head, he had one little woollen cap of a yellow colour, and whenever he wore this I observed him to be stern and meditative, and carefully avoided his company. Joseph Brigniel was amused by this observation of mine, and became so convinced of its truth, by experience, that we used jokingly to call that little hat the prognostic of an approaching expedition against the enemy.

But these and other defects Ychoalay re-

deemed by shining virtues. None of us ever entertained the least doubt of his being the chief instrument of the peace established between the Abipones and all the Spaniards, and the founder and preserver of the colony of St. Jeronimo. He always religiously adhered to the friendship he had contracted with the Spaniards, and took great care to prevent any of the Abipones from violating it, often with the risk of his life. Whomsoever he understood to be guilty of a violation of the peace, against them, as against enemies, he thought it his duty to take up arms. This was an occasion of continual war with the Abipones Nakaiketergehés. Thousands of horses, which during many years he had retaken from their plunderers, he brought back to the Spanish colonies, and restored to their masters, and was displeased at being asked what compensation he required, saying, "Don't you know then that I am your friend? All I ask is not to be thought mercenary." By his zeal in preserving and recovering the property of the Spaniards, he incurred the hatred of all the savages; even his countrymen regarded him with execration as a friend of the Spaniards, and an enemy to themselves: whence his daily complaint: "My countrymen think me wicked now, because I am good; formerly they called me good, be-

cause I was wicked." Sometimes when he invited his fellow-hordestmen to join him in tilling the fields, or attacking the enemies of the town, on their delaying, or refusing to accompany him, under pretext of a want of proper horses, "Father," would he say to me, "you would have seen them follow me with the utmost alacrity, had I invited them to rob and murder the Spaniards. Not one would have remained with you in the town; not one would have made the scarcity of horses an objection."

It must be allowed that the progressive improvement of the town was, under God, chiefly to be attributed to the industry and authority of Ychoalay: for the chief Cacique Ychamen-raikin, although illustrious for his high birth and warlike actions, and endeared to his people by the gentleness of his disposition, contributed nothing of consequence to the establishment of the colony. He presided over all, but was of service to no one, the mere shadow of a magistrate, the useless image of power. He was addicted to drinking, and practised polygamy and divorce. Yet all bore him great good-will, because he connived at the vices of his hordestmen. The love of Christian knowledge had no place in his breast, nor did he ever enter public religious assemblies, or endeavour to make others do so. During his lifetime, no

man would ever receive baptism, till on the point of death: when he died, no man refused it, which was brought about by the labours of Ychoalay, who, though not possessed of the chief command, managed all the affairs of the town by his own authority. He obliged others to attend the church, in order to learn the elements of religion, but for some time delayed entering it himself. After receiving daily admonitions on this subject from Joseph Brigniel, "Father," replied he, "permit me to think about slaying Oaherkaikin. My head is at present in a tumult with warlike cares. In time of peace I shall have leisure to attend to your religious discourses." After repeated excursions against Oaherkaikin, a truce being at length established, Brigniel reminded him of his promise, to which Ychoalay replied, "I must first make a fold for the security of the sheep in the estate, I will then become your disciple in the school of religion;" and he kept his word. A few days after, the Father, on entering the church, beheld Ychoalay kneeling on the ground and heard him praying, and making the responses. Thenceforward, no man was a more constant attender on places of worship, or displayed greater modesty and docility when there: and by his example they were daily crowded with pious hearers. He not only committed to memory

the regular Christian prayers, and every thing relating to religion, but repeated them aloud to his domestics in the evening.

When the Fathers had occasion to baptize persons languishing under a mortal disease, or the bite of a venomous snake, and if they died, to bury them in holy ground, according to the rites of the catholic church, Ychoalay alone was their defender and assistant. It would be difficult to enumerate all those who for baptism, sepulchral honours, and indeed heaven itself, are indebted to the labours of Ychoalay. By his desire, Ychamenraikin first, and then all the boys and girls were dedicated to Christ by baptism; for the more careful performance whereof, twenty alone were admitted on the same day to the sacred font. This, indeed, was effected, more by the example than by the exhortations of Ychoalay, who had his children baptized as soon as they saw the light, and those which died he gave into the hands of the priest, to be buried with the Christian forms. You will wonder, I think, that one who was so careful of the salvation of others should have neglected his own, since it would commonly be thought that what was not eligible for himself could hardly be eligible for another.

Indeed we were all surprized that the virtuous Ychoalay should, for so many years, have

deferred his baptism, to receive which he had long been peculiarly fit. He lived for many years contented with one wife, never frequented drinking-parties, except to consult upon war, and was a bitter enemy to drunkenness and drunkards. Though formerly the prince of plunderers, he was now become a severe avenger of plunderings. He was as well acquainted with the ordinances of religion as with his own name. He shunned no labour conducive to his own advantage or that of the town, and was assiduous in cultivating land and breeding cattle. He might, therefore, have been initiated into the Roman Catholic religion long before, and indeed he frequently assured us of his intention to be so, as soon as ever his mind was free from anxiety respecting his rival Oaherkaikin. In fact, when the Vice-Governor Francisco de Vera Muxica was in the town of St. Jeronymo, he requested baptism of his own accord, but was desired by the same to wait a little, because he wished to perform the ceremony in the city of Sta. Fè, with great magnificence. Ychoalay, displeased at the delay, could not be induced to receive baptism till some years after, when it was administered to him by Father Joseph Lehman, in the above-mentioned city; where the ceremony was performed with much pomp, and so large a con-

course of people that the church could hardly contain the multitude. The Royal Vice-Governor himself took the illustrious neophyte from the sacred font, and gave him a sumptuous feast, and suitable gifts. The Spaniards with joyous and tearful eyes beheld the celebrated Ychoalay standing by the divine altar like the meekest lamb, whom all Paraguay had formerly dreaded as a rapacious wolf.

CHAPTER XV.

FURTHER PRAISES OF YCHOALAY.

IT appears from what I have related, how useful Ychoalay was to us in the dissemination of religion. It is incredible how anxious he was to preserve the safety of the town and of the Fathers. Any little injury committed or intended against the Fathers, by his people, he took to himself, and indeed avenged with more asperity than if it had been done to himself. Amongst a set of men addicted to strife and drunkenness, accustomed to slaughter from their boyhood, and madly attached to superstition, the lives of the Fathers must have been placed in a very precarious condition, had not his authority been a shield to them, and a bridle to the savages. If he perceived any danger impending from foreign foes, he would, even in the dead of the night, apprize the Fathers and his companions of it, that the common safety might be consulted on. He was always the first to explore the country, and to occupy the front of the army whenever force was to be opposed to force, often returning

home wounded whilst his companions remained unhurt. It happened that the Abipones who inhabited the town of Concepcion, entertaining suspicions of the Spaniards, suddenly deserted it all in one day, leaving in the place only three men who had it in charge to murder the two Fathers Joseph Sanchez and Lorenzo Casado, by treachery, as soon as night set in. Ychoalay, learning the flight of the Abipones, and the danger of the Fathers, flew to the spot with no other company than that of the horse he rode on. He fixed his spear at the door of the Fathers, and offered himself for their defender. About twilight he spied the three assassins lying in wait, alarmed and put them to flight, and never saw them afterwards. He advised that the furniture of the house and the church should be carried away in a waggon, and about two thousand oxen driven to the town of St. Jeronimo, and assigned them a place in his little estate where they might safely feed. The journey was full of danger and inconvenience. Continual rain had transformed the whole country into a marsh, so that it seemed impassable to a waggon. The river Malabrigo, and other lakes were tremendously swelled by the incessant rain. But by the advice and assistance of Ychoalay, all obstacles were overcome; every thing that Father Sanchez wished to

transport, conveyed to a place of safety; and the attempts of the runaway Abipones, who had hoped to seize every thing that the deserted town possessed, completely foiled. Martinez del Tineo, Governor of Tucuman, wrote a letter to Ychoalay, in which he commended his fidelity to the Fathers, and recompensed his services with a piece of beautiful scarlet cloth fit to be worn by any noble Spaniard. This cloth he devoted to the purpose of buying sheep, the wool of which he intended to have woven into garments such as the Abipones wear. To the persuasions of the Fathers that he would adopt the Spanish costume, Ychoalay replied, "Since I am an Indian, why should I feign myself a Spaniard in my dress? When those red garments are worn out, will you give me new ones in their place? That is not to be expected. Then, derided by every body, I shall be obliged to resume the garb of the Abipones. My people will say, he boasted himself a Spaniard whilst his Spanish dress lasted; now that is worn out he must return to our manner of clothing. I give you my word to dress like a Spaniard as soon as I get money enough from the wheat I am raising." And, on entering our church, he attired himself and his horse, like the more respectable orders of Spaniards. By his skill in agriculture and the

breeding of cattle, he earned enough to clothe himself and his people.

Ychoalay watched with anxious care not only to preserve the safety of the Fathers, but likewise to prevent the domestic utensils, and the cattle belonging to the town, from receiving any injury. On stated days of the week twenty or more oxen were killed, on the flesh of which the Abiponian inhabitants subsisted. Those of a more voracious appetite than the rest used secretly to kill oxen for themselves, and still oftener calves, to the great loss of the estate. Others took it into their heads to slay the sheep belonging to the estate, not for their flesh, but for their skins, which they throw over their shoulders like horse-cloths. Whenever Ychoalay caught any of these offenders, he punished them severely. To compensate for the loss, they were ordered to pay two horses for every ox they had slain, one for every sheep; and if they did not bring them of their own accord, Ychoalay took them away by force. A savage Mocobio, a stranger, had killed a cow belonging to Ychoalay, thinking it to be one of the cattle of the town. An Abipon who happened to come that way said to the Mocobio, "What! have you dared to kill a cow of Ychoalay's? Woe be to you if he hears of it!" The Mocobio, alarmed at the news, laid the limbs of the cow upon his

horse, and went straight to the house of Ychoalay. "This," says he, "is the flesh of your cow which I killed by mistake, thinking it belonged to the town." "Fool," replied Ychoalay in a rage, "do you think then, that you may slay the herds of the colony with impunity? The excuse by which you endeavour to extenuate the criminality of the deed, serves only to its aggravation. But now begone, and since you have given yourself the trouble of killing and flaying the beast, take upon you that of devouring it also." So that, though severe in avenging mischief done to the property of the town, he was lenient towards those who offended himself.

The Abipones, like almost all the Americans, dreading the most distant idea of slavery, will scarcely perform the smallest service, unless quite sure of a compensation. Whenever you require anything of them, *Mieka enegèn labevè?* what will you give me? they eagerly reply. They quietly looked on, whilst we were saddling our horses, or cutting down wood, and though they would not move a finger to our assistance, employed their tongues lavishly in our praise. "Bless me, Father! how well you equip your horse! How dexterous, and strong you are!" they exclaimed, though we should have preferred their assistance to their enco-

miums. Ychoalay, unlike the rest in this respect, was extremely ready to perform all sorts of good offices. He served the Fathers not with fine words, but with good deeds, as I had good reason to know, having taken many long journeys with him through incommodious wilds, when he fulfilled the part of a most diligent servant. Though many Abipones of inferior rank accompanied us, whenever we had to pass the night, or the mid-day in the plain, he charged himself with seeking fuel, bearing water, and taking care of the horses, and used always to procure me a safe passage over rivers and marshes. He not only harnessed my horse for me, but prudently pointed out that which was fittest for the journey we were going to enter upon. In travelling he always remained close by my side, kept a strict watch on all sides, and if he discovered any danger, acquainted me with it, and cautiously avoided it.

The other Fathers, too, openly professed their obligations to this excellent man. The founding and preserving of the town of St. Jeronymo is chiefly to be attributed to him. Except three little huts, hastily constructed by the Spaniards, every thing was done under the direction, and by the labour of Ychoalay, particularly when it was removed to the southern shore. It was necessary to erect a little build-

ing for the performance of divine service, a dwelling-house for the Fathers, some cottages for the shepherds, and large folds for the cattle. There was likewise occasion to fortify the courtyard of our house with stakes, that in sudden incursions of the savages it might afford a defence to the women and children; huts were also to be constructed for the Abipones, who, till then, had sheltered themselves under mats. For these purposes many thousands of trees must be cut down, carried home, and worked upon. Ychoalay was the life of the labour and the labourers. He was always the first to take up the axe, the last to lay it down, instigating the Abipones to diligence more by example than by precept.

The Fathers, as a mark of their gratitude, presented the industrious Ychoalay with a hat adorned with broad silver fringe, which, that he might not appear to slight their kindness, he accepted, at the same time however expressing himself careless of elegancies of that kind. He had scarcely worn the hat twice in the street, when some Abipon requested and obtained it. Ychoalay would freely bestow beautiful woollen garments of many colours, fresh from his wife's loom, on any one who asked for them. By this liberality he wrought so much, that all were ready to lend him their assistance whenever he

stood in need of it, either in shearing sheep, or ploughing fields in his estate, whither a vast number of persons of both sexes flocked every year to assist Ychoalay. The wages of the labourers consisted of nothing more than their board, and gratuitous largesses during the year. Though he gave those who laboured for him plenty to eat, yet economy was not forgotten. He sent the more agile Abipones to the shores of the Parana, to hunt deer, on the flesh of which, and on that of oxen, he fed those who were employed in labouring in the fields. Out of his own herds he used to slay the males only, wisely sparing the mothers to increase the stock. "The Indians," said he, "are eager to devour the cows, never considering that bulls don't bring forth young. If the Spaniards had always fed upon cows, we should, long since, have been destitute both of cows and bulls."

In other things also, he evinced his superiority over the rest of the Indians. The herb of Paraguay, which is in common use amongst all ranks in Paraguay, he drank when it was offered him, but never requested it of us. He prudently feared, that if, by a too frequent use, he accustomed himself to this costly beverage, he should some time or other be obliged either to beg or buy it. We dealt out a portion of this herb every day to the Abipones who were employed

with the axe or the plough, but Ychoalay advised them to make no use of it. "Accustomed as you are from childhood," said he, "to cold water, why can you not refrain from this hot drink? Unless you practise this abstinence, habit will become a second nature, and make you unable to do without it. The Fathers will supply you with the herb whilst you are ploughing; but when you cease from that employment they will deny it, because they are obliged to purchase it at a high price. Abstain, therefore, whilst you have it, and you will never be distressed by the want of it."

It is the custom of the Abipones and Mocabios to weary the Fathers with perpetual and importunate requests. We took a pleasure in gratifying them to the utmost of our power, but they frequently asked for things which we had not to give, and which you could not find in any warehouse at Amsterdam. Ychoalay, though desired to acquaint us with whatever he stood in need of, could never be induced to ask us any favour. Though the fame of his warlike prowess was so great as almost to excite envy, he would never accept of the honours of a captain, nor suffer himself to be enrolled amongst the Hëëcheri, and always used the dialect of the common people: and though his numerous military achievements entitled him often to

change his name, he always retained his primitive one of Ychoalay. So great was his dislike of ostentation in apparel and horse-trappings, that he scorned to keep company with some youths, who gave themselves proud airs, and fed daintily. Conscious of his own merits, he had, undeniably, a very high opinion of himself; yet he detested flattery, and never boasted of any thing but of being no braggadocio. He could not bear that his rivals Oaherkaikin and Debayakaikin should be preferred to himself: yet when informed of any brave action performed by one of his own nation in battle, he would overflow in his praise. You will learn many things reflecting honour on the noble Ychoalay, in my relation of the vicissitudes of the furious war between the Riikahés and Naiketergehés.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCERNING THE HOSTILE INCURSION ATTEMPTED BY
DEBAYAKAIKIN AND HIS SAVAGE CONFEDERATES
AGAINST THE TOWN OF ST. JERONYMO.

DEBAYAKAIKIN, the head of the Nakaiketergehés, provoked, as was related, to a skirmish by Ychoalay, threatened the new colony of St. Jeronymo with destruction, and its inhabitants the Riikakés with a universal massacre. He associated with himself, in this expedition, the Mocobios and Tobas, who dwelt towards the north; and by great promises of booty, induced the Vilelas to enter into a warlike alliance with him, and furnished them with horses capable of undertaking a long journey. Ychoalay could neither be ignorant, nor careless of the intentions, strength, and preparations of the enemy. To provide therefore for the safety of his people, he sends a troop of Mocobios to guard the town, and hastens to the Governor of Sta. Fè to ask for supplies, which were justly owed by the right of friendship and of promises; nevertheless he obtained nothing but words and excuses; for at that time most of the soldiers of the city were employed across the Parana, against the

Charruas, savages whom they had reduced to subjection.

Whilst Ychoalay was vainly seeking assistance in every quarter, Debayakaikin conducted his forces with all possible secrecy towards the south, but did not precipitate his assault on the colony, choosing rather to make use of craft. He sent forward some of his people with a commission to spread a report, that Debayakaikin did not intend attempting any thing against the colony of St. Jeronymo, but that the savage Mocobios purposed an immediate assault on the town of Concepcion, which was ten leagues distant from that of Jeronymo, and inhabited by the Abipones under the authority of Alaykin. Debayakaikin had two reasons for spreading these fictitious reports. The first was, that, as soon as the inhabitants of St. Jeronymo understood themselves to be out of danger of an attack, the Christian Mocobios, who acted as guards, would be sent back to their town of St. Xavier. The other was, that the Abipones of the town of Concepcion, whilst in hourly expectation of a hostile attack at home, would not be able even to think of succouring the inhabitants of St. Jeronymo against Debayakaikin. In both points the stratagem succeeded entirely to his wish. It is worth while to give a relation of the whole event, of which I myself was a spectator.

The colony of St. Jeronymo had scarcely more than a thousand head of kine remaining, the bulls being almost all consumed; and of this number the greatest part of the cows were either with young, or engaged in giving suck, to spare which the Fathers requested my companion and myself, then residing in the town of Concepcion, to send them two hundred bullocks for the support of the Indians, dispatching Raphael de los Rios, the guard of their estate, to carry the beasts away. That this business might be properly conducted, I resolved to accompany the guards of the cattle myself. When everything was in readiness for the journey, I observed the Abipones running up and down the streets armed with arrows, and heard one of them charge my companion Sanchez, in the name of Alaykin, to have his musket in readiness, as their enemies the Mocobios were expected about evening. The road I was going being that which would be taken by the Mocobios, my companion endeavoured to persuade me to defer my journey, but could not succeed with one who despised these vague reports, as they proved to be, for we did not meet so much as the enemy's shadow the whole morning. On entering St. Jeronymo I spied Fathers Francisco Navalon and Joseph Klein: Joseph Brigniel and Ychoalay were at that time absent, being

still intent upon procuring subsidies in the city of Sta. Fè. The next day, which was Sunday, at Father Navalon's urgent request, the Caciques of the Abipones and Mocobios deliberated on what was best to be done. The presence of the Mocobios contributed much towards the safety of the town; but as those guards daily consumed a great quantity of beef, tobacco, salt, and the herb of Paraguay, they were deemed ruinous to the public stores; their dismissal seemed proper on this account likewise, that according to report, the town had nothing to fear for the present from Debayakaikin; who however was concealed with his forces in a neighbouring wood, awaiting nothing but the departure of the Mocobios, to begin the assault.

The Mocobios departing early the next morning, which was Sunday, Debayakaikin divided his forces into three companies, and sallied from his hiding-place by three different ways, in the very sight of the town. Its guard, Raphael de los Rios, who happened to be at that time reposing in his hut, was pierced with many and deep wounds by an Abipon, whose father had fallen in the skirmish between Ychoalay and Oaherkaikin. At the same time, part of the Guaranies who guarded the cattle were taken captive, whilst the rest, who were on

horseback, saved themselves by speedy flight. The herds, which were assembled in one place, as usual in the evening, and about two thousand horses, became the uncontested prey of the enemy. When these tidings were learnt from trusty messengers, and the concourse of enemies was beheld on the opposite shore, a great trepidation seized upon the whole town. Of the Abipones, most of whom, either through ignorance or apprehension of the ensuing attack, had gone out to hunt wild horses, a few days before, there remained at home no more than eighty, who, whilst Debayakaikin was committing these ravages in the estate, were engaged in a merry carouse with their Cacique Ychamenraikin; but on receiving information of the near approach of the enemy, though in a state of intoxication, they all blackened their faces, and flew on the swiftest horses, and amidst the deadly clangor of trumpets, to the bank of the river, not so much with the intention of fighting the enemy, as of preventing them from crossing the river. Debayakaikin, whom long experience in war had rendered exceedingly cautious, thought it unsafe to send his men across to the opposite shore, which the enemies had got possession of, and to hazard a doubtful contest. It was treated of by legates, and resolved by mutual consent, that

the battle should be deferred till the morrow, as the sun was hastening to set, and little of the day remained.

On the approach of night, our heroes returned, and slept themselves sober in their own tents. As they did not place any great reliance on the promises of the enemy, horsemen were sent to watch throughout the whole plain, who by the uninterrupted sound of horns and trumpets testified their vigilance, and if they observed any thing hostile, announced it to the rest. The warlike sounds of the savages were accompanied by an incessant noise in the heavens: for the weather, during the whole of the night, was extremely tempestuous, with loud thunder, stormy wind, lightning, and heavy rain. The women and children passed the night in the open air, in our court-yard, which was exposed to the wet on every side; so that in the light dispensed by the flashes of lightning, they appeared to me like so many frogs swimming in a pond. In my hut they deposited their pots, gourds, pitchers, and other moveables, to save them from the depredations of the enemy. Inexpressible was my horror at beholding amongst the baggage of the old women, some skulls of Spaniards, formerly slain by the Abipones, preserved as trophies. I do not remember ever having passed a more tu-

multuous night, during my whole residence in America. I accused the sun of returning too slowly. About day-break, when the tempest was abated, though the lightning had not yet ceased, I ran to the market-place, where I saw a number of Abipones, assembling at the end of the town, which they considered a fit place for the ensuing combat. The army was arranged by Ychamenraikin in such a manner, that the spearmen occupied each side, the archers the centre; and all were on foot. A troop of horse commanded by Ychohake, Ychoalay's brother, had it in charge, to learn and instantly report the motions of the enemy, the ways they took, and every thing else concerning them. They stood in battle-array till noon, when the emissaries, returning from the country, announced that nothing but the footsteps of the enemy were to be seen. All hope, or rather fear of an engagement being at an end, they returned home, and the army was dissolved without the loss of a drop of blood. The enemy being gone, the dead body of the Spaniard which had been wounded in such a manner, that the bowels fell out, was brought from the estate, and conveyed to the grave with the Christian forms of burial.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONCERNING REPEATED EXPEDITIONS UNDERTAKEN BY YCHOALAY AGAINST OAHERKAIKIN, AND THE OTHER ABIPONES NAKAIKETERGEHES.

YCHOALAY, on returning from Sta. Fè, was highly incensed when he heard of the events that had taken place in his absence, and bitterly reproached his countrymen for their want of diligence in watching the enemy whilst they were approaching, and of energy in repelling them, when present. He continually revolved in his mind the injury done to his town by Debayakaikin, and not being able to digest it, appointed a new excursion against him. Hastening therefore to the city of Sta. Fè, he requested soldiers to attend him on the purposed expedition, but obtained only thirty, which the Royal Vice-Governor was chiefly actuated to grant by the consideration, that the death of the Spaniard slain by Debayakaikin's soldiers ought to be revenged by the arms of Spaniards. The soldiers sent on the Vice-Governor's account, however, little interested about the success of the expedition, wished to remain as guards in the town of St. Jeronymo, whilst Ychoalay

went with his people against the enemy: but on his sternly declaring that guards for the Abiponian women in the absence of their husbands were neither necessary, nor even endurable, they at last began the journey with the other company of Abipones. But, alas! how short a one did it prove! The ways had been rendered impassable by the spreading inundations of so many rivers, and the whole country was flooded to such a degree, that not a turf appeared on which the horsemen might lie down, or their horses take pasture. All hope of further progress being at a stop, they were obliged to return to the town, and thus an expedition undertaken with so much noise, was terminated in three days, without any advantageous result. Ychoalay, though naturally of an iron constitution, was seized, on his return home, with a burning fever, and a kind of small-pox, called by the Spaniards *Las viruelas bobas*. Without waiting for his complete recovery, he set off, with a small troop, against Oaherkaikin, by whom he was wounded, in a bloody skirmish, with two arrows, as I have related in a former part of this work.

The wounds that had been inflicted, though now healed, exasperated Ychoalay's mind, and stimulated him to a fresh excursion against Oaherkaikin. Not only all the Abipones of

the towns of St. Jeronymo, and Concepcion, but numbers of Christian Mocobios followed Ychoalay. They penetrated to the enemies' stations and fought long and desperately. Debayakaikin himself was dangerously wounded in the side with a spear, and would have been slain by Ychoalay had not some one else thrown himself before him. Although both armies had fought with equal success, and though victory inclined to neither side, yet Debayakaikin, alarmed at his wound, and the ferocity of those who had inflicted it, did not like to engage any more with Ychoalay, and sought how he might avoid the dangerous necessity of meeting him again in the field. He also began to entertain suspicions of his neighbours the northern Mocobios, ever since his colleague Kaapetraikin, with his two sons and three other Abipones, had been treacherously murdered by them whilst passing the night in the open plain. For the benefit of his affairs, therefore, he removed with his whole horde to the colony of St. Ferdinand, the residence of the Yaaukaniga Abipones, by means of whose friendship and the support of the Corrientine Spaniards, he trusted to enjoy tranquillity. But in avoiding Charybdis, he fell upon Scylla.

For Ychoalay, deeming this union with the Yaaukanigas a measure pursued with no peace-

ful intention, and far from conducive to the advantage of his own town, went thither with a great number of Abipones and Christian Mocobios, and denounced battle against his implacable foe, Debayakaikin. The provident care of the Fathers prevented them from coming to blows. They sent to Corrientes for the Vice-Governor Patron, who, though he came accompanied by a number of soldiers, was more desirous to perform the office of peace-maker, than to espouse the cause of either of the enemies. Things fell out according to his wish. Peace was established on the following conditions, which were dictated by Ychoalay; that Debayakaikin should restore the three spears which he had taken from Ychoalay in the first engagement, as well as the captives from the estate of St. Jeronimo; that he should not devise frauds against the colonies of the Spaniards, and the Indians in amity with them; and that he should remain quiet and harmless in the colony of St. Ferdinand, bearing it in mind that, if he departed to any other place, war would be renewed against him. Debayakaikin's present trepidation compelled him eagerly to embrace these conditions, which, however, he neglected at his pleasure, when free from fear. He was repeatedly attacked in the town itself, and robbed of all his

horses by the northern Mocobios, under pretext of some injuries they had received from him. His countrymen with their place of residence did not change their line of conduct, continuing still intent upon secretly plundering and slaughtering the Spaniards; which Debayakaikin foresaw would neither remain long concealed from Ychoalay, nor be tamely endured by him. In continual fear therefore of his enemies, the Mocobios in the north, and in the south of Ychoalay and his allies, who were still nearer to him, he removed with his people to the more distant town of Concepcion, then near the colonies of St. Iago: which, though contrary to the conditions of the peace, was digested in silence by the Abipones Riikahés, till fresh injuries, like a hostile trumpet, stirred them up to fresh rage, and fresh contests.

Some Abipones complained to Ychamenraikin, that as they were returning from hunting wild horses, they had been scourged and plundered by some of Debayakaikin's people. Moreover they announced that a very numerous horde of Nakaiketergehés had been discovered by them in the country between the cities of Sta. Fè and St. Iago. The Cacique pronounces this station dangerous to travelling Spaniards, and an infringement upon the peace established, and exclaims that he will set out the next day,

and discover these hostile Abipones. The Christian Mocobios are called upon, and within a few hours a company of almost three hundred men is assembled. After a few days' journey they discovered the hostile horde, but did not make a sudden attack upon it. Not to appear deficient in courtesy, they sent forward two heralds to desire the enemies, in a friendly manner, instantly to restore the horses they had unjustly carried off, and to ask pardon for the injury they had committed. The blast of trumpets, by which twenty men challenged three hundred to the fight, was their answer. From words they proceeded to blows. Ychamenraikin, the Commander in Chief, and the foremost in the foremost rank, was pierced by an arrow in the left eye, and instantly expired. Inconceivable was the fury that inflamed the minds of the soldiers, at sight of their dead leader. "Come on," was the universal cry: "let none of the enemy depart alive." Their hands answered to their tongues: for all the spearmen rushed at once upon the adverse army. In truth, twenty might thus have been destroyed with little difficulty by three hundred, had they not with incredible firmness opposed themselves as a wall to their adversaries. Though wounded all over, they still continued to oppose spears to spears, and weapons to weapons, not receding

a hair's breadth from the line of battle. The victors cut off the heads of those most renowned for valour, and carried them home as trophies. Two, who fell amongst the dead bodies and, being thought lifeless, had, the one an ear, the other a finger cut off by a Mocobio, appeared a few months after alive, in the town of St. Ferdinand.

All the men being slain, the Mocobios, irritated by the death of their Cacique, took delight in venting their fury on the women, who had taken refuge in a neighbouring wood. Forty women and children were slain, and many taken captive; which cruelty, as it was exercised towards the defenceless, we all condemned in the strongest manner. Many of our Abipones and Mocobios were wounded, but none slain except Ychamenraikin. The bones of this Cacique, after being stripped of the flesh, received the last obsequies, accompanied by the tears of the whole town, and by funeral rites, as has been related elsewhere.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF FRESH DISTURBANCES OF THE TOWN, ARISING FROM
THE VICTORY GAINED BY THE INHABITANTS.

DEBAYAKAIKIN, upon hearing of this slaughter of his people, made no end of storming and threatening the victorious Riikahés. Not one of his fellow-hordesmen but raved with grief at some injury he had sustained from it: one mourned the death or captivity of a son; another of a husband; a third of a wife or brother. The life of Father Joseph Sanchez, priest of the town of Concepcion, was placed in extreme danger, as they declared their intention of revenging on every Spaniard, the slaughter they had suffered from the Abipones and Mocobios, the friends of the Spaniards. Had not Barreda restrained the enraged people, all the Nakaike-tergehés would have instantly flown to devastate the colonies of St. Jeronymo and St. Xavier, whither Landriel was sent in the name of Barreda to require restitution of the captives. Ychoalay, respecting the wishes of the Vice-Governor, though not the threats of Debayakaikin, cheerfully assented to this demand, but

his example was not followed by the Mocobios; which irritated the savages, and made them resolve to extort by arms what the Spaniards could not obtain by prayers. We learnt from trusty messengers that the enemies would be at the town of St. Jeronymo in a few days. Thrown into the utmost consternation we requested the Mocobios to lend us supplies, which they refused, alleging the perilous state of their own town, and the necessity they were under of providing for the security of it. All hope of succour being thus denied us, whatever could contribute to our defence was wisely and diligently ordered by Ychoalay. Many watchmen were appointed each night, and scouts sent backwards and forwards. Debayakaikin, learning from his spies that we were in daily expectation of him, that his expedition might not terminate like the former one, thought proper to defer it for some weeks, and then fell suddenly upon us, when we were not expecting any thing hostile.

On the night after Whitsuntide, he and his forces crept into the plain adjoining the town, and employed themselves till morning in collecting droves of horses, and in wounding the oxen with spears. At break of day, as I was performing divine service, Pachieke and Zapan-

cha, who were sent by Debayakaikin to challenge the townsmen to join battle with him, arrived. Ychoalay replied, in the name of the rest, that they did not want courage to accept the challenge, but horses to convey them to the place appointed for the combat; which, as the enemy had themselves taken in the night, they might now make use of for the purpose of approaching the town, where he and his people would await them in battle-array. And, in fact, the Abipones, assembling from all quarters, soon formed an army, the front of which Ychoalay occupied on horseback. Whilst Ychoalay was sharpening the point of his lance on a whetstone in our court-yard, and greasing it with tallow that it might enter more readily into the flesh, I spoke to him about baptism, knowing that the weapons of all would be directed particularly at him, and endeavouring, at all events, to secure his salvation. But alas! I preached to deaf ears, so far was he from listening or attending to me, and so entirely engrossed by warlike affairs. From such mighty preparations for war, what could be expected but fields smoking with blood? Yet nothing but noise ensued; and the day passed entirely without slaughter: for about noon, as we were standing in form of battle, and expecting every moment

the attack of the enemies, Debayakaikin at length made answer by the mouth of a herald, that he did not judge it expedient to join battle in sight of the town, where, he doubted not, we had a supply of muskets; deterred by a groundless apprehension of which, he departed without attempting any thing further. After weathering so great a storm, we were surprized, about evening, by another, which was the more terrible from being unforeseen. Ychoalay suddenly interrupted me as I was conversing with Father Brigniel. "Ho! you Fathers," said he, with an unusually gloomy countenance, "my whole nation, weary of this colony, and of the friendship of the Spaniards, intend desertion—nor can I blame them. On account of the Spaniards, we have taken up arms against our countrymen and relations, and have combated them to this very day, with fortune, alas! how various! They have been our enemies ever since we professed ourselves the friends of the Spaniards and their firm defenders against Debayakaikin, Oaherkaikin, and their followers! How many droves of horses have they taken from us; how many wounds have they inflicted on us: how many deaths of our fellow-soldiers have they caused us to lament! The Spaniards were not ignorant of all this, yet they quietly looked on,

and never seriously thought of lending us the promised assistance. On this account it is that the minds of my comrades are suddenly alienated, and that they are preparing for flight. I advise you to write immediately to the Vice-Governor for soldiers, to conduct you safe back to the lands of the Spaniards, before the Indians, exasperated by the loss of horses they have this day suffered, have time to think of taking away your lives." We both promised to follow his advice, adding that he might feel assured the Vice-Governor would do all in his power to assist and console our Abipones. The truth of Ychoalay's representations was betrayed by the sullen and threatening eyes of the other Abipones, in which we plainly read their grief at so great a loss of horses, and their ill-will to the Spaniards. That night we wrote an account of the perilous state of our affairs to the Vice-Governor; but even Ychoalay had great difficulty in finding any one who would carry the letters, as the weather had been stormy for many days past. Indeed the journey seemed impracticable whilst all the roads were flooded with water. In the mean time it was greatly to be feared, that when intelligence was received of the Vice-Governor's determination, the Indians, enraged at an unsatisfactory reply, would turn their backs

on the colony, and after murdering the Jesuits, return to their former habits of plunder. Yet when affairs seemed desperate, an unhopcd-for calm succeeded to this terrible storm. Providence clearly shone forth in the unexpected events which I am going to relate.

CHAPTER XIX.

YCHOALAY, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE SPANIARDS, TAKES A COMPANY OF HOSTILE ABIPONES, AND, ON ANOTHER OCCASION, FIGHTS SUCCESSFULLY WITH OAHERKAIKIN.

THE Charruas, a fierce equestrian nation, after being long formidable to travellers on the eastern bank of the Parana, were at length made captive, for the most part, by a troop of horse from Sta. Fè, and assembled in a colony founded in the plain Cajasta, where they were instructed in the divine law by a priest of the order of St. Francis. These savages, formerly so slothful, were impelled by hunger to make great exertions in cultivating land. But the plains adjacent to the town, being in great part marshy, scarce afforded a place where seed could be sown with any prospect of a harvest, and the hill occupied by the colony seemed too small for the number of inhabitants. On which account, some Charruas were sent by the priest to explore the remoter plains, and endeavour to find a better situation for the colony. On their return, they communicated their discovery of a very numerous horde of Abipones near La Laguna Blanca. The Vice-

Governor of Sta. Fè, when informed of this circumstance, judged habitations of hostile Abipones insufferable in a place where they had such a good opportunity of sallying forth to annoy the colonies of the Spaniards. He appointed a troop of his own horse to drive away that hostile horde, and wrote to us to request that Ychoalay, with his people and with the Mocobios, might join them.

The Vice-Governor's letter, which was delivered to us as we were at dinner, dispersed the cloud that overspread our minds, like a propitious star. Ychoalay got every thing in readiness the same evening, and set out the next day with a numerous company almost before sun-rise. There was not one amongst them all that did not follow him with a cheerful mind, not one that complained of want of horses. For although the enemy had taken great numbers of them but a very short time before, yet many, still lurking in the remoter pastures, escaped both their eyes and hands. Ychoalay rode on before the rest, and reached the plain specified by the Vice-Governor, where he found the Spanish horsemen on foot and fasting, their horses and oxen having left them in the night. Both were recovered by the sagacity of Ychoalay. Soon after, under the guidance of the Charruas, they hastened to the shores of La

Laguna Blanca, which, however, they found already deserted by the Abipones, and whither they had removed was difficult to conjecture. Ychoalay was commissioned by the Spaniards to seek the abode of the fugitives. All places being diligently examined under his direction, the enemy's stations were at length discovered, and at the same time so closely besieged, that all hope of flight or victory being precluded, they every one yielded to the conquerors. They were deprived of their arms, and brought like captives to the town of St. Jeronymo, with a crowd of women and boys.

The event of this expedition exasperated the minds of all the Nakaiketergehé Abipones, as much as it elated those of our nation; and proved a stimulus to the enemies to pursue the war with still more pertinacity. That three of the most formidable of the captives, Zapancha and Pachieke, and a brother-in-law of Alaykin, whose face dwells in my memory, though not his name, were kept in chains in the port of Monte-Video, was what the Nakaiketergehés could never digest, and what they embraced every opportunity to avenge. A few months after, to omit other instances, seven inhabitants of St. Jeronymo were treacherously slain, whilst travelling, by the tribesmen of Oaherkaikin. Ychoalay, thinking these atrocities no

longer to be endured, led a hundred and twenty-five Riikahés against Oaherkaikin, whose encampments were then forty leagues north of the town.

I, who was then removed to the town of St. Ferdinand, through which Ychoalay was to pass with his troop, had a good deal of trouble and anxiety on account of this expedition, fearing that our Yaaukanigas, who had long been hostile to Ychoalay, would take part with Oaherkaikin, and involve our town in the troubles of war. The day before Ychoalay and his company arrived, a scout of his, who had been sent forward to explore the roads taken by the enemy, and their places of concealment, came to me in the early part of the night. In the space of an hour he was followed by a second, and then by a third. The two latter returned at night to relate to Ychoalay what they had seen and heard, but the first, who was called Rochus Chiruilin, passed the night in my house.

The same day at noon, Ychoalay and his people arrived, in such an orderly band, with so much silence, and such decent habiliments, that I should have taken them for a troop of Spaniards. They were all furnished with iron spears, with hats, and Spanish saddles. A hill which slopes towards the town was the place where they chose to encamp. They were de-

fended against sudden assaults by a wood behind, and by a ditch on each side, and had a full view of the plain beneath, where their horses were feeding, so that if any treacherous attack were meditated it would be immediately perceived. They passed the night in the open air, placed in a row describing the form of a semi-circle, as that figure contributes much to the mutual defence of a few against many. When lying down they make use of saddles instead of a pillow, and the housings of their horses serve them for a mattress. Every one has his spear fixed in the ground close at hand. Four or six feed their fire, which is kept up to give light in the night; whilst others, who are appointed to keep watch for the security of the sleepers, and of the horses, traverse the plain on horseback, and if they observe any thing alarming or unusual, give notice of it to those who are reposing, by horns and trumpets.

There was not one of the Abiponian guests who did not run to my house to ask me how I did; for, having lived two years in the town of St. Jeronymo, I knew and loved them all. Ychoalay, by reason of our old intimacy, conversed with me in a friendly manner for some hours every day. All my anxiety and my arguments were directed towards persuading him to baptism. I expatiated on the perils to

which he was going to expose his life. But he, confiding in the number and fidelity of his fellow-soldiers, would not allow that he stood in any danger, and owned himself too much engaged in warlike cares to be in a fit state for pious thoughts of that kind. I was also anxious on another account. I knew that my Yaaukanigas were inimical to Ychoalay, but amicably inclined towards their neighbour Oaherkaikin, and feared that they would assist the one against the other. But I advised them not to take part with either, if they wished to consult their own interest. I united threats with entreaties to deter them from attempting any thing against Ychoalay, who, though he did not stand in need of their assistance himself, would, I was well aware, be greatly incensed at their lending any to Oaherkaikin. This I repeatedly declared to the chief men of the town, and at length, forgetting their old grudge, they suffered themselves to be persuaded. Some of the younger went to be close spectators of the fight, but they carried no weapons.

In the mean time, Oaherkaikin, being at length informed of Ychoalay's journey, informed him, by means of a messenger, of his present place of abode, whither, he said, Ychoalay might come, and welcome; that he himself had never bestowed a thought on flight or terror;

and that his soldiers were few, but such that every one of them seemed to him capable of slaying many. The day before Ychoalay left us, his chief emissary Hapaleolin intercepted Kepakainkin, a tribesman and brother-in-law of Oaherkaikin. As his wife was a Nakaike-tergehe, whilst his brothers dwelt amongst the Riikahés, he sometimes joined one tribe, sometimes the other, and, on this very account, incurred the hatred of both. Fearing the arrival of Ychoalay, he withdrew from Oaherkaikin's horde, which was shortly to be attacked, under pretext of watching the motions of the enemy; but in reality with a treacherous design, which he put in execution, of meeting with the Riikahés, and conducting them to the horde of Oaherkaikin: however, he was only a spectator of the fight, and afterwards deserted Oaherkaikin's town, and betook himself to that of St. Jeronymo.

The horde of Oaherkaikin was a few leagues distant from the town of St. Ferdinand, nor did it contain more than twenty men able to bear arms, the rest being at that time employed in harassing the colonies of the Spaniards. But the small number of those who resisted were defended against all assaults by the natural situation of the place. Behind, and on each side, they had a wood, and in front a marshy field,

which rendered access difficult, and fighting dangerous to the enemy. Ychoalay, with his usual intrepidity, left his horse, and struggled through the deep mud, till he arrived near enough to reach the enemy with arrows. The younger part alone followed their leader: for the rest, despairing of a victory amongst so many straits, marshes, and woods, from their horses, as from an orchestra, beheld their companions bravely fighting at a distance. The desertion of the old men, however, increased the boldness of the young ones, and more furiously inflamed their anger against the enemy. Oaherkaikin received three deep gashes, and his brother was dangerously wounded in the throat by an arrow. Of the rest scarce one departed from the field of battle without a severe wound. Though streaming with blood, not one of them seemed to remove his foot from his standing place, or his hand from the bow; which was extremely honourable both to the conquered and to the conquerors. Ychoalay, who remained unhurt amid this storm of arrows, had only three of his people wounded, and those had previously received baptism. On their return to the town, I examined and dressed their wounds. Hapaleolin was pierced by an arrow in the side, and a Spaniard, named Lorenzo, one of the voluntary captives of the Abipones, in the arm. Ro-

chus Chiruilin had the tendon of his great toe hurt by an arrow, and remained seven weeks in my house till I had completely healed him. Whilst the battle was yet raging, some followers of Oaherkaikin arrived from the estates of Sta. Fè, whence, after slaughtering the Spaniards, they brought many hundreds of horses, all of which Ychoalay took, and restored to their owners; besides these, a multitude of horses, which Oaherkaikin had in the neighbouring pastures, also fell into his hands.

These events having taken place in the absence of the curate, Father Joseph Klein, I sent both for him and the Vice-Governor of Corrientes, fearing the doubtful event of Ychoalay's expedition, and the disturbances which would, in all probability, ensue in our colony. He came on the evening of the next day with my companion, accompanied by ten Spanish horsemen, and, in a friendly manner, saluted Ychoalay, who returned from the skirmish a short time after, and who, at first sight, requested the Vice-Governor, Nicolas Patron, that those ten horsemen, who were all excellently armed with muskets, might be added to his Abipones, as he purposed returning immediately to destroy Oaherkaikin, the implacable enemy of the Spanish nation. But the Vice-Governor

disapproved of his intention, and endeavoured to dissuade him from it. He said that to join battle with the wounded, appeared to him repugnant to humanity, and that however advantageous such a victory might be, it would be entirely devoid of glory. After many arguments on both sides of the question, Ychoalay at length yielded to the Vice-Governor's suggestion, that if Oaherkaikin preferred peace to war, he should enter this colony, refrain from slaughter and rapine, and promise peace and friendship to all the colonies of the Christians; but on his refusing these conditions, should be given to understand that Ychoalay would instantly return to meet him in the field of battle. These things were announced to him by a Yaaukaniga horseman, by whom he replied, that the proposed conditions met his approbation; that, at present, neither himself nor his wounded companions had strength or horses sufficient to undertake the journey; but that when their wounds were thoroughly healed, he, with his companions, wives, and children, would remove to our colony. Oaherkaikin kept his word: for when Ychoalay had gone back to his own people, he and his numerous family, before their wounds were even scarred over, came to the town of St. Ferdinand. This observance of the promised peace, however,

did not outlast the fear which had induced it; when released from that, he changed both his mind and his place of residence, continuing ever a plunderer, ever the chief of the Abiponian plunderers.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WHOLE NATION OF ABIPONES ARE ASSEMBLED IN THREE COLONIES, BUT ARE AGAIN UNLUCKILY DISTURBED BY A WAR OF THE SPANIARDS AGAINST THE GUARANIES.

ON Oaherkaikin's entering the colony of St. Ferdinand, we beheld with joy what the Spaniards of Paraguay had been vainly desiring ever since the time of the Emperor Charles the Fifth. The whole nation of Abipones were at length settled in three colonies; an event which seemed to promise great advantage both to the cause of religion and that of the whole province. But, alas! a sudden storm from Europe destroyed all these flourishing hopes. The kings of Spain and Portugal agreed upon an exchange of their territories in America, in consequence of which those seven towns on the eastern shore of the Uruguay were to be delivered up to the Portugueze, and two-and-thirty thousand Christian Guaranies, who inhabited them, were ordered to remove to another place by Ferdinand the Sixth. The Guaranies, full of tender attachment to their country, could be induced by no arguments to believe

that such a removal had been enjoined them by the Catholic king. This cession of the towns to their enemies the Portugueze, they thought must have been imposed on them by way of punishment; though they were at a loss to imagine what crime they could have committed deserving such punishment, unless to have served God and the King were accounted such.

This universal doubt impressed on the minds of the Indians, respecting the royal order for their removal, was confirmed by a most impudent lie, invented by certain wicked knaves amongst the lower order of Spaniards; who assured the Indians that the removal enjoined in the King's name was a fabrication of the Jesuits, they having themselves sold those towns to the Portugueze, out of a thirst for gold. The Guaranies, possessed with this abominable suspicion, grew more and more deaf to the admonitions of the Jesuits, who, through respect to the King, were constantly urging their departure. The filial affection which they had always borne to the Fathers being destroyed, they began openly to reject the authority of others, and to manage every thing according to their own pleasure. What did not the Missionaries do to conquer their obstinacy, and to reduce them to obedience! What did they not endure! How often did they put themselves in danger of

death! With crowns of thorns on their heads, they made a mournful supplication in the streets, whilst a voice of thunder from the pulpit, interrupted with frequent tears, besought and exhorted the people assembled in the church to obey the royal mandate. Miserable lamentations or futile promises were all that could be extorted from them. Some, indeed, who were of a milder temper, departed, but, vanquished by the love of their native land, returned next day, and hardened themselves against the last extremities. At length, seeing that war would be made against them, they took up arms, and for some time stood out against the armed Portuguese, and the Spaniards who assisted them.

After various vicissitudes of war, which I have briefly touched upon in another place, these seven towns were ceded by the Spaniards, but not accepted by the Portuguese, because they had at length discovered that all that territory along the banks of the Uruguay was destitute of the supposed mines of gold and silver. About fourteen thousand Indian exiles were dispersed up and down the plains of the Uruguay; nearly as many crossed the river of that name, and settled in the different towns of the Parana, where, after quitting handsome freestone houses, they were thankful for the precarious subsistence afforded by the kindness of their countrymen,

and for cottages hastily built of straw. But Charles III., who was removed from the throne of Naples to that of Spain, cancelled the exchange of lands with the Portugueze agreed on by his late brother Ferdinand, and commanded that the landmarks placed in Paraguay should be pulled up, war declared on the Portugueze, and the Guarany exiles sent back to their towns, the administration of which was as usual to be intrusted to the Jesuits. But alas! what a mournful appearance did these towns, formerly so flourishing, present, after a three years' absence of their inhabitants! The churches were shorn of their splendor, the estates spoiled of their cattle. The walls and roofs of the houses were injured by the soldiers and the weather. Part of the buildings were reduced to ashes. The untilled fields began to be overspread with wood, and filled with tares. The whole neighbourhood was infested with snakes and tigers. It seemed as if the arts and industry of a whole century could hardly replace or make up for what had been destroyed in the last three years.

This terrible misfortune of the Guarany nation alarmed the minds of the Abipones, and estranged them from the Spaniards. With sorrowful eyes they beheld all the Spaniards able

to bear arms called out against the Guaranies. "If the Spaniards," said they, "are so desirous of war, why do they not turn their arms against the Guaycurùs, the Aucas, Chiriguanos, Yaapitalakas, and other hostile nations? Why do they persecute the Guaranies, their most faithful friends, who have done so much service to the king in the royal camps? Is the friendship of the Spaniards so versatile? Have they so short a memory as to forget the submission which the Guaranies have uniformly observed towards them?" Complaints and wonderings of this kind were daily felt and expressed by all. Nor was the affair confined to words alone. Many of them, either displeased by the severity of the Spaniards towards the Guaranies, or distrustful of their friendship, or tempted by the opportunity of pillaging, which the absence of the soldiers afforded, deserted their towns. Such were the deplorable effects of the war with the Guaranies.

On the same day that Nicolas Patron went out against the Guaranies with troops of Corrientine horse, Oàherkaikin and his companions, now freed from fear, bade adieu to the colony of St. Ferdinand, intending to live, as formerly, on rapine in the country. His example was followed by the inhabitants of other colonies.

They saw that, as the men were called out against the Guaranies, the towns and villages of the Spaniards were inhabited by women only, or persons incapable of fighting, and that they might overrun the defenceless estates at their pleasure. Making use of this excellent opportunity, they molested the colonies, not only of the Spaniards, but likewise of the Abipones, especially that of St. Jeronymo, to the utmost of their power. Ychoalay was deserted by many of his people, and on that account derided by his enemies, because he could no longer assist the Spaniards, or be assisted by them, they being engaged in the war with the Guaranies. His fidelity, however, and his courage, remained unaltered. He affronted the hostile storm on every side, with all the strength and arts that he was master of. An estate of his on the banks of the Malabrigo, rich in herds, flocks of sheep, and horses, but undefended by any guards, and inhabited by a few women only, was attacked by a company of Abipones, Mocobios, and Vilelas. No resistance being made, they drove away the cattle, took the women captive, and sent one old woman to tell Ychoalay that they had taken his cattle, and that if he was desirous of recovering them, he should come and give them battle at the Ychimaye, on the banks of

which they would await his arrival. The message delivered by the old woman served as a trumpet to Ychoalay. Spite of the weather, which was cold and rainy, he flew burning with rage to the appointed place, accompanied by a handful of his people. He beheld the multitude of enemies, attacked, and completely vanquished them. A good many of the enemy were slain, numbers wounded, and the rest put to flight; and indeed every body was of opinion, that not one would have escaped alive, had not Ychoalay, who was wounded with an arrow in the arm, allowed them horses to carry them home. After recovering the cattle, and the female captives of the town, Ychoalay returned, signalized with a severe wound, and an unexpected victory, leaving the enemies in such consternation, that they even neglected to carry off their dead. At another time Ychoalay, awakened by an alarming sound in the middle of the night, mounted a horse, and rode out to take a survey. He had scarcely gone thirty steps from his own door, when he saw two Toba spies, took them captive, and sent them, well-guarded, to the town of St. Xavier, where some Tobas, allies of the Mocobios, were dwelling. The absence of the Spanish soldiers rendered the Abipones, and other wandering savages, daily bolder and

more mischievous to the whole province: and their frequent excursions were the more injurious, because they who used, at other times, to repulse the enemies, were then fatigued with carrying on war against their friends the Guaranies.

CHAPTER XXI.

AN INEFFECTUAL EXPEDITION OF THE SPANIARDS
AGAINST THE ABIPONES.

AT length the Vice-Governors of Sta. Fè and St. Iago resolved upon attacking the Abipones, who had deserted the colonies, in their northern retreats, in order to chastise and restrain their intolerable licence in plundering. Francisco de Vera Muxica, with fifty horse of Sta. Fè, came to St. Jeronymo and joined Barreda, who, though accompanied by five troop of horse of St. Iago, admitted into his society the Abipones who inhabit the town of Concepcion, with the Caciques Malakin, Debayakaikin, and Ypirikin, as these persons were well acquainted with the ways, and the retreats where the savages are accustomed to conceal themselves. Having, in a few days, travelled more than thirty leagues northward, they reached a place famous for capibaris, but could not discover a trace of the hostile Abipones, who, betaking themselves to the well known recesses of the woods, lakes, and marshes, daily eluded the Spaniards. Seven armed Abipones showed

themselves on the border of a certain wood, defended by an unfordable river, and in mockery, challenged the Spaniards who passed by to fight. Ybarra, a brave master of the watch, ill enduring this jest, swam across the river with only five of his St. Iagans. But as the rest of his fellow-soldiers, whom he expected to follow him, either delayed or refused to do so, he quickly swam back again to the road, fearing, that as the sun was almost set, he should be overtaken by the shades of night, and by a multitude of savages lurking within the wood. At last despairing of a rencounter with the enemy, the Spaniards returned ingloriously home, with empty hands, and horses miserably fatigued. Some blamed Barreda for taking, as companions of his journey, the Caciques Malakin and Debayakaikin, whom, though apparently friends to the Spaniards, they thought to be treacherous in reality. More concerned for the safety of their countrymen, than for the success of the Spaniards, wherever they went, they sent secret intelligence of their approach to the wandering Abipones. That Debayakaikin was ill inclined towards the Spaniards, when he accompanied Barreda, may be inferred from this circumstance, that he shortly after quitted the town of Concepcion with the rest

of his companions, rejoined those who had gone before him to the North, and became openly inimical to the Spaniards. But there, as you will presently hear, he at the same time ceased to live and to be dreaded.

The last vain endeavour of the two Vice-Governors confirmed the Abipones in their old opinion, that they could never be subdued, whilst scattered up and down the country, and acknowledging no other authority than their own; and this confidence doubled their boldness in disturbing the province. The remembrance of those three Abipones, who were kept in chains in the fort of Monte-Video, was a bitter wound to the Nakaiketergehes, and one which they declared incurable except by a plentiful effusion of Spanish blood. To appease them, therefore, the Vice-Governors of Sta. Fè and St. Iago requested the Governor of Buenos-Ayres, to give liberty to those three captives, and restore them to their countrymen. The Vice-Governor complied. But what they had looked upon as a remedy to the disturbed province, proved, on the contrary, the torment and destruction of the Spaniards. The one whose name has slipped my memory, had died, long before, in fetters; and Zapancha, attempting flight, had thrown himself from a high

tower, and injured the spine of his back, so as to render him unfit for a journey. Pachieke, son of Alaykin, alone remaining, was permitted to return to his own country.

Incredible were the testimonies of joy with which he was received by his people. He revisited his wife in the town of St. Jeronymo, and, dissembling his furious thirst for vengeance on the Riikahés, the authors of his captivity, became apparently unmindful of his injuries, desirous of a better way of life, eager for quiet, in short, extremely unlike himself. But the fire concealed beneath the ashes at length broke out into flames. After much secret deliberation, he and his companions departed from the town of St. Jeronymo; and that his doing so might not be attributed to fear of any one, he chose that his flight should be accompanied by considerable rapine. Hastening towards the north, he renewed a fellowship with Debayakaikin, both in arms and place of abode. In the prime of his age, and of a handsome person, ready to engage in any bold enterprize, and extremely expert in plundering, he was soon surrounded by men of accordant years and purposes, who were disposed to follow him, and to distress, under his guidance, the colonies of the Spaniards. There was scarce a

corner of the province which they did not afflict with hostile incursions. The town of St. Jeronymo was what Pachieke aimed most to ravage and devastate; but the vigilance and activity of the inhabitants defeated almost all his endeavours.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CACIQUE DEBAYAKAIKIN SLAIN BY YCHOALAY IN BATTLE, AND HIS HEAD SUSPENDED FROM A GIBBET.

YCHOALAY, not content with the name of an excellent defender, undertook an excursion against Debayakaikin, the chief of the Abiponian plunderers. Rejecting the subsidiary troops of Spaniards and Mocobios, he only admitted into his company the bravest and most approvedly faithful of his own people. When after some days' journey he perceived that Debayakaikin's horde was near at hand, "Let us return," exclaimed he: "a panic which I cannot account for, has got possession of my mind. This unusual tremor portends something disastrous. Come, let us return." His companions, revering these words as if they had been spoken by an oracle, were just going to turn round, when "Holla!" cries another, "are you not ashamed to return home with empty hands? I know that the horses of Pachieke are pasturing undefended in a neighbouring field. What hinders us from carrying off the whole drove, to indemnify ourselves for those which he robbed us of on his depar-

ture?" This advice was approved of, and having possessed themselves of the booty, they prepared for their return. Pachieke, in the mean time, happening to ride that way, sees the plain void of horses, and quickly suspecting the truth of the matter, from the footsteps of the plundering Riikahés, flies to Debayakaikin, laments the loss of the horses, asks for assistance, and expresses great hopes of being able to pursue and chastise the enemy. Without delay, all the neighbouring Abipones, with their Cacique Debayakaikin, eagerly pursue Ychoalay, whom, having overtaken, they challenge to the fight. As usual, the whole of the infantry joined battle. Both sides fought furiously for some time, till victory declared in favour of the Riikahés: for Debayakaikin, the Hector of his people, was slain with a spear by Ychoalay; many of his followers received the same fate from those of his adversary, and indeed, according to common report, not one of the enemy would have escaped alive, had not the conqueror prevented his soldiers from slaying the rest, declaring that he thought no blame attached to the common herd of Indians, who had only taken up arms in obedience to their leader. Pachieke, flying with his people, more solicitous for his own preservation than for that of Debayakaikin, plainly manifested that his chief

courage was displayed against the unarmed and unprepared.

Ychoalay cut off the heads of Debayakaikin, and four of his most noble associates, and carried them home as trophies. Having entered the town, he ordered a gibbet to be erected in the market-place, and the five heads to be suspended from it. In the same place, surrounded by his troops, he harangued the multitude from his horse. "Behold," said he, pointing to the gibbet, "the chastisement of faith so often violated! Behold the trophy of our valour! Now feed your eyes with the spoils of hostile chiefs, who, for a length of time, have scarce permitted you to breathe, and on whose account, alas! we have endured so many sleepless nights, difficult journeys, and painful wounds. This ever various and uncertain warfare, this conflict of so many years' continuance, has at length been terminated to-day, when we, not even thinking of a battle, and to say the truth, retreating, have had a glorious victory thrust, as it were, upon our hands. Something must doubtless be attributed to fortune, but allow me to say, still more to our valour. The whole affair was conducted in such a way as gave me no reason to repent my choice of fellow-soldiers, nor you to be ashamed of the leader you fought under. He who has so long

been threatening your lives, having at length received his death-blow from this spear, can now no longer threaten or inspire terror. This is the head which once devised so many treacheries. Now insult the perfidious one; but lest the same fate attend any of you likewise, be ever regardful of your faith pledged to the Spaniards, and obedient to me who am so anxious for your welfare. I do not consider the vile remnant of our enemies of sufficient importance to be deserving of our fear. The most warlike are dead. The survivors are either cowards or runaways, and owe their present existence merely to having escaped our eyes and hands. The streams dry up when their spring is exhausted, and after the head of the snake has been cut off, the rest of the body, though it may move, is incapable of doing any mischief, and wastes away in a few hours. After the extinction of their leaders, whose heads you here behold, the inimical faction, either from despair of victory, or apprehension of utter ruin, will, by degrees, grow milder, and, laying aside all enmity, accept our friendship." Nearly to this effect, did Ychoalay, who, from a leader, had become an orator, hold forth, and attract to himself the eyes and ears of all; for no one doubted that his words answered to his deeds, and his tongue to his hands. Do not

imagine that I have composed this oration myself, and put it into the mouth of the savage. Many years' experience has proved to me that the Americans can discourse on subjects suited to their capacities, not only with prolixity, but with elegance, and embellish their assertions with metaphors, similes, and figures of speech. They are certainly much more copious and fluent in their language than the rustics of our country.

The four sons of Debayakaikin repaired at first to Ychoalay's horde, but quitted it soon after, and took to a wandering course of life. But neither of them, though sufficiently advanced in years, was thought worthy to succeed his father in the office of Cacique. The whole nation, divided into small parties, lived together under their own authority. Some followed Oaherkaikin, others Pachieke, but many chose for their leader Revachigi, a man of low birth, and few years, but in noble actions, and endowments of mind and body, superior to any veteran.

The Nakaiketergehes, though dispersed in various hordes, prosecuted the war against the Riikahés, with minds ever unanimous, and strength as far as possible united, the recent slaughter of Debayakaikin stimulating them to vengeance. Pachieke, pertinaciously hostile to

the Cordobans, was at length slain in an ambuscade in the country, and his death was a fresh occasion for hostile excursions against the Spaniards. It would be endless to relate the ever-varying successes of this war, by which the town of St. Jeronymo was terribly afflicted, the progress of religious and domestic affairs retarded, and the patience of the fathers wonderfully exercised. But though they had to contend, during twenty years, with scarcity, daily danger of their lives, and hostile machinations, they never thought for a moment of deserting the colony, and at last succeeded so far that they joyfully beheld more than eight hundred persons initiated into the rites of the Church of Rome, besides Ychoalay. If to these you add the infants or adults baptized by them, when dying of the small-pox, or other diseases, you will judge that they had no despicable fruits of their Apostolic labours.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ORIGIN AND COMMENCEMENT OF A COLONY OF ABIPONES, NAMED FROM THE CONCEPTION OF THE DIVINE MOTHER.

CHRISTOPHER Almaraz may be called the founder of this colony; he certainly was the occasion of its being founded. A Spaniard by descent, and born in the country of St. Iago, he was taken captive when a boy by the Abipones, amongst whom he was brought up, and became a savage in countenance, language, mind, and manners. None of the savages was more hostile to the Spaniards than Almaraz, so that he became famous for slaughters and plunderings, and was an Abipon in the eyes of the Abipones themselves, by whom he was not only naturalized, but honoured in an uncommon degree, by receiving in marriage a woman of noble family amongst them, who, after bearing him many children, was carried away to St. Iago, with the other captives taken by Barreda, in his assault. In the hope of recovering his wife, Almaraz entreated his Cacique, Alaykin, to request Barreda to grant a colony for his countrymen, declaring that this was the surest and

the only method of procuring the liberty of the captives. He offered his services as orator and ambassador in the negociation. This advice being approved by Alaykin, Almaraz set off unaccompanied and unarmed, and after travelling more than a hundred leagues, entered the town of St. Iago. The business succeeded to his wish, and Barreda assented with pleasure to his petition for a colony.

Supported by the assistance of the Governor of Tucuman, and by repeated conversations well acquainted with the inclinations of the Cacique Alaykin, he founded a colony on the eastern shore of the river Inespin, which is nine leagues distant from the Parana, sixty from the city of Sta. Fè, and a hundred and seventy from the land of St. Iago. The town was situated on a gentle acclivity. The climate was admirably temperate, neither parched with summer heats, nor starving with frost or cold winds. In the neighbourhood was a river, supplying wholesome water, a wide plain abounding in pasture, and woods which afforded fruit-trees, fire-wood, and timber for building. There was an incredible variety of wild animals fit for the chase. All kinds of palm-trees grew near at hand. In an immense plain, extending towards the south, you beheld many thousands of wandering

horses; and the marshes, lakes, and rivers abounded in otters and capibaris. The soil moreover was extremely fertile, and favourable to any kind of seed. These numerous advantages induced the Cacique Alaykin to choose that place for the site of the colony. His companions too, greatly approved of the situation, thinking that the more distant it was from the towns of the Spaniards, the better secured it must be from their attacks. Rivers frequently unfordable, immense swamps, marshes, and lakes many miles in extent, incredibly retard the journey from St. Iago to this colony.

By Barreda's orders some little chapels and cottages for the Fathers and the Cacique were hastily built by the soldiers of stakes plastered over with mud. The town was committed to the care of Fathers Joseph Sanchez, a Murcian, and Bartolome Araez, a Tucuman, who was succeeded, in a few months, by Lorenzo Casado, a native of Castile. The whole colony was governed by Alaykin, who had been made Cacique, not so much from the prerogative of birth, as from military merit. He was a man of good understanding, a gentle disposition, remarkable candour, and universal intrepidity; on which account he was equally dear to his own people and formidable to the Spaniards, whose colonies

he had for many years wearied with his inroads. Above all, the countries of Cordoba and St. Iago found him a destructive and implacable enemy. Though a frequent attendant at drinking-parties, his conduct was exemplary in this respect, that he always avoided the quarrels and altercations incident to drunkenness. During his whole life, he contented himself with one wife, by whom he had two daughters and as many sons, all remarkable for strength and comeliness. The eldest was the unfortunate Pachieke, whom I have lately spoken of. The Caciques Malakin, Ypirikin, Oaikin, and Zapancha, with their followers, soon after joined Alaykin, so that the new colony was wonderfully increased by the accession of so many families. These savages were attracted by the expectation of the clothes, presents, and beef, which was daily distributed gratis to all: and they were not deceived in their hopes, as the estate of this colony was managed with more care and liberality than that of any other. For besides those cattle which Barreda had collected from the opulent Spaniards, the Governor Martinez, with money from the royal treasury, purchased two thousand bulls out of Peru, and as many elsewhere, and sent them thither. This number was, in a few years, increased to twenty thou-

sand head of kine by the industry of Father Sanchez, though many thousands were consumed by the voracity of the Abipones.

The women returned from captivity amongst the Spaniards caused the Fathers a great deal of trouble. From long intercourse with the lower orders of Spaniards, with Negroes, and Mulattoes, they had contracted habits execrated even by the savages, and imbibed opinions sure to produce mischief to the inhabitants of the colony. Still imbittered by the remembrance of their servitude, they left no stone unturned to alienate the minds of their countrymen from the Spaniards and the priests; to prevent the young children and sick adults from receiving baptism; and to inspire the rest with a horror of the divine law, and a reverence for their ancient superstitions. To effect these purposes, they used to invent calumnies, spread reports of hostile intentions on the part of the Spaniards towards the Abipones, and advise flight from the colony, in which they sometimes succeeded, obtaining the more credit from the Abipones on account of their long residence with the Spaniards. The wife of Christopher Almaraz was, of all the female captives, by far the greatest plague to the colony, as she exceeded the rest in high birth, in the propensity to lying, and in

aversion to the Roman Catholic religion. After receiving some superficial religious instruction in the city of St. Iago, she was united to Almaraz in the church, and with proper ceremonies, but was divorced by him on entering the town of Concepcion, under pretext of her impiety, and his ignorance of the perpetuity of wedlock; her age, however, was his real objection, and when settled amongst his own countrymen he aspired to fresh nuptials with a Spanish girl. He obtained the permission of the bishop of Tucuman himself for this marriage, because it was proved, by convincing evidence, that his former Abiponian spouse was related to another woman whom he had married during his residence amongst the Abipones. Almaraz, now in possession of his wishes, exercised the art of medicine in his own country, with great profit and approbation,—I wish I could add, with equal benefit to his patients. Who would not laugh at the idea of the lower order of Spaniards, that whoever has dwelt for some time amongst the savages must necessarily have attained the knowledge of herbs and secret arts of healing, which Galen himself never dreamt of, though the whole of his residence amongst them may have been employed in slaying and scalping, and in drinking. I do not, however, deny

that some of them, when they returned to their own country, became useful to the Governors, by successfully performing the offices of scouts and guides. They likewise acted as interpreters when a parley was held with the savages.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FLIGHT OF THE ABIPONES FROM THE TOWN OF
CONCEPCION AND THEIR RETURN TO IT.

THE new town prospered extremely in the beginning and enjoyed entire safety and tranquillity; but this deep calm was succeeded by a sudden storm, and dismal wreck. The Abipones learnt from no dubious report that the Spaniards had thoughts of removing the town, and placing it in a situation nearer to their own city. Accounting this purposed removal extremely perilous both to their lives and liberties, they began to deliberate on flight, the Fathers suspecting nothing of the matter. On the very day of their departure, Alaykin informed Father Sanchez that himself and his people were prepared for the journey, saying that he had a reason for his departure, which, however, he did not specify. He then demands a flock of two thousand sheep; which the Father, equally astonished and terrified at this unexpected news, was obliged to grant. They were all gone in a moment, leaving behind them only three of the most daring Abipones who had agreed to slay both the Fathers in the night, to

plunder the chapel, and carry away the household furniture. But, as I have elsewhere related, Ychoalay arriving the same day delivered the Fathers from that state of peril, and assisted them in conveying the sacred and domestic utensils to the town of St. Jeronymo. Father Casado, with the Spaniard who guarded the cattle, repaired to Sta. Fè, whence couriers were sent to Cordoba and St. Iago to announce the flight of Alaykin. Great terror was excited in both places by this news, no one doubting but that the savages would recommence their plunderings. On which account, that little brick fortress situated in El Tio (a plain so called between Cordoba and St. Iago) was erected in its present form, to repress all hostile invasions.

Joseph Sanchez, in the town of St. Jeronymo, eagerly awaited the arrival of Barreda, with a troop of St. Iagans, in the persuasion that on his receiving intelligence of Alaykin's flight he would come either to restore the fugitives to their colony, or pursue them with arms if they refused to return. Many days had passed, when, presaging the approach of soldiers from the smoke daily observed toward the city of Sta. Fè, he hastened on horseback to the deserted town, accompanied by an Indian Christian. On the way he was spied by some wandering

Abipones hidden within a wood, and destined by them to death when he arrived in the vacant town. As the fleas prevented him from getting any sleep in his former bed, he was obliged to lie down in the court-yard of the house. The Indian servant was his only companion: when they were both sound asleep three savages burst into the court-yard; one of them was aiming a deadly blow, with a spear, at the Father, when he suddenly awoke, snatched up a musket, and put the assailant and his two companions to flight. He then returned unhurt to the town of St. Jeronymo without having seen so much as the shadow of a horseman from St. Iago.

At the end of many weeks Barreda arrived with some companies of St. Iago's horse. Having pitched his camp in sight of the deserted colony, he sent Landriel with a very few companions to the horde of Alaykin. Arrived there, he proclaims a pardon, in the name of Barreda, for their desertion, on condition of their immediate return; he endeavours to persuade them that the reports concerning the removal of the colony were false and futile; and tells them that Barreda is coming laden with gifts to reward the obedient, but at the same time accompanied with a formidable number of soldiers. The Abipones, yielding to the eloquence of this benevolent man, laid aside their fears, and returned, in

company with Landriel, to their former abode. On their return they were not only cordially received, but liberally rewarded with the usual presents, by Barreda, whom you would have supposed either ignorant or unmindful of their late desertion. All good men admired his prudence in treating the savages, though culpable, with gentleness and kindness, like children, who, when in error, are more easily induced to amendment by toys than by threats or infliction of punishment.

Certainly Barreda is to be praised for abstaining from unseasonable rigour, but his bestowing so many caresses on the Abiponian chiefs, and promising more than he was able to perform, was perhaps worthy of censure. The Abipones, relying on this indulgence from the Spaniards, whom they imagined afraid of them, grew bolder in their attempts than before. Let one example serve for all the rest. Barreda, on his departure, left in the colony some bales of woollen cloth, to pay the Spaniards hired to guard the cattle. The Abipones, through the artifices of the female captives, were deceived into a belief that this cloth was intended for their own clothing, and threatened to kill the Father if he did not immediately give it up to them. As they passed the night in unusual noise and drinking, the Father was afraid that when

intoxicated they would execute their threat of taking away his life; and to avert this danger delivered up, next day, all the cloth in his house to the greedy and formidable savages. In a few days, at the command of the Provincial, I removed from St. Xavier to that colony, accompanied by fifteen hundred Mocobian horsemen. Great was my surprize to see a crowd of Abipones, almost all clothed in garments of the same colour, riding out to meet us; for they suspect all comers of hostile intentions, and imagine them treacherously inclined. I reached the court-yard of our house, surrounded and almost overwhelmed by this troop of Abiponian horsemen. Father Sanchez came out to meet me, and rushed into my embrace. His figure, dress, and appearance inspired me first with terror, and afterwards with pity. He wore a hat made of straw. His gown was dirty, worn, and of no colour. His beard was long, thick, and blacker than pitch. The affliction of his soul appeared in his countenance. "Were I a captive at Algiers, amongst the Moors," said he, "my life would be more tolerable than amongst these savages by whom you see me surrounded." Having entered his chamber, with the crowd of Abipones still at my side, I opened my packet to deliver the Bishop's letter to the Father, when they all thrust their hands into it, and not

only examined everything, but would have stolen any of my little matters that happened to please their fancies, had they not been restrained by respect for the by-standers. Shortly after, the whole market-place resounded with the clangor of war trumpets, the neighing of horses, and the shouting of women. On my inquiring the cause of this uproar, they replied that the savage Mocobios were at hand. At the same time the Heavens bellowing with thunder, and the approaching shades of night, increased our horror. "See!" said the Father to me, "amid what daily tumults our lives are passed: to these, whether you like it or no, you must be enured." A hut, built of stakes plastered over with mud, was given me for a habitation, straw or hay for a roof, wooden shutters for a window, a rough board without a lock for a door, a piece of wood scarcely planed for a table, a bull's hide suspended on four posts for a bed, and the grassy ground, all perforated by ants, for a floor. Immense gaps in the walls and roof afforded ready admission to wind, dust, rain, and sun, as well as to serpents, gnats, and toads. The decaying palms which supported the roof distressed my ears exceedingly with the hiss of gnawing worms, and my eyes with the yellow dust that fell from them both by day and night. Great pieces of plaster, often weighing thirty

pounds, broke all at once from the wall, and were more than enough to crush me had they touched any part of my body. What shall I say of my fare? Beef, either boiled or roasted, was my daily dinner and supper, and if to this some maize, or a melon were added, we thought we had fared sumptuously; for we had not yet time to cultivate our fields or garden, to which however, afterwards, we diligently applied ourselves. Bread was never even dreamt of. The river supplied us with our only beverage, and wine could seldom be obtained even for mass. This scarcity of all necessaries will not be attributed to our own improvidence when it is recollected that the city of St. Iago, where we had to procure everything, was a hundred and seventy leagues from our town, that of Sta. Fè sixty, and that we were often prevented from attempting the journey by the inconvenience and danger which marshes and wandering savages occasioned. Such was the face of affairs for two years in that town, which may be called my apprenticeship amongst the savages, and the trial of my patience.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE VICISSITUDES AND DISTURBANCES OF THE COLONY.

To civilize the savages, and teach them the ordinances of the holy religion, this was the one thing which we had most at heart, and towards this all our cares and labours were directed. Yet had we often to complain of the fruitlessness of our endeavours. The Abipones, whose thoughts were continually engaged in attacking or repulsing their enemies, with the exception of a very few, refused to attend to religious instruction, or pay us any obedience. Fresh tumults arose daily, one proceeding from another. Their ancient ill-will to the savage Mocabios, though it seemed forgotten for a while, was again revived by fresh and repeated injuries. These savages frequently came and carried off droves of horses, slaying all they met if any resistance was made. A few days before my arrival one of our Abipones pierced two of the plunderers with a spear. Not long after, a great number of Mocabios, to revenge the deaths of these men, carried off an immense drove of horses from the remoter pastures of our colony, by night, and without being perceived by any one. Whilst

hastening homewards in possession of their booty, and anticipating no attack, they were observed in crossing a wood, by our Abipones who had passed the night there to gather the alfaroba, and who suddenly fell upon them, slew some, wounded others, and put the rest to flight.

The Mocobios, by no means disheartened at this bad fortune, repeated their assaults, sometimes in troops, sometimes in small parties. On St. Joseph's day a numerous band of Mocobios concealed themselves in a neighbouring wood about evening. But this ambuscade was discovered by one of the Abipones, and destroyed by the rest, who rushed upon them in one company. For nearly two hours the whole plain trembled beneath the flying Mocobios and pursuing Abipones, whilst the air resounded with military trumpets. The women and children concealed themselves meantime within the inclosure of our court-yard, whilst I kept watch at the entrance of it. The shades of night, and the raging of a stormy south wind, created inexpressible horror. As nothing could be seen amid such profound darkness, I laid hold of my musket on perceiving a horseman softly approaching the door. From his voice, however, I discovered it to be Alaykin, who had separated himself from the rest, and was riding

about to take a survey, and see whether any ambuscade were lurking thereabouts. At length the war trumpets ceased, and from the deep silence of the whole plain I felt convinced that the Mocobios were driven to a very great distance. I therefore retired into my den to sleep: but before I had reached the bed a fresh tumult of horsemen and trumpets was heard in the market-place, accompanied with confused shouts and such a doleful lamentation of the women that I almost thought the savages were cutting their throats. I instantly snatched up my arms and ran to the place. The enemies, who wished in their hasty flight to return towards the north, deceived by the darkness, went southward, and were driven into the market-place by a troop of Abipones. Amid such clamouring both of the pursuers and of the pursued, I do not know whether one drop of blood was shed by these heroes. This I know, that I spent a sleepless night, watching at the door of the court-yard for the protection of the old women; as my companion, who should have relieved me in my office of watchman, was tormented with a violent tooth-ache.

That, too, was a memorable day when a fresh incursion of the Mocobios was averted by the craftiness of our Abipones. These savages were discovered meditating an assault upon the town

in a neighbouring field. Our Abipones were all absent, except seven, which caused the Cacique Alaykin great anxiety. Hamihegemkin, a little, but very brave man, exclaimed, "Since men and strength are wanting, we must fight with cunning to-day." Forthwith he puts on a Spanish dress, and accompanied with six others approaches the Mocobios, who, suspecting that the St. Iagan soldiers were lying in wait for them, preferred flight to combat.

At length, perceiving that these petty excursions, performed by detached parties, were fruitless, and even prejudicial to themselves, the Mocobios determined to assault our town with their whole force. They formed a warlike alliance with the Tobas, Lenguas, Mataguayos, Malbalaes, Yapitalakas, and Vilelas. Out of so many nations a vast number of savages was assembled, who, relying on the multitude of their confederates, and the excellence of their leaders, thought themselves hastening to victories, and rich spoils of all sorts of cattle, rather than to a contested fight. Two or three times indeed they began the journey, but were obliged to return and abandon their undertaking, at one time by a drought and consequent scarcity of water, at another by a heavy flood, and once by their horses, which were completely knocked up by the heat of the sun. Although the ene-

mies were not able to reach our town, yet a rumour which spread amongst us respecting their numbers, and the journey they had commenced, disturbed our minds almost more than their actual presence would have done. Esteeming themselves unable to cope with such a mighty force, numbers withdrew from the colony, under pretext of a desire to hunt; and the few who remained, having their apprehensions, and their actual danger augmented by the number of seceders, were constantly filling our ears with reports of the enemy's approach, so that we were obliged to be perpetually on the watch to prevent the possibility of a surprize. To this constant war with foreign foes was added an intestine one between the two Abiponian nations, whose inveterate enmities were extremely detrimental to the progress of the new colony.

About this time continual tumults were created in the neighbouring town of St. Jeronymo by Debayakaikin, who, as I have related, was always either threatening or assaulting. Ychoalay, believing our Alaykin to be amicably inclined towards that Cacique, and privy to his machinations to the hurt of the Riikahés, entertained an implacable hatred towards him on that account, and left nothing unattempted which might cause trouble to his hordesmen.

It is best to trace these feuds and disturbances to their very origin. For full fifteen months after their settling in the colony of Concepcion our Abipones refrained from annoying the Spaniards in any way, and faithfully preserved the peace established between them. One horse was the destruction of Troy; it was likewise the cause of mischief to this colony. One of the Spaniards, who brought us the two thousand cows purchased by the Governor of Tucuman from the estates of Sta. Fè, secretly carried off a very excellent horse. This was heavily complained of by the owner, who, to indemnify himself for the loss, stole fourteen choice horses, by night, from some estate belonging to Sta. Fè. The affair being discovered, Ychoalay, who always kept two spies in our town, came with the Spaniard to whom those horses belonged, and brought them home again in spite of the Abipones. This recovery, effected not without mutual threats and injuries, excited our Abipones to renew their former acts of rapine. Troops of the younger Abipones, to show that Ychoalay, though supported by the Spaniards, was no object of fear to them, used to break into the estates of Sta. Fè, for the purpose of carrying off horses, the Abipones, their superiors in age and station, not daring to object, and we Jesuits being kept in ignorance of

the fact, or vainly inveighing against it. Ychoalay, provoked at hearing of the horses which our pillagers had taken, flew alone and unarmed to our colony, where he held forth to the inhabitants, from the horse on which he sat, about instantly restoring the horses of the Spaniards. But he was scoffed at by many of the bystanders, and called a rogue and a knave by Alaykin, whose son Pachiekè, the chief of the plunderers, challenged him to single combat by aiming at him with an arrow, to which Ychoalay, scorning so youthful an adversary, bared his breast. Provoked by these insults he betook himself to my house, saying, "Your people will not listen to me; what I cannot obtain by words, I will extort by arms. If they do not restore the horses forthwith, I shall return in three days, and insist upon a battle, and I now hasten home to collect as many soldiers as possible." After passing the night with us, he returned in great anger to his colony. All our endeavours to pacify and divert him from his purpose were vain; our Abipones too withstood our entreaties, choosing to endure the worst rather than restore the horses they had plundered. My companion, presaging all sorts of disasters, whatever were the event of this combat, took a journey to the town of St. Jeronimo for the purpose of appeasing Ychoalay's mind,

which, however, he would have failed to effect, had not Chitalin, Cacique of the Mocobios then acting as guards in the town of St. Jeronymo, for fear of Debayakaikin, inspired Ychoalay with milder sentiments. But as the hatred existing between these tribes was only laid asleep for a time, not extinguished, that short-lived calm was the forerunner of dreadful tempests, one following hard upon another.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MY JOURNEY TO ST. IAGO ON BUSINESS PERTAINING TO
THE COLONY.

AFFAIRS were in such a state that both colonies seemed on the verge of destruction, as well from mutual enmity, as from the persecutions of foreign foes. "One of us," said Father Sanchez, "must go to St. Iago to inform the Governor of Tucuman, or his deputy Barreda, of our present jeopardy, and ask his advice on the subject. This journey, of an hundred and seventy leagues, amid vast wildernesses, where you can scarce discover a vestige of mankind, except wandering savages, who sally forth to plunder, is, as you are well aware, full both of peril and inconvenience." Unterrified by this representation, I preferred going to the city, as a messenger, to remaining as a guard in the endangered town, foreseeing that, should it be destroyed in my companion's absence, the whole blame would be laid on me by the Spaniards. I entered upon this difficult journey accompanied by three Indians, who, though converted to Christianity, were more uncivilized than any of the savages. To these was

added a Mulatto, who had been kept in chains at Sta. Fè, for stealing ten thousand Spanish crowns from a waggon conveying Peruvian money to the merchants; but escaping from prison was ordered, by the Corregidor, to preside over the guards of the cattle, by way of atoning for his crime. Thus a man convicted of theft, and escaped from prison, was my companion on the way. Oh! what a noble guard, and attendant! Yet his services were both necessary and useful to me. That part of the country which we had to cross was, in great part, covered with lakes and marshes overgrown with reeds and bulrushes, and swelled to such a degree by continual rain, that our horses could scarcely ford them; the deep holes, and ant-hills, too, hidden under the water, caused us to stumble perpetually. The rest of the plain country was deluged with water, and scarcely afforded a turf where we might lie down at night, or our horses take pasture. For the first three days of our journey, we were persecuted, day and night, by unceasing rain and thunder. Our clothes, our bodies, even the breviary, in short whatever we made use of, were dripping with water. Our provision, which consisted of beef alone, was continually moistened till it swarmed with worms; the weather at last

becoming tranquil, we tied it to a rope and hung it out to dry, but the stench of it was intolerable even at a distance: nevertheless, as no other food was to be procured in that vast solitude, we were obliged to allay our hunger with this putrid meat, that we might not absolutely die of want. My Indian companions caught an immense fish in the river Salado, but they devoured it all themselves, and would not give me a morsel, though I was labouring under the extremity of hunger. By many days' rain, rivers, not otherwise very large, were swelled above their banks, and rendered a passage not only difficult but even dangerous. Moreover, the hide we used to cross rivers with was softened to such a degree that it could not be used, unless stuffed out with boughs on every side. Our having escaped the eyes of the savages who infested those places we considered a very wonderful, as well as fortunate circumstance; for though we observed here and there the fresh footmarks both of themselves and their horses, we were never discovered by them.

The horses, of which we took a great number, on account of the length of the journey, were so much fatigued with swimming and fasting, as to be scarce able to bear their saddles. Their hoofs, too, were softened by the

water, which greatly impeded their progress. I must own that I was exceedingly fatigued myself with sitting on horseback such a length of time, in rainy weather; for it is very unpleasant to have one's clothes wet both day and night, so that they cling to the skin. My companions used to take off all their clothes, and remain naked till they were dried by the air, or the fire; but I could not have followed their example without violating the laws of decency. My strength moreover was greatly exhausted by fasting so many days: for I could never eat more than a few mouthfuls of the stinking meat, though destitute of any other provision. On the thirteenth day of our journey, impelled by hunger, I rushed into a solitary cottage which met my eyes, and though nothing was to be found there but a melon and three heads of maize, this scanty meal seemed quite to restore my exhausted strength.

After having spent sixteen days on the road, we at last came in sight of St. Iago, but were prevented from entering it by the river Dulce, which had been increased to such a width by an unusually violent flood, that it was become formidable to the most dexterous swimmers. Its course was so rapid as to bear down vast trunks of trees, and cottages torn from the banks, which, had they encountered the hide

on which we were sailing, would have overturned, or torn it to pieces. My crossing this sea in safety, I owe to Barreda, who, on being informed of my arrival on the opposite shore, sent two famous swimmers from the city to carry me over.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MY STAY AT THE CITY OF ST. IAGO. THE VISIT OF OUR CACIQUE, ALAYKIN, TO THE GOVERNOR OF SALTA.

AFTER the customary salutations on both sides, I made my excellent friend Barreda acquainted with the state of the colony. We held continual consultations on the speediest remedies. In a few days a courier was dispatched with letters to Martinez, Governor of Tucuman, at Salta, whence the Governor sent another to Xexui, where the keepers of the royal treasury reside. In the meantime, I was obliged to remain at St. Iago, where I was by no means unemployed. Besides attending to the business of the colony, I was almost daily occupied in confessing Spanish and Negro penitents, who flocked to me from all quarters, as being a stranger, and likely soon to leave the city. The Governor Martinez had often and earnestly requested that Alaykin, and the other Abiponian Caciques, might be sent to visit him at Salta, as he was in hopes of being able to conciliate them by fair words, handsome entertainment, and liberal gifts : but the savages are of a suspicious and fearful temper, and always

apprehend treachery and deceit in the friendship of the Spaniards. Alaykin, though often invited, had uniformly declined going: now, induced by what reasons I do not know, he suddenly arrived, whilst I was at St. Iago, with two of the more reputable Abipones, and after resting three days in that city, pursued his journey to Salta. The provident Barreda sent two Spaniards with him, one to act as guide, the other as interpreter, and both as defenders against assailants. This journey was little approved either by Barreda or myself; because we foresaw that should any one of the Abipones perish amongst those rocks, either from the unwonted cold of a foreign clime; or from tertian ague, which is very common there, on account of the unwholesome water; or from any other cause; the whole Abiponian nation would undoubtedly attribute it to the malignant arts of the Spaniards, and this suspicion would be the origin of an immediate war. The first day that the Abipones spent at St. Iago they were very near conceiving suspicions injurious to the Spaniards. At that time the yearly rite was solemnized of carrying about the holy wafer, some praying with a loud voice, some singing, and others dancing, to imitate David when he leapt before the ark of the covenant. To testify the public joy, very small muskets were fired up and down

the streets. The Abipones, as yet ignorant of these ceremonies, would have sworn that the Spaniards were saluting them with gunpowder, had I not made them sensible of their error. At the time when the procession is passing through the streets, men dressed in a ridiculous costume like merry-andrews, and called by the Paraguayrians *Cachidiablos*, run about, and strike the common people with a whip, if they trespass upon silence or religious decorum. Suppose one of the Abipones, whilst walking about unarmed, had received a single blow from these foolish harlequins, when would they have ceased complaining of the injury done them by the Spaniards? What an argument would it have been for breaking terms with them, and renewing the war? It may be generally observed, that the savages, however friendly to the Spaniards, can never sojourn long in their towns without endangering this amicable disposition. They imagine injuries though they do not receive any, and are often offended at a shadow.

Reflecting upon these things, I would not be persuaded by Barreda to accompany the Abipones who were going to Salta, representing that if the Governor reproached them with faults of which he might have been informed by Father Sanchez, they would suspect me of having been their accuser, and pronounce me

deserving of the eternal hatred of the whole nation. Alaykin was sumptuously entertained, and clothed by the Governor at great expense, but with little profit; for on his return, when he displayed his splendid dress of valuable scarlet cloth, and boasted of all the honours heaped upon him by the Governor, "See!" said they, "how we are feared by the Spaniards!" Thus acts of liberality and kindness were foolishly construed into testimonies of fear. The lower orders of Spaniards, too, were angry at beholding Alaykin bedecked in a beautiful Spanish robe, "Look!" they exclaimed, "this is the reward which a fellow who has merited the gallows an hundred times over, obtains for plundering and burning our property." Alaykin himself, however, was so little taken with the splendor of this Spanish dress, that he let it lie and mildew in the chest, never appearing in the town with it but once, and then, without shirt, shoes, or breeches, he was rather an object of laughter than of admiration.

It is worthy of remark, that at the very time when Alaykin was entertained in so friendly a manner by the Spaniards, some Abipones broke into the estates of the Cordobans to carry off horses, but were put to flight by a soldier. One of the fugitives, a hordesman of Alaykin, was taken, and detained in prison at Cordoba; but

at the earnest request of Barreda and myself was suffered to return home, lest the savages should avenge his captivity by the blood of the Spaniards. About the same time it was announced that a company of Abipones had attacked the St. Iagans in the Silvas del Hierro, as I have related elsewhere. Although this incursion had been headed by Oaherkaikin, it was attributed to the fellow-soldiers of Alaykin by ill-natured people, who wished to get our colony and its founder Barreda into disrepute. But this fable was afterwards detected by means of the captives, who, when restored to liberty, declared that their comrades were slain, and themselves made prisoners by the hordesmen of Debayakaikin.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MY DISASTROUS RETURN TO OUR COLONY.

HAVING settled affairs to the best of my power, I was provided by Barreda, on my departure, with forty soldiers, who were to act as guards in the colony, and to assist and instruct the Indians in cultivating land; but, at the end of a month, were to be succeeded by others for the same length of time. The soldiers said they would wait for me at a plain thirty leagues from St. Iago; but, on arriving, I only found nine there, and, as the captain affirmed that no more were ordered to attend me, I thought it best to begin the journey with these few. In a very short time, however, I had to retrace my steps, for the soldiers, alarmed at their weakness, were in constant apprehension of meeting armies of savages, bearing bloodshed and slaughter along with them. Every step that brought them nearer to the retreats of the savages increased their terror. Seeing smoke at a distance, they entertained no doubt of its being the indication of an ambuscade. Things were in such a state that they obstinately refused to proceed; they did indeed return a little way, and could hardly

be recalled by the eloquence of their captain. The same day we chose a situation to pass the night in, which the nature of the place defended from sudden attacks, the river Salado, with its steep bank, being in front, and a rugged wood behind. But about sun-set, just when the horses were let loose to pasture, and we ourselves seated at the fire, our ears were assaulted by a sudden howling of the savages from the wood, which, to the cowardly soldiers, was the signal for flight, not for a battle. Without delay every one catches his horse, and gets it ready. I represented to them that if they quitted their station the Indians might easily slay them whilst dispersed, but that if they remained united in one company, I saw nothing so very dreadful to be apprehended, as we had muskets in readiness, and the savages would attempt nothing that night if they smelt gunpowder. By this speech I prevailed upon them to remain quietly where they were, but at every motion the savages made they flew to their horses, which they had ready saddled; so great was their trepidation. One of the soldiers, a fat, but very handsome man, dissolved into tears, dolefully exclaiming every minute, "Then we must die this night!" For myself, I freely confess that the fears of my companions caused me more alarm than the threats of the savages.

That I might not, therefore, remain alone and on foot in this vast desert, in case my companions should fly and leave me, I ordered the swiftest of my horses to be caught and harnessed, that I might accompany the rest as far as possible. Fatigued and drowsy, I slept greatest part of the night on the bare turf at my horse's feet, holding the reins and a musket in my hand.

As soon as morning dawned, whilst the sand on the shores of the river bore visible marks of the feet of the Indians, the soldiers, disregarding the commands of their captain, returned home full speed, and obliged me to follow them, unless I preferred perishing in a perilous wild, full a hundred leagues in extent. I had ninety-four leagues to return, for to such a distance from the city had we travelled. The soldiers, to shorten the way, passed through the trackless woods of Turugòn, and through marshy fields, till they arrived, with me, at their native place, Salabina. The priest of the village, Clement Xerez de Calderon, embraced me with the utmost cordiality, and consoled me when I complained of the return of the runaway soldiers. "You are come to this town," said he, "by divine dispensation, to pronounce a panegyric on the Holy Mother:" for the Carmelite feast was at hand, which is annually celebrated in that place for nine successive days. Numbers of all ranks

assemble there out of the whole province, and as the place is too small to contain so many thousands of strangers, most of them are obliged to pass the night out of doors amongst the bushes, whilst the better sort are entertained by the priest. The church, though small, was furnished with very precious sacred utensils, and ornamented with more silver than is commonly seen in European churches, most part of which the priest had inherited from a Peruvian canon, a relation of his. In this church then I pronounced a panegyric of an hour's length to a very numerous audience; amongst the rest, the Vice-Governor and all the chief people of the city were present, by whom, at the end of the discourse, I was honourably conducted, amid the noise of fireworks and small cannons, to the priest's house, where, according to custom, brandy and tobacco-pipes were liberally distributed amongst the crowd of Spanish horse. During the twelve days of my unwelcome detention in this place, I devoted the whole of my time which was not spent in short slumbers, meals, and the performance of divine service, to absolving penitents, who attended me in the open plain near the church. Meantime, at Barrera's command, forty soldiers were called out to accompany me on my second return, and were ordered to assemble in a field some leagues distant from Sa-

labina. In this place, I and a few others remained three days in the open air, amid continual frost, and in danger of being devoured by tigers, vainly awaiting the rest of the soldiers; for after all there arrived no more than five-and-twenty, one of whom deserted the first night, carrying off with him some of the captain's horses. Having swam across the river Turugòn, we entered Chaco; and that we might have no sudden attack to fear from the savages who abide there, seven scouts were sent forward by day, and returned at night to make their report to the captain. These scouts discovered a party of Tobas and Mocobios, who, in flying to their lurking-holes with a herd of horses taken from the estates of Sta. Fè, set fire to all the woods and plains through which they passed, that their countrymen might be pre-informed of their return by means of the smoke. That night we passed without sleep: for the flames, which approached us before, behind, and on both sides, appeared to threaten us with destruction; and, although we escaped this, we were all very nearly blinded and suffocated by the smoke. A wind arising the next morning, averted the fire and the danger from us. Conflagrations of this kind are very frequent in the immense plains of Paraguay, and often prove destructive to travellers,

beasts, and cattle. In this case, as in many others, to escape being burnt alive, we were obliged to leap upon our horses without having time to harness them properly, and to gallop right through the flames, which it was impossible either to extinguish or to avoid. The fire which is kindled by travellers at night, or noon, and which they often neglect to extinguish on their departure, spreads, if a strong wind arise, and sets the whole plain on fire. The tall dry grass, reeds, and bulrushes, extended like a crop of corn on every side, afford combustible materials to feed the flame for many weeks: the woods too, which, being burnt by the sun's heat during the greatest part of the year, abound in pitch and gum, are easily set on fire, and with difficulty extinguished. The smoke often fills the air with such impenetrable darkness, that the sun is hid, and night brought back at mid-day. I myself have seen clouds and lightning suddenly proceed from this smoke, as it is flying off like a whirlwind; so that the Indians are not to be blamed for setting fire to the plains, in order to procure rain, they having learnt that the thicker smoke turns into clouds which pour forth water. Burning the plains, however, is not always a certain method of procuring rain, without the co-operation of other causes: for,

during a two-years' drought which we endured, the fields and groves blazed up and down the country for months, and yet the fire never yielded us any water; this caused Father Brigniel to think that these frequent conflagrations dried up the vapours of the earth, which at other times ascend to the sky and coalesce, first into clouds, and afterwards into showers. But from my own observation, I can tell that condensed smoke, not very far removed from fire, is converted into clouds, and sends forth thunder and lightning. This matter I leave to the discussion of natural philosophers, and proceed in the relation of my journey with the St. Iagans.

I must not be silent upon a circumstance, which was at first a subject of alarm, and afterwards of hearty laughter to us. A number of Abipones employed in drying otter-skins were concealed, together with their families, in a field shaded by a little wood. Suspecting a hostile attack, as they perceived us passing by, at day-break, they began to utter their usual yells. The St. Iagans, on the other hand, amazed at this sudden vociferation, imagined that the savages were lying in wait for them, so that a great consternation was excited on both sides. I soon began to suspect the truth of the

matter, and mentioned my surmise to the captain; on which he ordered a drove of our horses to be placed in the midst of the company, lest they should be carried off by the Indians. A more active steed being substituted for the one on which I was riding, he ordered two soldiers to accompany me, with whom I was to go forward, and if any Indian appeared in sight, to observe, and accost him: for no one but myself understood the language either of the Abipones or Mocobios. I requested the captain to follow me at a distance, slowly, and without a noise, that he might be at hand to give me aid, if it were needed, with which, being a good-natured man, he was very ready to comply. After having gone a little way, I met an Abiponian horseman quietly coming to reconnoitre us, and on his nearer approach perceived him to be an inhabitant of our town; upon which I acquainted him with the cause of my journey, with the small number and amicable dispositions of my companions, afterwards inquiring after the health of Father Sanchez and Alaykin, and other things of that kind. The Abipon, relieved from his suspicions, informed me that he and his companions were employed in seeking honey in the neighbouring woods, and in hunting otters in the lakes, and courteously invited us to visit his

countrymen. Four soldiers were sent by the captain to ascertain the truth of this representation, and they quickly returned laden by the Abipones with abundance of honey: but the mutual delivery from fear of an hostile attack was sweeter far than any honey.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE PERPETUAL DISTURBANCES OF THE TOWN OF CONCEPCION.

AFTER an absence of five months spent at St. Iago, and in my journeys thither and back, I was received by the people with great demonstrations of affection; and their joy was increased by the liberal presents which I made them of scissars, glass-beads, and other things of that description. But the affairs of the town remained in the same state as before: and there seemed to be no hope of procuring tranquillity. The Mocobios and their allies were always full of menace, often committed actual mischief. The elder Abipones, though they refrained from molesting the Spaniards, pertinaciously indulged in their usual drinking-bouts; but the younger part could not be induced to remain quietly at home, delighting to wander up and down, and commit depredations. The old women, obstinately adhering to their ancient superstitions, were not only averse to our religion themselves, but endeavoured to inspire others with the same dislike of it. No one would enter the church unless induced by the hope of reward, and very

few would attend to the sacred instructions at mid-day. Almost all were engaged in pursuits and studies of a different nature. Military expeditions were undertaken one after another.

Alaykin, to testify his fidelity to the Spaniards, and to clear himself from some suspicions that were entertained against him, went out against Oaherkaikin, and by threats or promises obliged him to give up the captives taken in the woods where Lisondo and the other St. Iagans had been lately slain. After a sort of friendship had been simulated, rather than contracted between Ychoalay and Alaykin, our townsmen went to assist the Abipones of St. Jeronymo in two expeditions against Debaya-kaikin, from which, however, they derived more loss than advantage. A warlike alliance did indeed subsist for a short time between the inhabitants of the two towns, but never any concord in their hearts; for our Abipones, extremely well disposed towards the Nakaike-tergehes, never thought of desiring that victory might declare in favour of Ychoalay, whom they hated, because he endeavoured to prevent them from taking the horses of the Spaniards, and often restored them, when taken, to their owners by force; enraged at which, they employed double craft and industry in their depredations, not so much to indemnify themselves for their

former loss, as to signify how little heed they took of Ychoalay. This was a source of altercations, and subject of anxiety which pressed upon us day and night. Captain Miguel Ziburro, Piedra Buena, and other owners of estates from Sta. Fè, came to St. Jeronymo with a small troop of horse, to claim Ychoalay's assistance in recovering some horses stolen from them by the Indians. Ychoalay knew the pastures where the recently plundered horses had been concealed, and thither he came by night to recover them with a troop of Spaniards and Riikahés; but he was disappointed in his hopes. For our Abipones, receiving timely intelligence of Ychoalay's intentions, concealed all the horses they possessed in remote lurking-holes across the river, except some lean, old, and lame creatures, covered with worms and ulcers, which they left in the market-place, to make game of Ychoalay, who, not finding the horses he sought, resolved to attack the plunderers of them. A little before day-break, spying a crowd of our Abipones swiftly bearing down upon his party, he screened himself behind some cottages, and cunningly affirmed that the Spaniards were not come to slay the inhabitants of the town, but to confer with them. On hearing this, our Abipones bent their spears to the ground, and quietly granted a truce. A Spanish captain, of

advanced age and intrepid spirit, spoke for some time with Alaykin, by means of an interpreter, in our apartment. "Have you, then, chosen this situation for your colony," said he, "that you may plunder herds of horses from our estates at your pleasure?" "No accusation of this nature can be preferred against me," replied the Cacique; "when we were at war with each other I returned like for like, and repelled force by force; but since the establishment of the peace, I have carefully spared both yourselves and your properties." "We allow that *you* have never done us any injury," rejoined the Captain, "but your son Pachieke is the head of the plunderers." "That is your own faults," replied Alaykin; "the sanctioned peace was religiously observed by my countrymen till it was violated by a soldier of yours, who robbed them of an excellent horse. Incited by his example, my people began to think of taking horses from you, which they knew to be badly guarded." To this the Captain answered, "But it was your business to have restrained the rapacity of your hordesmen." "In truth," replied the Cacique, smiling, "that is easier said than done. These young men tell me they are going to hunt wild horses, instead of which they carry off the tame ones from your estates, without my knowledge or consent. You ought

to have guarded your estates to prevent thieves from approaching them; for it is not in my power to keep watch over plains of such vast extent, and to have an eye upon the feet and hands of my countrymen in all their journeys. Let soldiers be hired to scour the roads; and if they find any countryman of mine guilty of plundering horses, let them, with my free leave, commit him to prison, and punish him with plenty of stripes. Alarmed at such vigilance and severity on the part of the Spaniards, our youths will abandon their practice of stealing.” “It is well,” replied the Spaniard, “your advice shall be followed; but, in the mean time, let all the horses that have been taken from us be immediately restored.” “For my particular,” said Alaykin, “I have not a single horse of yours in my possession; as for the rest, do you yourself command them to make restitution, and let them do so if they will, for I have not sufficient authority to insist upon its being done. Were I to use commands or force towards my people, they would immediately desert me. Go, therefore, and endeavour to regain your horses by arms, which you will hardly do by words; my hordesmen are standing in the market-place, prepared for a battle.” The Captain heard Alaykin make this declaration without alarm, and would have joined battle forthwith, had not two

noble Spaniards, neither of whom belonged to the army, and who were terrified at the appearance of the Abipones, persuaded him to silence, peace, and speedy departure. Refusing an invitation to dinner, the whole party returned without delay to St. Jeronymo, along with Ychoalay, who afterwards told me he should never have brought the Spaniards, had he been aware that Alaykin's soldiers were so numerous. Our Abipones, emboldened by the hurried return of the Spaniards, made no hesitation in sending one of their people to watch them, and exhort them to hasten their journey, lest, if they tarried on the way, they should be pursued by the rest of the townsmen. Whilst the Spaniards were still on their road, a tempest arose, with rain, thunder, and lightning; meantime, our Abipones were celebrating this bloodless victory with songs and drinking, highly elated at the idea of having baffled Ychoalay, and caused him to come labour in vain.

This unseasonable visit of the Spaniards had well nigh proved the destruction of my companion and myself; the Indians, persuaded that we had acted in collusion with them, cruelly persecuting us as traitors and enemies. Not one of them would enter our house or the church; not one would deign to hold any conversation with us: so that we doubted not but

that our lives were in danger; yet the suspicion entertained by the Indians was totally groundless, as the journey, and the machinations of the Spaniards had never been revealed to us even in a dream. On the night that succeeded their departure, as I was mending my torn shoes, the only pair I possessed, to defend my feet from the rain which was plainly portended by the appearance of the sky, a sudden noise induced me to leave my hut, when I saw a great number of our Abipones riding about the market-place, with their faces painted, and with spears in their hands; at which I was much surprised, not knowing who or where the enemy was. But looking round on all sides, I at length espied the Spaniards, with Ychoalay's Abipones, approaching the town, and immediately awakened Father Sanchez, who was dreaming of no such matter.

It was openly reported that Ychoalay, enraged that the event of this expedition had proved so contrary to his desires and expectations, was directing his whole attention, in conjunction with the Spaniards, towards totally destroying our colony; on hearing which, our Abipones withdrew from the town, and hastened by crowds to their known retreats. What were our feelings on perceiving this? We wrote to inform Barreda of the matter, and in the mean

time awaited a remedy for our affliction, which might, after all, prove too late; for conscious of that general's lenity towards his soldiers, and of their tardiness in undertaking a journey, we justly feared that Saguntum would be lost while Rome deliberated.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ARRIVAL OF BARREDA, AND THE REMOVAL OF THE TOWN TO THE BANKS OF THE SALADO.

BARREDA groaned on receiving intelligence of the approaching ruin of the town; he knew how much trouble the Abipones had caused the Spaniards, whilst at enmity with them, and therefore thought every exertion should be made to preserve a friendship which was so necessary to the whole province. Without delay, he set off, with four hundred horsemen, in the intention of removing the town from the neighbourhood of Ychoalay, and Sta. Fè, into the territory of St. Iago. The journey was an exceedingly arduous one; for in the first part of it not a drop of water could be found, often for the space of twenty leagues, the lakes and rivers being exhausted by a long drought; and towards the latter end, the country was flooded by unceasing rains, to such a degree, that they were obliged to ride through water by day, and to lie down in it at night, when overcome by sleep. Many of the soldiers passed the night in the trees, and placing a piece of hard turf, taken from the ant-hills, amongst the boughs,

kindled a fire upon it to heat the water in which they infused the herb of Paraguay. Barreda reached our town a little before noon, on Whitsunday. He alighted from his horse, his clothes dripping with the rain, and hastening to the church, assisted me as I was ministering at the altar; thus affording an excellent example to the surrounding soldiers and Indians. But his mind was wholly intent on speedily remedying the afflicted state of the town, which, to prevent its utter ruin, he wished to have removed to the banks of the Salado, eighty leagues distant from its former situation. But Alaykin boldly and prudently condemned the proposed migration, declaring that the place mentioned by Barreda for the site of the colony, appeared to him objectionable. "What," said he, "do you wish us to drink bitter water, which the very beasts refuse to touch?" The counsels of Barreda were equally displeasing to all the other Abipones, who were strongly attached to their native soil, a soil abounding in delightful fruits and wild animals, and fortified with so many secure lurking-holes; and who dreaded the vicinity of the Spaniards with as much anxiety as servitude, having learnt that the one was often the occasion of the other. Although Barreda endeavoured to mollify them with gifts and promises, he never could induce them to yield to his

wishes. He gave the Cacique Malakin a woollen blanket, handsomely embroidered in various colours; a gift which proved the most powerful persuasive to his mind. Arrayed with this elegant coverlet, the savage promised to migrate, with his family, wherever Barreda chose, and prevailed upon the Cacique Ypirikin and his followers, to make the same resolution.

But the followers of the Caciques Alaykin, Oaikin, Machito, and Zapancha, were afraid that the Spanish soldiers would take them by force whither they refused to go, and that should they desert, Barreda would be angry, and fall upon them by surprize. Solicitous, therefore, to avert this disaster, they secretly sent to the town of St. Jeronymo, to request the aid of their old friend Ychamenraikin, who accordingly came with a chosen band of soldiers, under pretence of paying his respects to Barreda. This Cacique was present at the repeated consultations which Barreda held with our chiefs, and always spoke with great earnestness in dissuasion of the proposed removal; but was so highly incensed at a gentle rebuke he received from Barreda, for meddling with other people's concerns, that though he dissembled his angry feelings in presence of the Spaniards, he immediately conferred in private with Alaykin on the subject of renouncing their friendship. It was his intention

to desert the colony, and after slaying the two priests, Brigniel and Navalon, to return to his old retreats, and renew the war with the Spaniards. This he prefaced by making his people carry off a number of choice horses from Barreda's soldiers, and indeed he would have put the whole of his iniquitous scheme into execution, had it not been for Chitalin, Cacique of the Mocobios, who fortunately came from St. Xavier to speak with Barreda about some of his countrymen still remaining in captivity amongst the Spaniards, and afterwards went a little out of his way to visit the town of St. Jeronymo, which was only ten leagues distant from our colony. The friendship and eloquence of the Mocobian Cacique had so much influence upon Ychamenraikin as utterly to banish this wicked determination from his mind; he even had the horses, taken from Barreda's soldiers, brought back to St. Iago, and ever after cultivated the friendship of the Spaniards.

Rain continued without intermission for more than a month had converted the whole of the plain country into a lake. Most of the horses perished from their hoofs being softened by remaining in the water day and night, and those which survived could scarcely stand on their feet. Three hundred were left on the road, being unable to travel on that account. Many

of the soldiers, who had come furnished with ten horses, had not one remaining on their return, and were forced to use others lent them by their companions. Amid these tumults, both of the weather and of the people, indignant at the very mention of a removal, a whole month passed away. Barreda, impatient of the delay, determined to set off without waiting for the cessation of the rain, accompanied by his own people, and those families of Abipones that chose to follow him. The day before the journey, four waggons were sent forward, laden with the domestic furniture of the town, and also with gates, and doors of houses; five pair of oxen, and twenty assisting horses were requisite to drag each of these waggons through a country full of water and marshes: at length, however, as no strength nor industry proved sufficient, it was found necessary to lighten the waggons of the doors and every thing of wood.

When we were ready to depart, the Abipones sat quietly in their huts, all of which Barreda entered with me. I acted as interpreter, whilst he warned them in a melancholy and threatening tone, to consider again and again what they were doing; intimating that he should look upon those as his friends who followed us, but that they who remained would hardly

escape the avenging hands of Ychoalay, and the Spaniards of Sta. Fè. All his efforts were vain. Mournful silence and sullen looks were their only reply. Barreda, not choosing to delay any longer, left the town with me, part of the soldiers being sent forward, part following us; but Father Sanchez was suddenly seized with an indisposition so that he could not join us till the morrow. Malakin, Ypirikin, and thirty families followed us on the first day of our journey.

On the second, the showers ceased, but constant rain for thirty days had entirely inundated the country, which is naturally plain and level. For three weeks we had to ride on horseback with the water touching our legs, and often reaching up to our knees. That the continual wet might be the sooner exhaled, we always rode barefoot, hanging our shoes and stockings from the top of the saddle: for the water contained within the shoes causes faintings, weakness of stomach, small ulcers, head-ache, and other disorders in America. We found chewed tobacco leaves, mixed with saliva, and applied every night to the soles of our feet, a powerful preservative against this noxious moisture. On the same account it was thought useful to smoke tobacco. We were obliged to pass the night in the cold air, often covered from head to foot

with hoar frost, which was almost continual at that time of the year. When we wanted to lie down at night, much art and good fortune were requisite to choose a situation, which, though very muddy, had but little water. We were obliged to swim, or sail on the pelota across some rivers, which had overflowed their banks; but it was a matter of more time and labour to convey to the other side huge waggons, and some thousands of sheep, oxen, and horses, without the assistance of a bridge or boat.

Some soldiers, weary of travelling, deserted from us. One, who was particularly eager to get home, endeavoured to accelerate his return by a great piece of villainy. He knew that they would be detained a long time in building the new colony, and, resolving to disconcert the whole scheme, persuaded the Abipones, under a show of kindness and compassion, to return to their native soil, affirming that Barrera's only motive in removing them from thence, was to furnish himself with an opportunity of surprising and slaying them with impunity. The asseverations of this wicked man found the readier credit with the Abipones, from their constantly having this suspicion impressed upon their minds. Next day, when we began to proceed on our journey, not one of the Abipones was seen to stir. Barrera, astonished at this

sudden tergiversation, inquires the cause, but receives no answer; till at last a woman, who had long been in captivity amongst the Spaniards, makes known the soldier's impudent discourse, but could be induced by no solicitations to discover the man's name. Barreda, after threatening this most abandoned of mankind, whoever he was, with a thousand deaths, reproached Malakin for his ridiculous credulity, and that he might be prevailed upon to pursue his journey by some new testimony of friendship, made him a present of the silver clasps that fastened his shirt-sleeves, having nothing else left to give. This bauble proved as potent as the coverlet had done, and induced the deserting Indians to follow us. But here too we found that violent affections are but of short duration. The nearer the Abipones drew to the Spanish territories, the stronger grew their fear and repentance at having quitted their native country. At night, as we were sitting on the ground near the fire with Barreda, Malakin came to us, and protested that those lands were not approved of by his people; that they dreaded the neighbourhood of the Spanish nation, and lamented the want of trees, fruits, roots, and herbs, which the women could not dispense with. Barreda exerted all his eloquence to refute these objections, and retain the

wavering minds of the people in their duty, promising all sorts of benefits, emoluments, security, and convenience to accrue from the vicinity of the Spanish towns; which method of arguing moved our extreme disapprobation, as the Indians, finding things turn out contrary to what they had been led to expect, began to accuse the Spaniards of want of veracity, and greater liberality in words than deeds.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE CALAMITIES AND PERPETUAL MUTATIONS OF THE
NEW COLONY AT THE RIVER SALADO.

Two-and-twenty days elapsed before we reached the situation appointed for the colony. Towards the east it has the bank of the river Salado; an extensive plain stretches itself towards the west, and on the north and south it is shut in by a wood. A plain, situated in the midst, scarce four hundred feet in extent, and sloping down from the high shore of the Salado, was chosen for the site of the colony. The river, though swollen with long rain, had something salt and bitter in the taste of its waters, and we all foresaw that when the sun's heat caused the flood to cease we should be in want of water for daily use. Barreda, contented with the situation that first offered, was displeased at hearing these true, though unpleasant observations, and angrily said—"Whoever dislikes this water, may go a hundred leagues off to drink of the Parana, for 'aught I care." Under his directions, two little huts were hastily built for myself and my companion, of stakes, covered

with dry grass ; a third of the same description was erected to serve as a temporary chapel. The Abipones were forced to lodge under the mats which they made use of in travelling. Without any further trouble, Barreda departed with his soldiers, and was declared the founder of a new town by the Governor of Tucuman, the Viceroy of Lima, and indeed every body.

Deserted in a vast wilderness, and delivered up to the savages, to misery, and continual perils, we were called miracles of patience and obedience by all the well-judging Spaniards ; and indeed, had we had as many assisting hands as admiring eyes, ourselves and the Abipones would have been well provided for. Our huts were completely exposed to sun, rain, and wind, to serpents, toads, and dormice, and, what was most dangerous, to tigers. The place of door and window was supplied by two holes, before each of which we suspended a bull's hide. But neither materials nor tools for making tables were to be got. Great numbers of tigers lay hid within a neighbouring wood, and in wet weather used to creep into the tents of the Indians to shelter themselves from the rain and stormy wind ; they also attempted to enter our huts sometimes, as we discovered in the morning from the marks of their feet, but were deterred by a mastiff dog, which we kept for a

guard. The more tigers were pierced by the spears of the Abipones, the more seemed to flock thither, as if to revenge the deaths of their companions. Crowds of large dormice, impelled by hunger, resorted to us from the plain, and finding no eatables, gnawed every thing of wood, or flax, or wool in our house. The place also swarmed with large and venomous toads, which, if offended by a blow or kick, immediately squirted out their blinding urine. About sun-set they issued in crowds from their holes, and covering all the ground, rendered it as slippery to the feet as ice. These were the distresses of the place; what shall I say of our own ?

Beef, and that wretchedly bad, was almost our only provision: though we sometimes tasted the wings of the emus which the Indians caught. We seldom or never used wine, except at mass. Our own privations, however, we could have borne with; the worst was our being destitute of the ordinary comforts and conveniences for the Indians. We had no provision to give them but ill-tasted beef, the oxen having grown extremely lean from the fatigues of the journey. Their daily employment, to pass away the time and to assuage their hunger, was hunting emus and collecting honey from under ground. Boars, stags, tamanduas, the fruits of palms and other trees, and eatable roots, all which abound

in Chaco, are not to be found here. A numerous flock of sheep, which supplied us with wool for wearing-apparel, disappeared in one night: the Abipones, after diligently searching the woods and remoter plains, could discover no traces of them. Eight days after their disappearance one ram returned to the town, but what became of the rest is unknown to this day. Continual disturbances were added to our extreme poverty. As the highway leading out of Tucuman to Sta. Fè lay near the town, travellers frequently carried off our horses and oxen that were dispersed up and down the pastures. The same depredations were committed with impunity by parties of wandering savages. Many scouts were sent by Alaykin's hordesmen, who remained in their native place, to examine the situation of the town, and other particulars, to entice Malakin's people away, and to threaten them with hostile assaults and all sorts of extremities, unless they returned to the former colony. Malakin himself, however, remained firm, holding threats and promises in equal contempt, but not a few of his hordesmen were prevailed upon to revisit Alaykin's horde, afterwards rejoining us again and again. The perpetual going and returning of the savages was like the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Alaykin, still unreconciled to the change of the town, in-

fested all the ways between Cordoba and Sta. Fè with a great company of Abipones, and became highly formidable to all travellers. Of the Spanish merchants some were slain, some robbed, and others annoyed by vexatious detention.

I informed Barreda, by means of a trusty messenger, of the slaughter and rapine committed by the hostile Abipones, and of their threats and intentions, that he might, if possible, find some means of restraining their boldness, and providing for the security of the Spanish travellers. Troops of horse had indeed been repeatedly sent us, both to act as guards and to build our houses: yet the savages never made closer or more daring attacks upon our colony, never carried off greater numbers of horses and oxen, or caused us more trouble and danger than when these few soldiers were present. At length Barreda came himself with two companies of horse, and directed a couple of small rooms to be built for us of unbaked brick, and wooden beams; a third, of the same materials, but longer, was styled a chapel. We ourselves were not mere spectators, but strenuous assistants in the whole work:—laboriously occupied with mud and timber, we wearied both our hands and feet for whole days.

It grieved us greatly that buildings erected with so much labour should be occupied by us

but a very few days. Shortly after, when, at the command of the Superiors, I removed to St. Jeronymo, my companion and the Indians were obliged to migrate elsewhere: the neighbouring rivers and lakes being exhausted by long drought, or at least impregnated with salt, and the plain being on the same account destitute of grass, it became necessary to remove the colony to the shores of the Dulce, many leagues distant, before the cattle and the inhabitants were destroyed by hunger and thirst. When settled there, the Abipones had nearly been overwhelmed in the night by a sudden inundation of the river, a greater than which none of the natives had ever witnessed. Thus they were obliged to remove their colony over and over again, one time to seek water, at another to avoid it. How calamitous and prejudicial these reiterated migrations were to the Indians, to the priests, and to the cattle, would be tedious to relate. After fourteen changes of the colony, they at last obtained a more fortunate situation on the western shore of the Rio Dulce, inhabited by Spaniards, and about fifty leagues distant from the city of St. Iago. More fertile pastures were no where to be found: so that within a few years the number of kine increased to thirty thousand, though many were yearly consumed in feeding the Indians, especially

after Debayakaikin and his numerous hordesmen fled thither from St. Ferdinand. This new guest proved in reality an enemy to the colony by frequently involving it in broils, on account of his long quarrel with Ychoalay. At length, however, he bade farewell to the town of Concepcion, and retired, with most of his people, to their ancient retreats in Chaco, where, as I have related, he was slain in battle by Ychoalay.

The colony, freed from the disturbers of its peace, began at length to enjoy tranquillity; but the fruits never corresponded to the labour bestowed upon it for many years by the indefatigable Sanchez and his various companions. Many adults, however, especially when at the point of death, and a still greater number of infants, received baptism; the rest were civilized. The Spaniards accounted the friendship of this nation, formerly for many years their bitterest enemies, an immortal benefit; and learnt, at length, after they had lost us, that to our patience and industry they were chiefly indebted for it: for when, to the grief of all Paraguay, we were sent back to Europe, almost all the Abipones returned to their former savage state, and were not to be appeased by the Spaniards without the utmost difficulty.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A COLONY INHABITED BY THE YAAUKANIGA ABIPONES,
AND DISTINGUISHED BY THE NAME OF ST. FERDINAND
AND ST. FRANCIS.

THE city of Corrientes, brought to extremities by the depredations of the savages, had long been desirous to follow the example of the other cities, and found a colony of Yaaukaniga Abipones, which might defend them against the inroads of the Tobas and Mocobios. A little town was at length prepared under the directions of the Vice-Governor Patron, and with the consent of Ychoalay, who at first opposed the design. The Indians had themselves made choice of a situation, which, though not the most opportune, was approved by the Spaniards, from their being unable to meet with a more eligible one. It is a small piece of plain ground, two leagues distant from the western shore of the Parana, a little below its junction with the Paraguay. Towards the east it has the city Corrientes in front, and behind it flows the Rio Negro, the waters of which are so bitter and salt that the very beasts refuse them. It is surrounded on every side by woods and pools, all destitute of fresh water,

but swarming with leeches, crocodiles, and various kinds of large snakes. This whole tract of land runs out into plain ground, partially interrupted with marshes and woods, and affords rich and wholesome pasture for cattle, especially where a grove of caranday palms is extended for many leagues along the shore of the Parana. The soil, if tilled, returns every kind of seed with interest. The trees are laden with a variety of fruits, and resound with the singing of parrots and other birds, and the chattering of apes. Boars, stags, deer, various kinds of rabbits, capibaris, ducks, plenty of honey, alfaro-bas, and noble trees, affording wood for making ships, waggons, or houses, are every where to be seen. But tigers, alas! continually infest this place; the climate, which is excessively hot, abounds in whirlwinds, lightning, and rain; and the air, pregnant with noxious vapours proceeding from the stagnant waters of adjacent marshes, as well as with innumerable gnats, renders life unpleasant, and night intolerable to the inhabitants.

Yet here did the Yaaukanigas, for many years, make their abode. Their Cacique, Narè, was a man of noble birth and distinguished prowess, but not otherwise remarkable either for greatness of mind or body, and notoriously addicted to women and drinking. Fonder of

ease than of business, he on all occasions betrayed a very indolent disposition. He was thought, however, to have redeemed this vice of his nature by some appearance of virtue, on account of the fidelity with which he adhered to the peace he had granted the Spaniards; though this his followers, eager for booty, attributed to fear rather than to virtue. He had many younger brothers, amongst the most famous Pachiekè, a man endowed with great boldness and equal sagacity, who made himself much dreaded in the course of the war with the Spaniards: but who, by intemperance in drinking, and frequent repudiations of his wives, had sullied his reputation for valour. He entertained a great affection for Nicolas Patron, who always partook of his deliberations when war was treated of. We thought his sagacity of no less importance than his bravery, when the enemies were to be dealt with. Besides Narè, some of the Yaaukanigas followed Oahari and Kachirikin, men in the prime of their age, and equally distinguished by their noble family and skill in plundering.

There was a great succession of priests of our order in the administration of this colony: they all came full of health, but their strength being exhausted, were generally recalled to recruit. It is incredible what dangers and distresses were endured by Fathers Thomas and

Joseph Garzia, the first founders, amongst these ferocious savages. Kachirikin, the most insolent of them, because he was not allowed to slay cows at his pleasure, attempted to catch Father Garzia with a halter, in the sight of the Spaniards. These men were succeeded in a few months by Fathers Joseph Rosa and Pedro Ebia, who departed, the one grievously affected in his feet, the other in his head. At last, Father Joseph Klein, a Bohemian, though often ill in health, proved equal to the burden, and sustained it to the end. What he did and endured for about twenty years may be easier conceived than described. He was able to overcome every kind of danger and misery, fearlessly despising the one, and patiently enduring the other. He employed the annual subsidies advanced by the Guarany towns, in establishing a rich estate on the opposite bank of the Parana, from the profits of which he obtained every thing necessary for feeding and clothing the Indians. I must here renew my former complaint, that although the Spaniards derived so much advantage from the peace and friendship of the savages, they did little or nothing towards preserving their colonies, so that the whole weight of anxiety respecting the support of the Indians, devolved upon our shoulders. If it had depended upon the citizens of Corrientes alone,

this colony would most certainly have perished in its infancy from want of food and necessaries of every sort. For nearly all the sacred utensils, for our whole stock of cloth for clothing the Indians, and of cattle in the estate, we were indebted to the liberality of the Guaranies.

Joseph Klein often spent many months in this town without any companion, but he was assisted at different times by Fathers Gregorio Mesquida, Juan Quesada, and Dominico Perfeti, a Roman, to whom, he having been long in a bad state of health, I was ordered by the Provincial to succeed. Leaving St. Jeronymo, after spending two years there, I was obliged to sail, for some days, against the stream on the river Parana, in a wretched boat; the rest of the way from the little town of Sta. Lucia to the city of Corrientes I travelled on horseback. The storminess of the weather, the consequent marshiness of the roads and swelling of the rivers, together with the neighbourhood of the savage Charruas, rendered the journey extremely difficult, and, on many accounts, dangerous. I was honourably conducted, by the then Vice-Governor, to the colony of St. Ferdinand, on my first approach to which many things presented themselves to my observation which could not but be displeasing—a place surrounded on all sides by marshes, lakes, and

close impending woods; air burning day and night; and a very small apartment furnished with two doors but no window, and roofed with the bark of the palm, so badly cemented, that, whenever it rained, you were as much wetted in the house as if you had been out of doors. At dinner, water was taken from a neighbouring ditch where numbers of horses, dogs, and other animals daily drank and bathed, which received all the filth of the town, and was full of leeches and insects of different kinds. When I considered these things I no longer wondered that the health of my predecessors had given way, and that the Indians themselves had so often to contend with tertian fevers.

Although I had remained uninjured amidst a hundred calamities during the former years, yet this situation had well nigh proved fatal to me. The origin of my complaint was this. Towards sun-set the air was filled with innumerable gnats, which intruded into my apartment when supper was brought in, and by their stings and their loud hissing prevented me from gaining a moment's rest. I passed whole nights without sleep, walking up and down the court-yard for the sake of fresh air, which brought on a loathing of food. Continual want of rest and sustenance reduced me to such an emaciated state that I was literally nothing but skin and bone.

Some thought I could not survive above three months, but these sad presages were prevented from being fulfilled by the humanity of the Provincial, at whose command I was removed to the old towns of the Guaranies. It was not without tears that I bade farewell to the Abipones, amongst whom I had lived for five years, and with whose language I was become pretty well acquainted; but the idea of returning to them, when restored to health, mitigated my grief at parting. After four months spent in the town of Sta. Maria Mayor, on the shores of the Uruguay, the inveterate nausea departed, sleep and appetite returned, and my health was completely re-established. After spending nine years amongst the Guaranies, whose language, which is much easier than the Abiponian, I soon learnt, I was again called out to found a colony for the Abipones in Timbo, but returned at the end of two years. In short, I performed the part of a missionary for eighteen years, spending seven amongst the Abipones, eleven amongst the Guaranies.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PROGRESS OF THE TOWN OF ST. FERDINAND, WHICH WAS
RETARDED BY DEBAYAKAIKIN.

THE Yaaukanigas, in proportion as they have less estimable qualities than the other Abipones, are more arrogant and untractable; yet we never despaired of bringing them to a better course of life, and of this there appeared some likelihood, so long as they were the sole inhabitants of the colony. The more advanced in age discontinued their usual incursions against the Spaniards, and employed themselves in agriculture. Their dispositions grew milder from daily intercourse with us. After some months' instruction we joyfully beheld an appearance of civilization beginning to flourish amongst them; their horror of baptism insensibly wore away, many infants and young people received it with the consent of their parents, and numbers of women and girls crowded to partake of the daily instructions in the rudiments of religion. But the old female jugglers thought it a crime even to touch the threshold of the church, and did their utmost to prevent others from entering it; and to com-

pel the boys, who were driving about on horse-back, to attend divine service, was a matter of some difficulty. One of the Yaaukanigas, a man advanced in years, came with his family to be baptized at the very beginning of the colony. The strict integrity of this excellent man obtained him the name of *Juan Bueno*, and his wife, daughter, and female Negro captive were equally exemplary in their conduct.

The great hopes that we began to entertain of the happy advancement of religion and of the colony, were all nipped in the bud by the unlucky arrival of Debayakaikin, who, fearing an attack from Ychoalay, fled thither with a troop of his hordesmen, thinking himself secure in a town under the protection of the Spaniards. Of Ychoalay's challenge to Debayakaikin, and the pacification effected by means of the Vice-Governor of Corrientes, I have spoken elsewhere; I shall now show how pernicious Debayakaikin's visit proved to the colony of St. Ferdinand. His voracious and turbulent followers, besides privately slaying oxen and calves, to the great loss of the estate, involved the colony itself in a war with its neighbours, the Mocobios and Tobas. A party of Mocobios, leaving the town of Concepcion, surprized the unfortunate Alaykin, about day-break, in the open plain, and after slaying him and seven

of his fellow-soldiers, in an engagement, they roasted and devoured them on the spot. Many wounded Abipones saved their lives by the swiftness of their horses, but the women and children fled for security to the recesses of a neighbouring grove. Pachiekè, to revenge his father's death, persuaded the Yaaukanigas and Debayakaikin's hordesmen to undertake an expedition against the Mocobios, in which although scarcely any blood was shed, yet the Mocobios, provoked by this hostile incursion, conspired to the destruction of the whole colony. Repeated assaults were made both by day and night, and continued for many years with various fortune: out of many I will relate a few.

About day-break a vast company of Mocobios suddenly made their appearance in the market-place. Some of them surrounded Debayakaikin, who was drinking with most of his hordesmen; the rest meantime, unopposedly, carried off droves of horses that were wandering up and down the pastures. This vast booty, however, cost the lives of some; for Pachiekè, brother of the Cacique Narè, mounting a horse, attacked the hindmost company as they were departing, and pierced some with his spear, which, on his return, he displayed smoking with recent blood. On many other occasions, the Yaaukanigas, having expeditious horses at

hand, pursued the flying Mocobios, and deprived them not only of the horses they had plundered, but of those they had used on the journey, sending them home on foot to report the deaths of their comrades. One time the plain was deluged to such a degree that it did not afford a single spot where the Mocobios could lie down at night; they therefore made themselves beds by twining twigs here and there amongst the boughs of the trees, and in these hurdles laid themselves down to sleep, but were surprized at night by the pursuing Yaaukanigas, who slew some, wounded others, and carried off the whole of the booty. Would that they had been equally successful on the eleventh of December! that day, so fatal to my horses, will never be erased from my memory.

The day before, a Guarany, who guarded the cattle, announced that, early in the morning, he had observed the footsteps of the enemy, and that many horses were missing. Whilst the Yaaukanigas were vainly deploring their loss, I, with my companion Father Klein, and two young men, traversed the plain for some time on horseback. We saw that a troop had passed the Rio Negro, from their footsteps impressed on the sand, and from the grass being trodden down by the multitude of horses. No one doubted that the enemy were by that time at a

considerable distance, no one therefore thought of pursuing them. I often blew a military trumpet, and with a loud voice we uttered many pleasant sayings in the Mocobian tongue; we were both seen and heard by the Mocobios, who were lurking hard by, but not attacked, because they purposed making an assault on the town next day. No suspicion of the enemy's intention being entertained, we all slept soundly. But lo! and behold, the next day at eleven o'clock the same Mocobios came in sight of the town to carry off the remaining herd of horses. Most of the Yaaukanigas being engaged in the chase, the rest in drinking, and we ourselves in sleeping, as usual with the Spaniards at mid-day, the women assembled together and filled the market-place and our court-yard with their lamentations; awakened by which we flew to repel the enemy, each furnished with a musket, and rendered, by this means, formidable to ever so numerous a foe. Father Klein set off first, accompanied by two Abipones. As I was following, a drunken Yaaukaniga took me by the shoulder, and said, in a fierce tone, "Where are you hurrying? Why don't you remain to guard the town? It is better that our horses should be taken than our wives and children." "Let me alone," replied I; "both shall be taken care of."

I was now farther from the town than from the enemies, and seeing the plain filled with them as with a swarm of locusts, could scarce persuade myself that such a multitude could be kept in awe by two muskets. Nevertheless I hastily tied on my slippers that I might be disencumbered in running, if a precipitate retreat were necessary, and advanced towards the savages whom I saw Father Klein approaching; but they, terrified at the sight of the musket alone, took to immediate flight, carrying off with them a numerous drove of horses. Although the enemy was gone we did not think ourselves free from the danger of an attack, a cloud of dust causing us to suspect that a troop of savage horse was approaching within the woods. The armed Yaaukanigas stood for some time in form of battle, till at length we saw an Indian bringing back the remains of the horses which had escaped the hands of the plunderers. Quickly mounting these horses they all hastened, about sun-set, to a place some leagues distant, named Likinranala; for they knew that the Mocobios would pass that way, and therefore entertained great hopes of being able to chastise them, and to recover the horses. But they returned next day empty-handed, having been eluded by the craftiness of the enemy, who, forewarned by their spies, that

our people were lying in ambuscade, avoided that situation, and swiftly fled with their booty through ways impeded with marshes and reeds, first disencumbering themselves of the saddles, and whatever else might retard their flight; which, as it could be made no use of, our people burnt. For my own part I had to lament the loss of some excellent horses, though consoled by the circumstance that this aggression had ended without slaughter on either side, though there is reason to doubt that all the Mocobios reached home without loss of blood, as weapons were cast at them in their approach to the estate by some Yaaukanigas who guarded the cattle, but with what success is not known.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

FRESH DISTURBANCES, CAUSED BOTH BY STRANGERS,
AND BY THE INHABITANTS THEMSELVES.

AT another time the colony was threatened with a still more dangerous storm, but which was averted by the valour of the Yaaukanigas. More than three hundred Mocobios and Tobas approached the town by a silent and hasty journey. One of their number deserted,—got the start of his companions, and informed Oaherkaikin's Abipones, our neighbours and friends, of the impending attack; by which means we received timely intelligence of our danger. Father Klein, seeing that we were inferior to the enemy in point of number, with his usual intrepidity crossed the Parana in a boat, though a violent south wind had rendered it exceedingly rough, to seek supplies from the Vice-Governor of Corrientes. Meantime our Yaaukanigas, who were constantly exhorted by me to a strenuous defence of the colony, indulged in drinking, as usual with them when they anticipate an encounter with the enemy. For my part I neglected nothing which could

contribute to the defence of the colony, exerting the utmost vigilance, and sending scouts and guards in every direction. At two o'clock on Quinquagesima Sunday, a Yaaukaniga spied one of the enemies in a neighbouring field, from which we readily concluded that a company was there also. The Yaaukanigas, though hardly able to stand on their feet from intoxication, immediately mounted their horses which the women made ready, and rushed in a disorderly manner upon the Mocobios and Tobas, who were lying hid at the border of the wood. Uncertain of the event, and anxious for the safety of the town, I remained in arms ready to bring my assistance wherever it might be required. Gracious Providence ordered things according to our wish; for the enemies, surrounded, and alarmed at our sudden attack, chose to decline battle, and trust to flight. In the closeness of pursuit, the Mocobios were divided. Part flying towards the south slew two Abiponian women who were gathering alfarobas, and carried into captivity one infant which they took from its mother's breast. The other part hastened towards the north, pursued by our townsmen till late at night. One only of the Yaaukanigas received a slight wound at the beginning of the conflict: how

many of the enemy were slain and wounded is uncertain.

But you, I suppose, are still expecting the auxiliary forces which Father Klein had sailed to Corrientes to seek the day before. I will give you some account of this matter, to show you how little dependence could be placed on the support of the Spaniards, even in cases of extreme danger. About evening, whilst our Indians were pursuing the enemy, two Spanish soldiers arrived, but neither of them deserved the name of soldier, or bore the slightest shadow of resemblance to a Spaniard. If Hercules be not a match for two, what, I beseech you, could a couple of poor dastardly fellows do against four hundred savages? They were of no use whatever, and served only to excite the laughter of the Indians. No prayers, no promises, could induce them to employ themselves in removing the cattle to the town, lest the Mocobios should carry them away at night from the pastures: palpitating with fear they declared it impossible to stir without the inclosure of our house. The Indian boys, more courageous than these soldiers, brought the whole herd within sight of the town, and diligently guarded them at night that they might not be again dispersed. We all kept watch the whole night lest the enemy should repeat

the attack; and indeed in the morning our scouts discovered traces of the Mocobios who had been wandering over our estate.

The Yaaukanigas, exasperated at the slaughter of the two women, and at the inefficient supplies afforded them by the Spaniards, sent a courier for the Vice-Governor, and menacingly signified that they should consider any delay or refusal as a violation of friendship; and on Ash Wednesday, Nicolas Patron, accompanied by ten soldiers, appeared with Father Klein. Our Indians, and the hordesmen of Oaherkai-kin, who had been summoned to attend, received him in arms, and with their faces painted; and when he entered our house they besieged the doors on both sides, and blocked up all access to the market-place, which plainly indicated that they entertained hostile intentions. The Vice-Governor, who was of an intrepid and jocular disposition, spying Pachiekè, brother of Narè, at other times a great friend of his, said to him,—“ If you are going to speak with me, first wipe off the soot with which you have daubed your face;” to this he replied, in a threatening tone, “ Because you are going to speak with me is the very reason that I have painted my face with these dark colours.” He then, in the name of all the people, insolently rehearsed their grounds of complaint, saying,

“ *We* victors unwillingly granted *you* vanquished the peace you sued for. Long did we refuse this colony which you have thrust upon us, knowing ourselves less powerful than the enemies which dwelt in the neighbourhood. To free us from this anxiety how many and great were your promises! ‘ My soldiers,’ said you, ‘ shall be yours, and your enemies shall be mine.’ Our forming this friendship with you, procured us the hatred of the Mocobios and Tobas, our former allies. For many years they have dared the utmost against us. Our children are torn from their mothers’ bosoms, our wives slain, our horses stolen; the enemies attack us day and night, and did we not elude their snares by vigilance, and their numbers by valour, not a man of us would be left alive, or have a horse to sit upon. These things are not unknown to you, yet you quietly hear of our calamities without emotion, and never even bestow a thought upon assisting us. Of late, when, to revenge our injuries, we attacked the Mocobios with hostile arms, how fiercely was your anger kindled against us! You are afraid, forsooth, that the Mocobios, if provoked by us, will vent their rage upon you, and ravage the territory of Corrientes. How long will you have your security purchased with the danger of our lives? Spite of all your opposition, we are

determined to go out against the Mocobios, and revenge our injuries. This one request we reasonably make, as a testimony of your friendship, and a reward of ours, that you will send ten Spanish horsemen, provided with muskets, to accompany us on this expedition." Here the Governor interrupted Pachiekè, who was proceeding to say more, and with an ill-timed joke evaded his threatening speech. "When," said he, "with a very long spear in your hands, and paints of various colours on your faces, you make the plain tremble under your horses' feet, and fill the air with the horrible braying of trumpets, in good sooth, you think yourselves mighty heroes." As he spoke this with mimicking gestures, appearing to ridicule the method of warfare practised by the Abipones, extreme indignation was excited amongst the bystanders. Whilst the rest were expressing their resentment, one, more forward than the rest, exclaimed, "Take care how you make a jest of our horns and trumpets, the clangor of which has, for so many years, caused every limb of you Spaniards to tremble." The horrid murmuring of the whole people and their threatening looks portended danger to the Vice-Governor, who, to conciliate their enraged minds, adroitly altered his tone, commending the Abipones, instead of satirizing them, as I

warned him by signs. To flattery he added plenty of promises, (to which he never stood,) saying that another expedition against the Guaranies prevented him from giving them satisfaction at that time, but that as soon as the present war was finished, he would go out against the Mocobios, with some companies of horse. Having said this, he hastened back to the city under pretext of business, his coming having served no other end than that of irritating still further the minds of the Indians. No one could suggest any remedy for the afflicted colony which seemed sinking to ruin: amid continual attacks from the savages, or the apprehension of them, years passed away—years barren of comfort, but fruitful of misfortunes. Yet still more pernicious than any foreign foe was the unfortunate society of Debayakaikin's Abipones, both to the improvement and domestic affairs of the town; induced by their examples, or relying on their support, our Yaaukanigas frequently dared to make inroads into the lands of Cordoba, Sta. Fè, and Asumpcion, where, though they committed no slaughter, they carried off droves of horses. With still greater boldness, they annoyed the neighbouring towns of the Guaranies, by whose liberality chiefly they were clothed and fed. These predatory incursions we condemned,

forbade, and lamented, but had not the power to prevent. They never did any mischief, however, to the territory of Corrientes. After the departure of Debayakaikin, many of his hordesmen remained in the town of St. Ferdinand, others joined the horde of Oaherkaikin, who had long established himself in a neighbouring plain, almost in sight of the town. No tears can sufficiently deplore, nor words express the injury which the morals of the Yaaukanigas sustained from the vicinity of these plunderers, and the mischief they did to our little estate. One of this savage rabble, more rapacious than the rest, made greater havock amongst the herds than any tiger, and no means of restraining his robberies could be adopted, whilst our Yaaukanigas, ever friendly to Oaherkaikin, sometimes abetted, sometimes concealed them. The Vice-Governor, when informed of the affair, durst not utter a word of reproof to this chief of the plunderers, who was impudently sitting by his side in our house, but endeavoured to conciliate him by civil speeches. If Spanish generals, accompanied by soldiers, are dumb through fear, when they ought to reproach the savages with their wickedness, who can wonder if the Fathers, destitute of all human aid, and given up to the power of the savages, were afraid to

treat their errors with too much severity? Yet despising death we overcame fear, and when any thing improper met our observation, reprehended it, if reprehension seemed likely to be of any avail. Take one example out of many which might be related of the men of our order. Father Klein, with his usual fearlessness, advised a young man of high family amongst the Yaaukanigas to refrain from incursions against the Spaniards, when the ferocious youth dashed a club at his head with such force that he fell swooning to the ground covered with his own blood. Not one of the Spaniards who were there, not one of the Abipones, durst lay hands on the perpetrator of this sacrilegious blow: he went unpunished. Another Yaaukaniga struck the same Father with his fist, crying, "It is a fable what you tell us about a God who created all things."

The estate was exhausted by the continual rapacity of these plunderers, and scarcely contained oxen sufficient to feed the Indians for two months. I declared in presence of the Vice-Governor that we should soon be forced to desert the colony from want of cattle, but he entreated me not to think of such a thing, saying, "If you depart, and suffer the Yaaukanigas to do the same, the malicious will say you have done so with the intention of involving us Spa-

niards anew in the calamities of war." "No one," replied I, "would be so foolish as to credit such a calumny. We cannot confine the savages within the limits of a little town, nor restrain them from their habit of wandering, unless we have plenty of provision at home." The Vice-Governor, convinced, or more probably alarmed by this speech, promised many things for the preservation of the colony, and had his powers corresponded to his wishes, this excellent man would doubtless have fulfilled his promises. The Provincial, informed by me of the ruin which threatened the colony from want of cattle, immediately sent me a thousand oxen, for the support of the Indians: by his liberality, and the supplies of the Guarany towns, an estate was founded on the opposite shore of the Parana, which, not being exposed to predatory incursions, abounded in cattle of every kind in the space of a few years.

One thing is certain, that this colony of Yaaukanigas was not preserved by the support of the Spaniards, but chiefly by the vigilance and industry of the Jesuits, and that it was little indebted for assistance to the city of Corrientes, which, on the other hand, derived much advantage from it, remaining unmolested, from the time of its commencement, by the inroads of the savages dwelling in Chaco.

Moreover the Corrientines, reduced almost to desperation by long war, were enabled to build ships, and waggons on the opposite shore of the river on which our colony stood, and which abounds in most excellent trees, and to enrich themselves by commerce without danger. In the year 1767, when we returned to Europe, the number of Christian Yaaukanigas was two hundred, the rest having died of small-pox and other diseases. The survivors, exasperated at the Spaniards on account of our banishment, burnt the church and the houses of the Fathers to ashes, deserted the colony they had inhabited for seventeen years, and returned to their ancient retreats and their old habits of plundering. A priest of the order of St. Francis, who had been substituted in our stead, scarce preserved his life by flying to the city. So unfortunate was the event of a colony that had cost us so much labour and misery, an event highly pernicious to the Corrientines and other Spaniards, against whom the Indians resumed their arms, soon after quitting the colony.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE ORIGIN AND SITUATION OF A COLONY OF ABIPONES
NAMED FROM S. CARLOS AND THE ROSARY.

THAT the corruption of one thing is the generation of another, and that insects are created from putrid substances is affirmed by some naturalists and denied by others, but certainly such was the origin of this colony; for it was composed of Abipones who had deserted religion, and the other towns. Weary of Christian discipline, and of the inactivity of peace, they for some time vexed the territories of the Spaniards and Guaranies with slaughter and rapine: but seeing themselves threatened, both behind and before, with avenging arms, and being unable to discover any place of retreat where they might conceal themselves from Ychoalay, they provided for their safety by artifice, since they could not secure it by force of arms. Three orators were sent to Asumpcion to petition, in the name of the rest, for a colony, and priests to instruct them in religion. The Governor, Martinez Fontez, granted the request of these wily legates with the utmost willingness, flattering himself that he should gain great

favour with the King by founding this colony. Fulgentio de Yegros, a Paraguayan commander, wonderfully approved the Governor's purpose, urged the execution of it, and bestowed a great many caresses on the Abiponian deputies. The other more prudent Spaniards strongly opposed the design, truly observing: "These rascally Abipones, the dregs of the whole nation, come hither from the fear of punishment, not from the desire of embracing religion: it is not a colony, but an asylum where they may commit crimes with impunity, that they seek amongst the Spaniards; and even if this were not the case, a province so indigent in every respect as this, cannot afford the supplies necessary for founding and preserving such a colony." The same was the opinion of all the Jesuits. Eager for glory, the Governor turned a deaf ear to all these remonstrances. By his order the people were convoked to the market-place of the city, that each might voluntarily contribute something for the colony, according to his means. Some promised sheep and oxen; others horses, or Paraguay tea; the less opulent, axes, knives, and the other articles of domestic furniture: and were there not as wide a difference between gifts and promises, as there is between words and deeds, the colony would have been amply provided for. But, to

use a Spanish proverb, *mucho era el ruido, pero pocas las nueces*: great was the noise, but few were the nuts. Many evaded the performance of their promises altogether; others impudently sent aged cows; lame, lean, and dying horses; old, bare, and diseased sheep; and every thing else in the same style. Many of those persons whom the Governor employed in collecting or keeping the cattle and other things, were deficient either in fidelity or in diligence, reserving some for their own private use, and exchanging the better ones, which they kept to themselves, for others of less value. It therefore is not to be wondered at that the whole of Paraguay did not contain a more indigent or calamitous colony, of which I, who was forced to struggle, for two years, with extreme poverty, and the insolence of these savages, had full and ocular demonstration.

The Abipones, solicitous for their security above all things, themselves pointed out a situation for the colony, seventy leagues south of Asumpcion, four leagues distant from the western shore of the Paraguay, and beset with woods, rivers, and marshes, which rendered it difficult of access to the Spaniards, who had to cross that vast river whenever they approached it from their own city. This plain is called

Timbò in the Guarany tongue, from a tree of that name which abounds here; by some it has been named La Herradura, or the horse-shoe, because the river Paraguay, being forced into a curve by the interjection of an island, presents, in this place, the appearance of a horse-shoe. Besides this, two tolerably large rivers, (both having salt waters,) flow past the spot where the colony stood, and uniting, in sight of it, into one channel, form a large lake which afterwards discharges itself into the Paraguay. After a long drought, you can seldom find any fresh water, or any of the larger kind of fish, in this labyrinth of waters; innumerable crocodiles, by which the fish are either consumed or kept away, are every where to be seen. In the desire of concealment, however, the Abipones pitched upon this incommodious situation, which the Tobas lay claim to: and the Spaniards willingly ratified their choice, because their enemies, the Mocobios and Tobas, used generally to cross the Paraguay in this place, when they made their excursions against the Paraguayrians.

In this sequestered place, the Abipones were ordered to remain, till things being properly settled, and priests appointed, a little town should be built there. In the mean time, oxen

were given them for their support, yet they still continued to drive vast herds of horses from the estates of Sta. Fè and St. Jeronymo: but Ychoalay, accompanied with a troop of horse, surprized this horde of thieves by night, and carried off all the horses they had plundered; irritated by which nocturnal assault, they industriously made up for the loss by repeated rapine. Fulgentio de Yegros visited these Abipones with a numerous band of soldiers, for the purpose of making a dwelling-house for the expected priests. After staying two days there, and consuming an incredible number of the oxen intended for the use of the colony, the soldiers built only two little huts, so narrow and low, and so badly constructed, of wood and mud, that the Governor himself pronounced them absolutely uninhabitable.

The Jesuit Contucci, at that time Provincial and Visitor of Paraguay, being ordered, in the King's name, to appoint priests for the new colony, after consulting those persons who were best acquainted with the affairs of the province, conferred this charge upon me, on account of my acquaintance with the Abiponian tongue. I was therefore called to the Guarany town of Sta. Rosa, where the Provincial resided, on business of the colony, and

soon afterwards ordered to hasten to the metropolis, where I had to wait from the 28th of August till the 24th of November, whilst the Governor was preparing every thing necessary for beginning the colony.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE COLONY.

THE Governor distinguished the colony he was founding with the name of S. Carlos and the Rosary, that he might at the same time show his piety to the Virgin Mary, and ingratiate himself with Carlos the Third, King of Spain. He and I embarked on the 24th of November, 1763, and were saluted with guns on the banks of the Paraguay. Our company consisted of four hundred provincial soldiers; Fulgentio de Yegros conducted the cavalry by land, and the rest of the infantry were distributed into three ships and came with us. We went on shore every night, and at mid-day also, whenever we found a convenient landing-place. The Paraguay abounds in shoals and hidden rocks, yet the danger arising from them was not so great as the inconvenience occasioned by innumerable gnats, during our ten days' voyage. Fulgentio de Yegros, with his company of horse, awaited us at a place called Passo del Timbò. On our landing, crowds of Abipones swam from the opposite shore, which they inhabited, to salute us. Some hundred

oxen, with the horses of the Spaniards, were sent over to us on the other side of the river. We spent three days in the same place, engaged in the business of crossing, and then pursued our voyage. About sun-set, a tempest arose, with loud thunder and stormy wind. Though we had entered the lake which serves as a port there, we were miserably tost about by the waves for many hours. This tempest was succeeded by heavy rain, which lasted three days, and confined us within the narrow limits of the ship; during this interval, we amused ourselves with watching the huge crocodiles that surrounded the vessel. The spot appointed for the colony was a league distant from the port; thither I went, on foot, and alone, from eagerness to take a view of the situation. The whole plain was deluged with water. Having taken an entire survey, I returned to the ship, and informed the Governor that the situation appointed for the colony appeared to me to be fitter for frogs than men, and that no kind of good grain was produced in the country.

Next day, leaving guards for the security of the ship, we rode out to the place in question. The small hut which Fulgentio de Yegros had constructed for the two priests, was at first sight pronounced uninhabitable by the Gover-

nor, under whose inspection another, somewhat larger, but in no other respect superior, was hastily built by the soldiers. Europeans will not be displeased to hear how these huts are constructed. Stakes are driven very deep into the ground, and reeds or withes fastened to them with twigs or thongs of leather. The empty spaces between each row of reeds are filled up with pieces of wood, or small bricks, on to which mud, well worked up with straw, and cow's dung, is plastered. The Spaniards call this sort of fabric a French wall, (*tapia Francesa*) and always adopt it when stones or bricks are scarce. If it is properly made, and whitewashed with lime or tobatí, it will last, and can hardly be distinguished from a common wall. The grassy ground is the floor of the apartment. In this manner the cottages and chapels were generally constructed in the colonies of the savages. You shall now hear how they are roofed. The trunks of the caranday palms cut in half and hollowed out serve instead of slates or tiles. Frequently a roof is made with bundles of long dry grass tied to reeds placed underneath, in the same manner as, in other places, thatch is made of straw, which is not to be had in Paraguay; for the reapers cut down nothing but the ear of wheat, afterwards burning the stalk or stubble, the ashes of

which serve instead of manure to fertilize the soil. Sometimes houses are covered with bundles of dry grass, rolled in soft mud, cemented together, and thus secure from being set on fire by the burning arrows of the savages. In the colony of the Rosary I found that roofs of this kind, though they afford some protection against fire, are not of the least use in excluding rain: for the mud with which the dry grass is plastered, gets so much softened by long rain, and affords such free access to heavy showers, that it seems to rain harder within doors than without. In short, the house built for me by the soldiers was hardly of any use: for the thongs, which they had formed of wet raw hides, soon putrefying, the reeds and mud plastered on them fell off, leaving the stakes quite bare; so that my hut presented the appearance of a bird-coop, but was afterwards laboriously repaired and rendered habitable by myself and my companion. I strengthened that side of the wall which looks towards the stormy south, with a plaster composed of mud, and the blood of oxen, which repels water like pitch. The chapel was very small, and entirely unornamented: some of my own handy-work imparted a little degree of elegance to the altar.

The palisade of our house, which is necessary in every colony to defend it against the assaults

of the savages, had been very negligently made by the soldiers, who were in such a hurry to get home that they left nothing finished. The Governor was equally desirous to return to the city: he could take no rest here: thick swarms of gnats tormented him with their stings; but a still worse grievance was the anxiety that preyed upon his mind lest they should be surprized by a sudden attack of the savages. Horsemen were therefore kept watching day and night, and at the door of his own hut he stationed a foot company of guards, besides four cannon; in the hut itself he kept forty large muskets, and some smaller ones, ready to be fired in a moment. So that he distrusted those very Abipones for whom he was founding the colony; and the feeling was mutual; for they, ever suspicious of the friendship of the Spaniards, thought themselves justified in their fears since the Governor had brought so many soldiers, and so few oxen to feed them on. "What need," said they, "of four hundred soldiers? Had no hostilities been intended against us, one hundred would have been more than sufficient. If he was resolved upon building a colony in this place, why did he not send more than three hundred oxen? The Spaniards will consume these, and what will they leave for us?" That they might not

therefore be exposed to the treachery of the Spaniards, they pitched their tents three miles distant from us, in a place with a wood on one side, a river on the other, and a mound in front. It was in vain that I endeavoured to argue them out of these foolish fears, and I was equally unsuccessful in my attempts to tranquillize the suspicious mind of the Governor; who took every fly for an enemy, as what I am going to relate will sufficiently prove. Six Yaaukaniga youths came from St. Ferdinand to see the new colony. At my desire they immediately accompanied me unarmed to the Governor, and kissed his hands with great civility and respect. He, terrified at the appearance of these new guests, whom he mistook for enemies, or emissaries of the enemy, ordered all the guards to stand ready in arms, and after passing the night in the greatest anxiety, purified his soul by confessing to me early in the morning, and receiving the sacrament at my hands. On leaving the chapel, he informed me that he was going to depart immediately with all his people; and before noon, having hastily settled his affairs, he set off on what appeared more like a flight than a journey. The Abipones, receiving intelligence of this, flew from their tents, and hastened with all speed to the harbour to take leave of the Governor, whom they found already

seated in the vessel, and who, interpreting this officious journey as a hostile pursuit, ordered the ship to be put from shore in such a hurry, that he left behind him a waggon which was to have been carried back to the city. A brave man in other respects, but a novice amongst the American savages, and well aware of the unsteadiness of their friendship, and the uncertainty of their faith, he may be deemed excusable in preferring fear and caution to risking his life.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

EXTREME INDIGENCE OF THE COLONY, AND ITS VARIOUS CALAMITIES.

THE Rosary, as it had been unaptly named, was, from its very outset, the most thorny of all colonies. All the Spaniards being departed with the Governor, I was left entirely in the power of the Abipones, and of the hostile savages who infested the neighbourhood; yet, depending on the protection of the Almighty alone, I never felt myself more secure. There was no colony of Christians within thirty leagues of us, from which we could expect succour against the hostile troops of Mocobios, Tobas, and Guaycurus, whose hordes were so near that the smoke of them could be discerned from our colony. My Abipones for some time obstinately refused to remove their tents to the situation appointed for the colony. The sudden departure of the Governor was the origin of this refusal and of a hundred suspicions,—“The Spaniards departed to-day,” said they, “perhaps in the intention of returning to-morrow to murder us, when they hear that we are settled in the open plain.” Seeing no houses built for

them, as usual in other colonies, they took occasion to suspect every thing that was bad. Three days I spent unaccompanied, at the end of which, by much persuasion, I prevailed upon the Abipones to quit their retreat, and remove to the place where I was. They learnt from their spies that the Spaniards were at a great distance, and being delivered from their suspicions at length became more tranquil.

Wherever I turned my eyes I found necessities wanting for myself and the Indians, without which life could not be supported nor the colony preserved. Almost all the sheep which the Spaniards contributed were useless from age and disease, and the falling off of their wool; indeed most of them died whilst the Governor was there, so that all prospect of obtaining wool from them to clothe the Indians entirely disappeared. The very lean and indifferent beef which was our principal and almost only food, afforded the Indians daily subject of complaint. The oxen, which were sent from the remote estates of the Spaniards, at intervals of a year, arrived emaciated, and half dead from the length of the journey, and, as no others remained, were immediately slain, without being left time to fatten. Their flesh, either boiled or roasted, was devoid of all taste and moisture, and better adapted to disgust than refresh the

stomach. For my part, I loathed it so much, that during many months I tasted no other food than boiled cows' feet, though destitute of bread or any vegetables.

Fulgentio de Yegros had established a little estate for the use of the colony on the opposite shore of the river, but its pastures were by no means fertile, and so poorly was it furnished with cattle, that they scarce sufficed to feed the Abipones; consequently very few could be left to breed. The man sent by Fulgentio to guard the cattle was an infamous wretch, composed of nothing but fraud and falsehood, who used to slay the fattest cows for his own use, and sell the fat and suet to the Spaniards, whilst we in the colony were suffering the greatest want of both. He also fatigued the horses of the colony by hunting with them, or lending them to others for the same purpose, as if they were entirely at his disposal. I often accused him to the Governor, but he was never punished, though convicted of innumerable thefts. The man whom Fulgentio appointed to supersede him was honest, but not quite sane: he was agitated by continual terrors, and wherever he was, imagined that stones were being thrown at him by some unknown hand, even in the middle of the day. What diligence or accuracy could be expected from such a person in ma-

naging the estate? Our never having a proper guard for the cattle was the chief origin of all our miseries: for the Abipones think nothing wanting to their felicity if they have plenty of good meat, but if that be not the case will never rest easy in the colony.

It may also be reckoned amongst our misfortunes, that as the estate was on the opposite shore of the Paraguay, we had to convey across that vast river all the oxen necessary for our support. A ship, strong horses, dexterous horsemen, and much industry were requisite to effect that without the loss of many oxen.

Maize, and various kinds of beans, roots, and melons, serve the Indians as a seasoning, or substitute for meat: I therefore exhorted the Abipones to cultivate the ground, but agricultural implements were wanting; we had scarcely any oxen fit for the plough; and were even unprovided with a supply of seed for sowing. Some bushels of maize were sent from the city, but they had been terribly gnawed by the worms; also a sack of beans, in coming from thence, had been wetted in the river from the carelessness of the sailors, and had already pushed out shoots. Who would believe that the neighbouring savages, our former enemies, supplied us with various kinds of seeds, which we had so long and vainly sought from the

Spaniards? The country itself, as I declared at first sight, was unfavourable to plants, because it abounded in chalk. After much rain, it bore the appearance of a lake—when the waters subsided it became as hard and dry as a stone. Notwithstanding this, the Abipones did plough and sow great part of it, but they lost their labour; in the woods, however, where the soil is more fertile, and the sun's heat kept off by the shade of the trees, they reaped an abundant and easily-earned harvest of various fruits. I found the soil extremely favourable to the tobacco which I planted, but could never find a situation fit for sowing cotton. The alfalfa was only to be found in distant forests, but the want of it was supplied by abundance of honey. Other fruits, which grow quite common elsewhere, are extremely scarce here. The country near the shore abounds in stags, deer, and emus, the neighbouring rivers in crocodiles, water-wolves, and capibaris, but are mostly destitute of fish. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the river near the colony swarmed, for some days, with every kind of fish, which were easily caught with the hand, as they swiftly hurried down the stream: they are thought to have been conveyed into this river by intermediate pools, from the Rio Grande, at the time of the annual flood.

But it is quite clear to me, that the penury of the colony was not so much owing to the nature of the situation, as to the indigence of the founders. The other Fathers, who were sent to instruct the savages, received from the Governors and opulent citizens a plentiful supply of linen and woollen cloth, glass-beads, knives, scissars, rings, needles, hooks, ear-rings, &c. baits by which both the eyes and minds of the savages are taken. When I set off to found the colony, not so much as a pin was given me in the city of Asumpcion. The Spaniards of Sta. Fè and St. Iago supplied the Fathers with choice horses when they went to a new colony. The Spaniards of Asumpcion, on the contrary, robbed me of four excellent horses, for which I was indebted to the kindness of the Jesuits in the Guarany towns: yet the Governor neither made any enquiry after the thieves, nor indemnified me for the loss. Great scarcity almost always prevailed in the colony, because the supplies, which the Spaniards engaged themselves to pay, were very seldom and very sparingly sent, or, being brought by sailors, were long in reaching us, or were destroyed on the way from want of care. No assistance could be expected from the Guarany towns, which were so beneficial to other colonies, both on account of their distance and the calamities of that period. The

small remainder of those little gifts, with which the liberality of my friends had supplied me, I used, in my distress, for the purpose of allaying the discontent of the Abipones, who had been induced by the promises of the Spaniards, and the hopes of bettering their fortune, to assemble in this colony, where they justly lamented to find themselves deluded, and in want of every thing.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CONTINUAL TUMULTS OF WAR.

To our other miseries were added perpetual war-like commotions. The new Governor, Martinez, to ingratiate himself with the King, resolved upon sending two hundred soldiers against the neighbouring hordes of Mocobios and Tobas, out of those four hundred which had been chosen to found the colony. On his consulting with me, I dissuaded him from an expedition, the event of which appeared so uncertain, lest the new colony, which was but poorly stocked with inhabitants, should be involved in war, and perish in its infancy. With the same ardour I recommended it to my Abipones religiously to maintain peace with all; they, however, never had either power or inclination to continue in a state of quiescence. One tumult succeeded to another. Soon after the colony was founded, Ychoalay came, and in a friendly manner desired restitution of the horses lately taken from him. Enraged at receiving a refusal, he set off, with a chosen band of his people, to recover them by force. My Abipones, rendered obstinate by their inveterate hatred to Ychoalay, determined to

withstand him to the utmost. Some employed themselves in conveying the horses to a place of greater safety, that they might not be seized by the enemy; whilst others roamed up and down the woods, seeking honey to make mead. I, meantime, was a prey to anxious cares, ignorant what course to pursue when the town should be attacked. Ychoalay, formerly so much my friend, was now become the most dreadful of enemies. "It would be wrong," thought I, "to take up arms against one who is only coming to recover his own; but if, as is most likely, victory declares in his favour, and he puts to death every inhabitant that comes in his way, unless I discharge upon Ychoalay all the lead and gunpowder I have in the house, my Abipones will suspect me of having acted in collusion with him, and will pierce me with spears and arrows." Suspended by these reflections, I stuck, as it were, between the hammer and the anvil, and resolved to do what should seem most advisable at the time.

But all this danger was warded from us by a gracious Providence: for as Ychoalay was quickly travelling towards us, he fell in with a numerous horde of hostile Nakaiketergehe Abipones. A sharp skirmish ensued, which did not terminate without wounds and slaughter on both sides. Ychoalay had ten of his men wounded;

and, that they might be the sooner and more certainly cured, hastened home, omitting the intended attack upon our colony, which was construed into a mark of fear by the inhabitants, and accordingly celebrated as a triumph with songs and drinking. The survivors of that routed horde took refuge, part with us, part in the town of St. Ferdinand, and showing their unhealed wounds, endeavoured, by that sight, to inflame their companions, who needed no such incitement, to speedy and effectual vengeance. Almost all immediately conspired against Ychoalay. A great company was formed of Yaaukaniga and Nakaiketergehe Abipones, who all set off to the town of St. Jeronymo, and that the blow might descend upon Ychoalay with the greater certainty from its being unforeseen, they gave out that their object was to hunt horses in the southern plains. But all these hopes and machinations came to nothing. By those very people, whom it was their intent to surprize and utterly exterminate, they were themselves surprized, partly slain, and partly put to flight. For, near St. Jeronymo, whilst, having left their saddles and supernumerary horses in a place called *Tiger's Cave*, and got their faces ready painted, they were meditating an assault upon the town, they fell in with Ychoalay, accompanied by a great number of

his own Riikahes, of Christian Mocobios, and of Spanish horsemen, all delighted to have in their presence those whom they had that day set out to seek and slay in their retreats. Ychoalay could easily have destroyed this multitude of enemies, had they not preferred flight to combat. The fugitives owed their lives to the swiftness of their horses, to the ruggedness of the ways, and the lurking-holes of the forests; many however were slain, taken, and wounded by the pursuers. Ychoalay drove them before him to the town of St. Ferdinand, and being rendered formidable by the number of his fellow-soldiers, spread terror on all sides. The Nakaiketergehes, conspired to his destruction, though they saw their last efforts unaccompanied with success, conceived new hatred against him; and as in repeated skirmishes they failed to take away his life, consoled themselves with plundering him of innumerable horses. It cannot be matter of surprize that this nation entertained hostile feelings to Ychoalay, the slayer of their chief Cacique Debayakaikin, whose four sons dwelt in their colony, and whose hordesmen and fellow-soldiers, all but a very few of them had been.

Beside these intestine wars, the proximity of the Mocobios, Tobas, and Guaycurus, was always dangerous, and often exceedingly preju-

dicial to us. These savage nations, distinguished by their numbers and their power of doing mischief, contended that the plain which the colony occupied belonged to them, and had never been inhabited by Abipones. They feared and suspected the inhabitants of a colony which they knew to be in subjection to the Spaniards, and left no stone unturned to drive them from their new situation, which they endeavoured to effect sometimes by arts, sometimes by arms. Pretending peace and friendship, crowds of them came to visit our town, seemingly for the sake of civility, and were hospitably received by us, entertained for some days, and treated with little presents and plenty of beef. But abusing our kindness, though closely watched by me, they availed themselves of the opportunity to observe the number of inhabitants fit to bear arms, the pastures of the horses, and all the ways and means of access; aided by which knowledge, they afterwards flew, whenever it suited them, to alarm the colony, and to plunder horses, though this our vigilance generally prevented them from accomplishing. The frequent and secret hostilities of the savages caused us an immense deal of trouble; as we were often obliged to pass the night awake and in arms, for fear of the Oaekakalots, who, unlike other tribes, made their attacks in the night; and as

no one could go out to hunt, or perform any other business, in the remoter plains or woods, on account of their being infested by the savages. That they might not start, on a sudden, from a neighbouring wood, and surprize the colony, I had an observatory erected in our court-yard, which proved of signal utility. Let me now relate some of the attempts made upon us by our savage neighbours.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

VARIOUS INCURSIONS OF THE MOCOBIOS AND TOBAS.

ALL places being full of peril and fear, and exposed to the machinations of the enemy, many of the Abipones, weary of a life embittered in so many ways, crossed the river with their families, and went to the estate of Fulgentio de Yegros, who received them with great pleasure, and usefully employed them in his service. The women were occupied in shearing sheep and spinning the wool; the men in guarding cattle, and other rural tasks; receiving, as the best recompense that could be given them, abundance of beef. Very few, meantime, remained with me in the colony. This was thought a good opportunity for an attack by the Mocabios and their allies, and indeed our destruction would have been inevitable, had I not providentially abstained from my usual custom of sleeping in the afternoon. The particulars of the affair deserve to be related:—I had gone on foot, and alone, to the bank of the river to try the new boats and rowers, and that I did not fall asleep on my return, after being fatigued with three hours' walking in the heat of

the sun, can only be attributed to heavenly interposition. At two o'clock in the afternoon, a boy who was sitting on the steps of the observatory suddenly exclaimed, "The savages are coming!" As I was walking in the yard, I spied a troop of Mocobios, who presented themselves in the market-place, armed and painted, as for a battle, disposed in regular ranks, and unaccompanied with any women or children; all which betokened hostile intentions. The boy I mentioned, with six old women and a lame Abipon, were the only persons that remained with me in the town. Snatching up my arms, and guarding the door, I performed the part both of commander and garrison; and, little as I am, was more than sufficient to terrify so many horsemen. As soon as ever they saw me present the musket they turned their backs, and slowly receding through the market-place, sat down in a little wood near the tents of the Abipones. Aware that the Americans supply by craftiness any defect in courage, and that they often renew the attack when their adversaries imagine them completely intimidated, and on their return home, I remained armed in the same place, and kept an eye on their motions. When a quarter of an hour had elapsed in this manner, I approached the Mocobios on foot, and with no one but the boy for my companion, to ascer-

tain whether they were to be considered as friends or foes. I accosted them unarmed, but received very laconic replies to the questions I put them; and their sullen and threatening looks discovered that they were ill-disposed towards us. As we were conversing, a quantity of smoke rose up in that part of the shore where the Spaniards cross the Paraguay; being asked by the Mocobian Cacique whence or from whom I thought that fire proceeded; I replied from the Spaniards; and that I was in expectation of two hundred soldiers, whom the Governor had promised to send to build houses in the colony. Struck with this news, the savages were afraid to execute what they had planned to our destruction, fearing that any acts of hostility perpetrated by them would be avenged by the Spanish horsemen, whom they thought approaching. At this conjuncture a cloud of dust appeared in that direction by which the Mocobios had come, and by the shining of their spears, we knew the savage horsemen; perceiving which, the Mocobios instantly leapt on to their horses; an additional proof of their evil intentions. The boy pulled my gown, saying, "Let us go, Father, lest we be taken;" and indeed I began to entertain the same apprehension myself. Civilly taking leave of the Mocobios, I returned home with slow steps, to avoid betray-

ing my suspicions, and resuming my weapons, posted myself at the door, and awaited the event.

Without delay a numerous company of Tobas, headed by Cacique Keebetavalkin, drew out in the market-place. All were laden with arms of every description, and painted with dark colours; but without saying a word about the occasion of their coming, they sent their horses to pasture, and sat down to pass the night with the troop of Mocobios. I approached, and accosted these new comers, unfurnished with weapons of any sort, bearing myself towards them altogether as towards friends, though they could not, in any light, be accounted other than enemies, certain to do us a mischief, unless we conducted ourselves towards them with great liberality and caution. I took care to have an ox immediately slain for their supper, from the same motive that one would stroke an unruly horse, or throw a piece of meat to a surly mastiff. Not to be quite unprepared for treachery on their part, we passed a sleepless night, keeping the strictest watch both with our eyes and ears, and holding our weapons in readiness to repel violence were it offered. I performed divine service early in the morning, without ringing of bells, and with the greatest quietness, lest the savages, discovering that I was engaged at the

altar, and being thus delivered from their apprehension of the musket, should attempt hostilities against us with impunity. All my precautions, however, proved unavailing; for a crowd of savages surrounded me as I was pronouncing the formula of the divine consecration. A Mocobian juggler stole in first by a door adjoining the altar. After standing awhile behind me, he jumped back several times to his companions, who were near the door, making mimic gestures, and tossing about his arms in a ridiculous manner. They conversed together for some time by signs. Imagine what must have been the state of my mind in this interim—I expected death every moment.

Having accurately performed divine service to the end, I presented the savages, as if they had politely come to visit me, with any little gifts that were at hand, but failed to elicit from them what their intentions were, though I could not but suspect them to be of the very worst nature; for they examined every corner of my house, impudently attempted, in my presence, to pull up the stakes with which it was surrounded, and tried whether they could burst open the wooden door of the chapel with their shoulders. Meanwhile, I smilingly looked on, and took especial care to prevent the suspicions of my mind from appearing in my countenance;

knowing that the greatest coward is inspired with courage if he perceives himself an object of terror. I boasted of our intrepidity and skill in archery, displayed a store of arms, and a variety of leaden bullets, and descanted upon the wonderful power of the musket, which reaches the most distant objects, and penetrates and demolishes the hardest substances. The Governor, on leaving the colony, had given me, for the defence of the inhabitants, one of those very small cannon which are fixed to the prows of ships; to load this, he had furnished me with eight charges of gunpowder, fifteen bullets, but only one iron ball, weighing scarce half a pound, which, to deprive them of all inclination to assault the colony, I gave to the savages to handle and look at. When they came to visit me in my apartment, "Oh, how heavy it is," they exclaimed: "what a hole it would make in a man's body!"

By these artifices, I induced the Mocobios and Tobas to give up their intention of destroying the colony, or rather, as the event discovered, to defer it till a better opportunity. During many days, which they passed in sight of us, in the same spot they had at first occupied, they daily explored the adjacent pastures, plains, and woods; not one of the few Abipones that remained at home presuming to offer the least

opposition, though perfectly aware of their dangerous intentions. Meantime, though suspected of treachery, they revelled like Bacchanals at our expense; oxen being at my orders slain on purpose for them, lest, on failure of other food, ourselves should be devoured by these cannibals. A fortunate event at length delivered us from these hateful guests, and freed us from continual anxiety and suspicion. About sun-set, the whole plain resounded with a sudden tumult, no one doubted but that the enemies were approaching; and I myself believed we should be presently attacked by a vast company of Mocobios and Tobas, of which those that had stayed so long with us were only the spies and forerunners. But this was a false alarm; for when the dust, which had concealed them from us, dispersed itself, we discovered ten of our Abipones, who were bringing about two thousand horses which they had plundered from Ychoalay's estate, to revenge the death of one of their countrymen who had fallen by his hand in a recent skirmish. The Cacique of the Mocobios, seeing so large a booty, doubted not but that the owner was pursuing the plunderers, and fearful that by remaining he should be involved in the conflict with Ychoalay, and drawn into a participation of the danger, hastened home next morning as

soon as it was light. The ill-will that he bore towards us was manifested by his parting speech to the Abiponian women: "If," said he, "you value your lives, your liberties, and your children, desert this colony forthwith. The land you occupy is not your own, nor will we suffer you to usurp it. It will be stained with your blood, unless you depart voluntarily." This first visit of the Mocabios and Tobas was a prelude and preparation to that grand expedition which these savages, in conjunction with the Oaekakalots, undertook, some months after, to the destruction of our colony. Of this subject we shall treat more fully after having made some premises.

CHAPTER XL.

SMALL-POX THE ORIGIN OF MANY CALAMITIES AND
BLOODY ATTACKS.

WHEN all the Mocobios and most of the Tobas were departed, Keebetavalkin, the Cacique of the latter, remained some months with us, till he died of the small-pox, after having received baptism from me; a circumstance which stirred up the Toba nation against us, and was the occasion of my receiving a bloody wound. I shall give the particulars of the whole affair. Our Abipones had caught the small-pox in Fulgentio's estate, and on their return to the colony infected all the other inhabitants, excepting only those who had already undergone that disease: and it may be looked upon as a great blessing that a disorder, generally fatal to the Americans, proved so in this case to only twenty out of nearly three hundred who took the infection, though it raged from the 14th of May, till November. What trouble it occasioned me, who was obliged to perform the double part of physician and priest, exceeds belief. Nearly all my Abipones were still in a state of barbarism—either alien to the rites of the church, or

impious deserters and despisers of them. Hence day and night I was filled with anxiety, that if the medicines I administered failed to prevent death, I might at least, by sacred rites, endow the souls of my patients with a blessed immortality; a matter of infinite art and difficulty. For, alarmed at the death of an old woman, the first that fell victim to the disease, all but a very few fled from the colony, vainly endeavouring to preserve their lives in remote recesses. Some crossed the Rio Grande, travelled to a distance of twenty leagues, and left to themselves, destitute of all aid and medicine, every one recovered. I was thus separated from most part of the colonists, being ignorant of their place of concealment, and consequently unable to approach them without guides, which were not to be procured. Some were only four leagues distance from the colony; the followers of Oahari only one; and these two hordes I was daily obliged to visit, with extreme difficulty, on account of the rivers and marshes that were to be crossed, and imminent danger from wild beasts, and wandering savages. To provide both for the minds and bodies of these wretches, I had to administer their food and medicine with my own hands, and to explain to them the heads of religion, that they might be in a fit state for baptism, to receive

which, it was only with the utmost difficulty that they could be persuaded, entertaining a notion, common to all savages, of its causing death. To recall apostates to repentance who had repudiated their legitimate wives, and abjured religion, was a still more arduous business. Yet to show you how powerfully the compassion of God was exerted on this occasion, none of them departed this life without receiving baptism, except one woman, who, when first attacked by the disorder, resisted my exhortations that she would undergo that ceremony, denying that she was in any immediate danger. Having found, from experience, that the fatal period of this disorder amongst the Abipones was not in its rise, but in its progress, I thought proper to yield to the entreaties of both husband and wife, and returned home in the firm determination of soon re-visiting my patient. But, alas! scarce a quarter of an hour had elapsed, when, to my great sorrow, I heard that she had suddenly expired. My grief, however, was consoled by a sort of hope that I entertained of her eternal salvation, founded upon her having been previously fortified by religious virtues, detestation of sin, and a resolution to receive baptism whenever she felt her life in danger; all which, if sincere, enabled

me to draw happy presages for her from the boundless compassion of God.

Whilst fatigued with continual attendance upon the sick, I was frequently harassed with anxiety respecting the preservation of the colony. Daily reports were spread of the approach of the enemy, and evident marks discovered of their ambuscades, which, however, our vigilance always rendered nugatory. That above all was a memorable day to me, when, at the very time that an assault was hourly expected, a messenger came from the distant horde of the Cacique, announcing that an Abiponian woman, ill of the small-pox, had been two days in dangerous labour. For a little while I hesitated what to do. "Left," thought I, "without a defender, the house and sacred utensils will be seized upon by the enemy; I myself, if I go out into the country, shall perhaps be surprized and murdered by them, and in that case the Abipones will be destitute of all religious aid. Yet if I remain at home, the mother and her offspring will probably perish without baptism." Religious considerations at length induced me to despise the uncertain rumour of a hostile attack, for the sake of averting present and certain danger from the woman and her offspring, and I set off accordingly on

foot and unarmed. A herb which, at my advice, was administered to the woman in labour, proved efficacious beyond my hopes for whilst I was visiting the tents of the sick, she was happily delivered of a living child marked with the small-pox, which I was determined upon baptizing immediately, though the grandmother furiously opposed my design. "What," vociferated she, "will you destroy the infant as soon as it sees the light with those destructive waters?" Finding her clamours of no avail, she ran to the father, a son of Debayakaikin, who was lying in a tent hard by covered with mats, to defend him from the cold, as if *he* had just been delivered of a child, and implored him to prevent me from accomplishing my intent; but, more sensible than the rest, he replied that the will of the Father must be acquiesced in. Disappointed of the support she had expected from her son-in-law, the old woman was very near assaulting me tooth and nail; but being appeased by my gentle words and expostulations, she recovered her temper, and on my promising that the child should not be buried in the chapel in case of its death, declared that she would no longer oppose my design. The child ceased to live the same day that it received new birth at the sacred font: the mother recovered. This shows what a

prejudice the Abipones have against being buried within the sacred walls, and under a roof. Not one of the Abipones who died of the small-pox, would have consented to receive baptism, had I not appointed a burying-place in a wood for the dead at the beginning of the contagion. This I did in imitation of the Guaranies, who have cemeteries walled round, and adorned with an elegant chapel, and long rows of orange and citron trees, solely for the reception of those who die of the small-pox, lest the vapours arising from their bodies should prove a fresh source of contagion. To provide against this in our colony, I placed the cemetery in that direction from which the wind blew seldomest.

The trouble and anxiety that I underwent in continual attendance on the sick, during seven months, may easier be imagined than described. The principal and most numerous horde, that of the Cacique Oahari, which I was daily obliged to visit, could not be reached without crossing a river, both shores of which were marshy. As it was a matter of much time and labour to extricate the horses from this mud, I generally performed the journey on foot, speedily rowing myself over in a boat. This daily habit of walking, during a period of many months, rendered my feet so horny, that I was often obliged to cut pieces of skin from the soles of

them with a pair of scissars: for the leathern leggings which we wore to defend us from gnats and other insects, though extremely convenient in riding, used to rub and gall the feet of pedestrians, especially when they were hardened with perspiration. How often have I had to travel amid rain and thunder, or beneath the scorching heat of the sun, through an extensive plain, afflicted with gnats, mud, and the snares of wandering savages, that no good office might be wanting to the wretched crowd of dying Abipones, for whose sake I loved to undergo danger and fatigue!

Often, at this period, so great a number were confined to their beds by the disease, that those in health were scarce sufficient to take care of the sick, to bury the dead, and to mourn for them with the usual ceremonies. No one's death afforded greater cause for lamentation than that of the wife of Oahari, and daughter of Debayakaikin; a woman in the flower of her age, distinguished for high birth, and second to none in elegance of person and sweetness of manners. A few years before, having been dangerously bitten by a serpent, she had received baptism in the town of Concepcion. I, for my part, ascribed the death of this excellent woman not so much to the small-pox, as to a crowd of juggler-physicians, by whom

she was always surrounded, whenever I visited her tent to prepare her for death by religious aid.

Keebetavalkin, Cacique of the Tobas, and chief of all the physicians in Chaco, for some time companion of the Abipones and Mocobios, in the towns of St. Jeronymo and St. Xavier, but generally a wanderer, and now a spy upon our affairs in the name of his countrymen, spent two months amongst us with his wife and daughters. Not one of my people was attacked with the small-pox but he had this savage Æsculapius to suck and blow him; till from being continually in contact with the sick, he at length imbibed the deadly poison himself, being now at an advanced age. The sick man took care to be frequently removed from one situation to another, in the hope of relief, as dying persons in our country are wont to do. When on the point of death, he desired to be placed in a little wood near the colony; a hut was accordingly constructed for him in that place, of the boughs of trees, but so low that I could not converse with him, as he was lying down, without stooping. There being no longer any room to doubt of his extreme danger, after he had been properly instructed and prepared, I baptized him in the early part of the night, and he

expired next day some hours before noon. The ferocious Tobas, when informed of the baptism and death of their Cacique, accused me, who had administered the one, of being the cause of the other, and resolved to avenge him by arms, as I had openly foretold before we were made acquainted with the intention of the Tobas; for I knew that to these stupid savages baptism appeared more destructive than small-pox, or the most subtle poison. The affair was not confined to threats alone: a few days after, the revengeful Tobas drove away more than five hundred horses from our pastures, in the dead of the night, and would doubtless have slain some of our people had an opportunity offered. Our Abipones, complaining of this loss of horses, flew to Asumpcion, and besought the Governor to allow some Spanish horse to sally forth with them for the purpose of chastizing the plunderers; and their entreaties seemed almost needless, in requesting what had long been the Governor's own desire. From what we shall relate hereafter, you will find the small-pox to have been the occasion of mutual incursions and slaughters, and of the shedding of my blood.

CHAPTER XLI.

FOUR HUNDRED SPANISH HORSEMEN, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE ABIPONES, OVERCOME A NUMEROUS HORDE OF TOBAS.

THE Governor, Joseph Martinez Fontez, being laid up with a fit of the apoplexy, appointed Fulgentio de Yegros, an illiterate, but brave and intelligent man, to the government of the province, during the period of his indisposition. Congratulating himself upon this opportunity of conducting a successful enterprize, Fulgentio flew to our colony, accompanied by four hundred horse, in the design of undertaking a joint expedition with the Abipones against the Tobas, long so hostile to the whole province. After some days' journey, as no signs appeared of any hostile settlements, the Spaniards began to think of a return, alleging the difficulties of the road, the scarcity of provisions, and the weariness of their horses; but this unseasonable and inglorious design was openly condemned by the Abipones, who were possessed with a greater thirst for battle and revenge. Their scouts, by means of the print of horses' feet, at length discovered a populous horde of

Tobas, to which there was no access but by a narrow path through a surrounding wood. Every thing was put in readiness for the assault, and, as the event of momentous affairs is often, as Livy says, determined in a moment, the Governor resolved, with the approbation of the Abipones, to attack the savages next day about dawn, whilst they were sleeping, or half asleep, that they might be circumvented before they were aware of the enemy's approach. But as some Abipones, who had been sent forward to take a nearer view of the enemy's station, were so much retarded by the ruggedness of the way, that they did not return to the Spaniards till midnight; and as the great forest which intervened could only be crossed by the horsemen at a leisurely pace; the assault was not made till the middle of the day, and then with less than the anticipated success: for, most of the inhabitants being engaged in the chase at a distance from home, and there being consequently few to oppose the assailants, and none but a helpless crowd of women, children, and old men to be vanquished and taken captive, the fight was attended with some advantage, but with very little difficulty or glory. Terrified at the sudden attack of the Spaniards, their eyes and ears assaulted by the blaze and thundering sound of the muskets,

these wretches preferred flight to resistance. Many were intercepted and slain in their disorderly retreat by the pursuing foe; the rest endeavoured to preserve their lives in the forest; but as the Abipones examined all the recesses of the woods like hounds, very few of the Tobas escaped their eyes and hands, some being deprived of life, others of liberty.

The Spaniards, with great justice, attributed the whole success of this expedition to the Abipones, by whose sagacity the settlements of the savages had at first been discovered, and by whose celerity great numbers were prevented from escaping. I never could learn the exact number of persons that fell that day, but the captives of every description amounted to forty, mostly taken by the Abipones, who obtained besides a booty of an immense drove of horses belonging to the enemy. The Spanish soldiers, though they terrified all the savages by the firing of their muskets in this sudden attack, were able to wound but very few of them, owing to the circumstance of their having passed the preceding night, in order to be in readiness for pursuing their journey, on horseback amongst the trees; in which situation the gunpowder was moistened by the nocturnal dew, so that it was with the utmost difficulty that it

could be afterwards made to take fire. An old Toba, who had been wounded by a bullet, drove on his family before him, defending them with an uplifted spear, till he had very nearly reached the border of the wood, without any of the Spaniards daring to oppose him; but he and his people were cut to pieces by our Cacique Oahari, with a sword which he snatched from a Spaniard as it lay idle in its sheath. The wife and two daughters of the Cacique Keebetavalkin were slain in the same manner. Not one of the Spaniards was killed, or even hurt, in this chase, rather than battle. Many of them were present only to increase the number of soldiers, and to be spectators of the assault.

A Spanish boy, who had been carried away from Paraguay by the Tobas in his infancy, was set at liberty on this occasion. It is incredible how great was his abhorrence of his countrymen the Spaniards, whom he had ever considered as enemies; he was neither to be conciliated by gifts nor caresses. A Spanish woman, who was released from captivity amongst the Tobas, informed the Governor that there was a very numerous horde of Tobas, scarce two days' journey from that place; but he, disregarding the wishes of the Abipones, who urged him to attack it, alleged the weariness

of the horses and scarcity of provisions as excuses for hastening his return, and deferring the attack upon that horde till another time; but that time never came. All the sensible Spaniards were indignant at the Governor's letting slip this long wished for opportunity of destroying, or at any rate chastising the atrocious nation of Tobas, whose daily business and delight it for so many years had been to cut the throats of the Spaniards. They thought that the society of the Abipones, who were of so much service in seeking out and fighting the enemy, might not hereafter be obtained without great difficulty; and that many would perhaps atone with their blood for one man's fault in neglecting such fair opportunities of victory.

Whilst the Abipones were absent on this expedition, the defence of the colony entirely devolved upon me, a charge in the performance of which I underwent much trouble and anxiety; for the neighbouring Mocobios, learning from their spies that none but the women and children remained at home with me, repeatedly approached us for mischievous purposes. But as I never ceased watching, day and night, with unremitting vigilance, their insidious attempts never succeeded but once, when they carried off a number of excellent horses from the pastures where they had been left to feed

by the Spanish soldiers, the persons appointed to guard them being asleep at the time. The head of the plunderers was a certain Mocobio, who had deserted religion and a town life, and was second to none in rapacity and cunning. By day he used to converse familiarly with the Spaniards appointed to guard the cattle, as he understood their language, and to take his dinner with them: but one night he suddenly went off with his companions who were lurking hard by, and carried away a number of choice horses. After fourteen days' journey our heroes returned, leading in triumph a miserable crowd of captives whom they exhibited as trophies, and testimonials of their valour. But for my part I judged a victory stained with the blood of so many helpless women and girls more worthy of sorrow than of applause, knowing that it would certainly be atoned for by that of myself, or my people, and that the surviving Tobas would never allow the death or captivity of their wives, mothers, or children to go unrevenged; in which opinion all the Spaniards coincided, firmly believing that certain danger threatened the colony from those enraged savages. But the Governor, hastening to the city, evinced how little he had our safety at heart, when he left such a scanty band as we were, exposed to a multitude of enemies,

breathing nothing but vengeance. After much entreaty, he could only be persuaded to leave us five Spanish guards, wretched creatures, entirely destitute of courage, and nearly so of arms. These were sent home at intervals, and succeeded by others, as bad, or worse; so that they rather served as a laughing-stock, than as a protection to the Abipones.

I must not omit to mention that the Abipones publicly, and with the utmost effrontery, celebrated a slaughter they had formerly committed on the Spaniards, whose skulls they exhibited with songs and drinking, Fulgentio being present with his forces, and not daring to take the least exception at it. Since they durst do that in the face of the Governor, and four hundred soldiers, what respect would they pay to the threats or admonitions of a priest?

On the same day that the Abipones returned from the expedition, I visited all the tents of my people, to see and speak with the captives, and if they stood in need of medicine or assistance, to afford it them without delay: for either the terror excited by the sudden assault of the Spaniards, or grief at the loss of liberty and their native soil, or the burning heat of the sun in travelling, had affected them to such a degree, that we thought they were certainly going

to be seized with some disease. But I found them all in good health except one woman, the skin of whose head had been grazed by a bullet. As the wound was only skin-deep, the Spaniards laid a piece of fresh wax on the place, by way of a plaster, and the flies which infest moist places gradually bred worms there, which, as they occupied a dangerous part of the head, threw the woman into a delirium; but by the timely application of tiger's fat the worms were destroyed.

A slight dispute arose between the Spaniards and Abipones on the subject of the captives; the former, in order to draw all eyes towards them on their return to the city, and to be congratulated with the greater applause, wanted to take both the captive youths and the Toba women out of the hands of the Abipones, and to adorn themselves, like the daw, with borrowed plumes; on the other hand, the Abipones obstinately maintained that what they themselves had taken with the danger of their lives, was their own property; but were induced, by a settled compensation, or liberal promises, to cede a very few of the Tobas to the Spaniards, the rest of the captives being retained in the colony. I did not look upon myself as authorized to decide this controversy, but silently hoped that none of the captives

would remain with us, foreseeing that their presence would prove highly prejudicial to our colony. As we had no place for confining the captives, and as they enjoyed equal liberty of wandering with the rest, they every one escaped whilst their masters were absent or asleep. Some of the older Tobas returned home with stolen horses, and having become well acquainted with the whole of our neighbourhood, frequently returned to harass and plunder the colony.

CHAPTER XLII.

ANXIETY OF THE ABIPONES CONCERNING THE REVENGE
OF THE TOBAS. CONTAGION OF THE TERTIAN FEVER.

MY Abipones, late the conquerors of the Tobas, were not ignorant that their vanquished enemies observed the same rule as themselves in revenging injuries, and that victories were often succeeded by bloody slaughters. That they might not, therefore, be surprized by a sudden incursion of the Tobas, whom they had recently provoked, they diligently fortified their tents by the erection of temporary fences. But as fear deems no protection sufficient, they dreamt, even at mid-day, of enemies, snares, and attacks. A certain species of beetle, humming at an unlucky moment, was taken for a spy belonging to the enemy. No place nor time was free from danger and anxiety to the Abipones. Moreover, the female jugglers, whose predictions the savages think it a crime to discredit, used falsely to affirm that the enemies were approaching, and their divinations being frequently confirmed by Indians going to and fro, the Abipones often passed the day, and still

oftener the night, in arms, expecting every instant the assault of the Tobas.

To this continual trepidation was added the contagion of the tertian fever, which raged indiscriminately, for a length of time, amongst persons of either sex, and of every age. Being forced to attend upon the sick day and night, I was at length seized with the disorder myself; but whereas the rest only suffered from it every third day, I, on the contrary, was afflicted with alternate fits of heat and cold for many hours every evening; a period at which none but myself felt the slightest degree of fever. The disease grew so violent, that my head became delirious at night, my body was inflamed with heat, my tongue grew black as a coal, and my languid feet consisted of nothing but skin and bone; it was long before I could walk without leaning on a crutch, so greatly was my strength exhausted; in a word, I looked like a breathing carcass. The Indians, who daily crowded to see me, exclaimed all together, with tears in their eyes, "You are going to die, Father! you are going to die!" I certainly seemed at no great distance from the grave, my disorder daily increasing, and myself destitute of physician, medicine, proper food, wine, bread, sugar, every thing in short necessary to revive

and strengthen me. The very sight of the hard dry beef, my only fare at other times, created disgust in my languid stomach: maize ground and boiled, if it could be procured of the Indians at any price, I accounted a luxury, finding it of great service in cooling me and quenching my burning thirst. Moreover, I made daily use of a plant, in Spanish called *verdologa*, in Latin, *portulaca*, which, boiled in water, afforded me great relief: it has small, bright, green leaves, growing on a reddish stalk, which creeps along the ground, and seasoned with oil and vinegar is an excellent substitute for lettuce.

My worst and most intolerable grievance was, that the people assembled together almost every night, exclaiming with doleful yells, that the sanguinary Tobas were at hand, and imperiously calling upon me to arise for the defence of the colony, whilst I was burning with fever and totally helpless. Unable to stand on my feet, I was sometimes obliged to keep watch, sitting at the door of my hut, and leaning upon a gun, to relieve the fears of this faint-hearted crew, who placed more confidence in one musket than in an hundred spears. I was alive, but hardly conscious of my existence. At length, when the violence of the fever abated, and the use of my senses, though not of my

limbs, was restored to me, I often crept through the tents of the sick, leaning on the arms of others, that no dying person might expire without religious consolation. Rapidly growing worse and worse, destitute of priest, physician, soldier, or guard, I was in daily expectation of death; but whether I was to receive it from the enemies' weapons, or the pertinacity of the fever, which lasted seven-and-twenty days, I remained in uncertainty, though well prepared for either, thinking death preferable to a life spent in such a manner. Fulgentio, to whom I wrote an account of the calamitous state of our affairs, returned for answer that neither priest nor soldiers could be sent us till after Easter. I suppose the good man was unwilling to deprive any Spaniard of the opportunity of beholding spectacles, or hearing sermons wherein the memory of our Saviour's sufferings were revived; yet the Governor would have given greater proofs of piety and prudence, had he, without taking account of those ceremonies, immediately dispatched a priest to me, who was dying, and a soldier to the colony, which was exposed to so much danger. On reading Fulgentio's letter, I cast away all hope of human aid, and confidently waited for the assistance of Heaven, which I at length obtained, and by which alone I was preserved. The continual

fever being mitigated at the end of seven-and-twenty days, and converted into a tertian, my strength slowly returned, and on Palm Sunday I ministered again at the altar, though in danger of fainting every moment, from the extreme weakness of my head and feet.

Eight days after Easter, a priest of our order came from Asumpcion, accompanied by twelve soldiers. This man had been ordered to take upon himself the care of the colony in case he found me dead; if I was still sick, to act in my stead, while I sailed to the city. He was as much rejoiced at my being still alive, as I was at his arrival; for he dreaded to remain amongst the savages, to whom he was unaccustomed, having till then been always employed as lecturer on philosophy or theology. The continual reports concerning the approach of the cruel Tobas, the repeated noise of war trumpets, the sudden concourse of trembling women, the tormenting swarms of fleas and gnats, the wretchedness of his habitation, the heat of the air, and the noxious vapours arising from adjacent marshes, rendered his life intolerable; though he had come furnished with fresh bread, with wine, and other liquors, to nourish or refresh the body, and had even brought water with him, which I was always obliged to take from a stagnant pool. That he

might not, therefore, be necessitated to remain here whilst I returned to Asumpcion, it is incredible with how liberal a hand he daily dispensed from his stores whatever was calculated to refresh and strengthen me. Accustomed to the Indians, and to misery, I had as great an abhorrence of the city, as he had of the wretched and turbulent colony; so that at the end of eight days he was at liberty to return with most of the soldiers, a few only being reserved to watch in the colony. Scarce had he reached home when he was seized with a fit of sickness, which confined him to his bed for some months. If eight days' stay was sufficient to lay him prostrate, though he wanted no comfort, you cannot wonder that, after two years spent in extreme indigence and amidst continual disturbances, the ill state of my health obliged me to quit the colony.

Bands of soldiers were sent at intervals to construct houses for the Abipones, who, till that time, for more than a year, had dwelt under the mats, which they used for tents both at home and in travelling. On holidays, when I was ministering at the altar, I used to discourse with the soldiers to such effect that many of them confessed to me the faults of their past life, which was rendered the more necessary by the perilous situation of our affairs. We

were agitated with daily apprehensions of the enemy's approach. At one time it was reported that Ychoalay, provoked at repeated plundering of his horses, was drawing near to the colony; at another, the vengeful Tobas were said to be coming with confederate savages. As no hope of tranquillity, or shadow of security appeared, there was not one of the Spaniards who did not ardently desire a speedy departure from the colony, and all the soldiers who were ordered thither by their captains thought themselves condemned to the quarries, or to the oar. The richer and more respectable strove to evade the journey on pretence of business, indisposition, or by some other feigned excuses; hence none but the meaner soldiers, Spaniards only in name, attended our town, and were rather a burden than a protection to us. Such were generally those who, in the beginning, were dispatched every month to our colony, both to bring us certain necessaries, and to see whether I was still alive. They were often prevented from reaching us from fear of the savages; at other times every thing they brought was so spoilt with the water as to be of no possible use: these were frequent causes of distress in the colony.

CHAPTER XLIII.

AN ASSAULT OF SIX HUNDRED SAVAGES ON THE SECOND
OF AUGUST.

FREQUENT thunder was at length succeeded by lightning. The Tobas, ever full of threats, and unable to forget the slaughter they had undergone, aimed long that they might strike the surer blow. Intent upon destroying the colony, they associated with themselves their friends the Mocobios, together with the Oae-kakalots, Lenguas, or Guaycurus. Learning from trusty messengers that six hundred savages were ready to attack us, we petitioned for supplies from the city, and they were promised, but never sent. The alarm being daily increased by the increasing evidence of the danger, many fled for fear to their well known retreats; though some returned at intervals, impelled by hunger, or desire to hear the news. I often passed many days with none but four Guarany families, whom I maintained in my own household, and some old Abiponian women, unable either to travel or bear arms. At length, when we had given up all hope of succour from the Spaniards, four soldiers crept to the colony, whose wretched appearance

seemed to intimate that they had come thither to die, not to slay the enemy—they themselves declared that they had been torn from their beds, where they were lying sick, and forced upon this errand, at the command of the inexorable Master of the Watch. Lorenzo Vernal, the captain of this miserable triad, was so dreadfully afflicted with gout in his limbs, that he could hardly lift his hand to his mouth; of his companions, one had such terrible swellings in the groin that he walked with the greatest difficulty; the second was in a consumption; the third melancholy mad. Such were the guards whom the Governor sent to defend our colony against a multitude of savages!

A few days after their arrival, an Abipon, who had long sojourned amongst the Mocobios, came in the dead of the night, and informed Oahari that the Tobas, accompanied by troops of Mocobios and Lenguas, had begun their journey, and intended speedily to attack us. The Cacique, comparing his own strength with that of the enemy, and seeing himself destitute of succour from the Spaniards, and unable to cope with such a multitude alone, immediately determined on flight; but that I might not suspect his departure to have been dictated by motives of fear, pretended to me that he was going to be absent for some days on a hunting

excursion. Most of the inhabitants crowding after him, only a few women and children remained to be slain by the enemy, only four men to give them battle. What other person that had been placed in so dangerous and difficult a situation, would not have taken boat on the river, and fled to a place of greater safety? Who, indeed, could have censured his flight? I was well aware that the peril in which I stood would have excused such a measure, and detached from it every appearance of disgrace; but, fortified against all events, I determined to defend to the utmost the place committed to my care, lest the Spaniards should reproach me with cowardice, and declare me deficient in that native magnanimity by which the Germans have always been distinguished.

I perceived that our security lay in continual vigilance, especially as smoke discerned at no great distance, and scouts discovered from our observatory, were manifest indications of the enemy's approach. The day before the assault, eight of our Abipones, all of tried valour, very opportunely returned to us in the evening: the colony, therefore, contained twelve fighting men, who, by the greatness of their courage, made up for the smallness of their number. After passing that night, as I had done many others, on the watch, walking up and down

the court-yard of the house, at length, about two o'clock, I laid myself down, oppressed with sleep, and unable any longer to endure the extreme cold; first, however, warning the captain to appoint a most vigilant watchman in my stead. The good man assured me that it was his intention to do so, and swore that he had been unable to get any sleep for many nights through fear of the attack. He placed a man in the yard to watch, who, to shelter himself from the cutting air, withdrew into a corner of the house, and there fell fast asleep. Whilst he, therefore, was loudly snoring, whilst all the inhabitants of the colony were wrapped in slumbers, and the dogs mute, which, at other times, would bark at a strange fly, about four o'clock above six hundred savage horsemen drew near with cautious steps, and in the profoundest silence, by the light of the full moon. In the first attack the savages carried off, without opposition, sixty ploughing oxen which I had confined in stalls near my house. Part of them besieged the houses of the Abipones, that, being engaged in the defence of their property, they might not be able to come and assist me. The rest of the savages, leaving their horses at the border of a neighbouring wood, surrounded the paling of my house, and filled the court-yard with a shower of arrows. The soldiers,

awakened at last by the screams of the women, who were flying to the palisado, instead of instantly discharging the cannon, and all the muskets at hand, upon the assailants, stupidly wasted time in collecting their luggage, and after they had deposited this trash in a place of safety, the captain comes, with a snail's pace, to awaken me, and, after much circumlocution, announces that we are surrounded by enemies, with just as much composure as if he had only been wishing me good day. When the captain perceived that I had armed myself and left the apartment, he fired his musket, but hit no one; for where he stood he could neither see the enemy, nor be seen by them. Spying the smoking musket directed towards the moon, which appeared right above my house, "What injury have you received from the moon, good man," said I, "that you are firing at *her*?" He, however, not a little elated at his musket's having made so unusually loud and ready a report, said pompously to one of his companions, "Come, brother, do you discharge your musket also:" but this soldier, a remarkable tall lean man, betook himself to a corner of the house, shaking in every limb, like a person in a fit of the ague.

I cannot pretend to deny that I was not alarmed myself at the arrival of the enemy,

which was rather sudden than unforeseen ; but the very magnitude of the danger inspired me with a degree of courage, which, at this day, I cannot regard without astonishment. As in desperate diseases, violent medicines are sometimes hazarded, I, in like manner, made the rashest attempts, since scarcely any hope remained that destruction could be avoided. Trusting, by this means, to preserve the lives of the rest, I exposed myself to as many deaths as enemies' weapons. I ran towards the savage host, aiming a musket in a threatening manner, and as I went along the ground was strewed with arrows which rattled under my feet. The savages, ranged in a triple row, stuck to the palisade like flies, and were defended by its thick and lofty stakes, through the interstices of which they were able to shoot arrows at us, but could hardly be reached by our bullets ; on which account I did not think it advisable merely to fire the musket, thinking that if they heard the report, and saw none of their companions fall, they would cease to fear, and boldly quit the palisade. I, therefore, walked straight towards the paling, intending to take a more certain aim at the savages with four pistols, and a gun, to which a bayonet was prefixed. But an unlucky accident disconcerted this fine scheme ; for when I was about

ten steps off the palisade, and was just going to fire, an arrow an ell and a half long, made of the hardest wood, and barbed with five hooks, pierced the shoulder of my right arm, wounded a muscle by which the middle finger is moved, and stuck fixed in my side. On receiving this wound, I took hold of my musket with my left hand, and entered the house, that the captain, who was lying hid there, might pull out the arrow; and in order to do this, he twisted it quickly round and round with his hands, just as you mill chocolate, by which the flesh was sufficiently torn to open a way for the hooks to be taken out. What torture this caused me, no one that has not felt the same himself can possibly imagine.

The arrow being extracted, I returned to the place where I had received the wound, to keep the savages from the palisade; for though my right arm was covered with blood, and totally useless, the left was sufficient to handle the pistols with; but great was my surprize and self-congratulation to find that the enemies had all retired to a great distance from the stakes. These American heroes, terrified at sight of the musket which I presented when within ten steps of them, hastily departed without waiting for my return. The rest of the savages, who had attacked the houses of the colony, were

likewise repulsed, after a long and bloody conflict, by a few Abipones; who, having delivered their own habitations, flew to render me what assistance they could. One of them exclaimed, when he saw me streaming with blood, "We will not suffer this wound to go unrevenged, Father!" Another, seeing that the enemy had retreated from the palisado, and were mounting their horses, shot an arrow from the court-yard with such good fortune, that it pierced deep into the breast of a Toba: the wretch, wounded by this unforeseen weapon, threw away his bow and arrows, and was supported on horseback by a person sitting behind him.

As the event of this foot conflict had proved so contrary to the wishes of the savages, they all mounted their horses, re-entered their ranks, and occupied the whole way between the palisade, and the houses of the Abipones. That they might not attempt to proceed any farther, I burst into the market-place, with the Abipon who had wounded the Toba, carrying a musket in his hand. Do not expect to hear of a field smoking with blood, and bestrown with dead bodies; that was not at all my wish. My only intention was to put these dangerous intruders to flight, and my only anxiety to prevent our being all crushed under their horses' feet. You will laugh to hear how one man can hold out

against six hundred horsemen in Paraguay. No sooner had the gunpowder lighted by the Abipon thundered from the musket, than, startled by the sulphureous smoke, or perhaps somewhat touched by the shot, they all quitted their ranks, and fled precipitately with a horrid outcry, overturning rather than turning their horses, and almost forcing them backwards by the violence with which they pulled the bridle. They paused for a while in a neighbouring grove, which they reckoned secure, and ranged themselves afresh in form of battle, designing first, to entice me to pursue them, and then, by means of forty of their companions, who were concealed beneath the sloping bank of a lake in the vicinity, to intercept, surround, and slay me. Being apprized of this ambuscade by a watchman stationed in the courtyard of the house, I loaded the musket again, and stood with my Achates, the Abipon, on a little neighbouring hill, from whence I could observe the farthest motions of the enemy, and defend the chapel, and the houses of the Abipones, by which I was protected on every side from the assault of the inimical troop. The savages, beholding the musket, the sound of which still rang in their ears, were afraid to renew the attack. That they might not, however, appear to have done nothing, and return

home empty-handed, since an opportunity of committing slaughter was denied them, they began to turn their attention towards plunder, and three hundred being dismissed to collect the horses of the Abipones, which were feeding on the remote shores of the river, an equal number remained to keep us at bay. The horsemen surrounded the colony at a distance, in the form of a semicircle, remaining perfectly silent and quiet, and keeping their eyes constantly fixed upon the musket. The allied company, as they consisted of three different nations, were distinguished by feathers of various colours hanging from their spears. A band of Abipones kept guard to repel the enemy if they should venture an attack. I was as anxious to preserve the situation I had chosen, as the savages were to maintain theirs. Mutual fear imposed a truce of some hours on us both; we dreading the multitude of enemies,—they the musket. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the plunderers triumphantly returned, bringing a booty of at least two thousand horses, to display which they passed on at a distance, in sight of the colony, but beyond the reach of my weapon. Though greatly distressed at the loss of their horses, my Abipones saluted the plunderers with festive drumming and joyful vociferation, exulting that

they who had come with a design of carrying off men, had been forced to content themselves with beasts. After besieging us for some time, the savages joined their companions, nor was their retreat disorderly. By order of the Caciques, two companies preceded the drove of horse, as many followed it, and the rest went on each side. As usual they burnt all the dry grass they could find in the plain, that their countrymen might be apprized of their return from afar, by means of the smoke. They halted on the borders of a lake a few leagues distant from the colony, and there feasted sumptuously on our oxen, as appeared next day from the bones they had left.

Although the enemies were out of sight, my labours were not yet at an end, and after having been fatigued with riding, watching, giving orders, and shedding a quantity of blood from four o'clock in the morning till two in the afternoon, I laid aside my arms for a while, and applied my mind to healing. Whilst an arrow was extracted from an Abipon, who had been wounded in defending his house from the besiegers, the broken point stuck deep in the flesh, and I was called upon by the screams of his wife to apply whatever remedy I judged proper. Having performed this charitable duty, I at length got time to attend to my own cure, to bathe the wound, which had been in-

flicted ten hours before, with hot wine, and to bind it up. My hand streamed continually with perspiration; from which it may be concluded that wooden arrows contain a sort of poison. In consequence of losing such a quantity of blood, I was tormented with a burning thirst, which the largest draughts of water failed to appease. I do not remember to have tasted a morsel of food the whole day. The pain of my wound, which received hourly augmentation, became perfectly intolerable at night, when I could discover no comfortable position in which to place my arm. A pillow laid underneath it afforded me some relief. The muscle, or more properly, the tendon of the muscle which moves the little finger, had been so dreadfully lacerated, that it swelled like a rope, but was completely cured, at the end of sixteen days, by the nightly application of melted hen's fat. The swelling in the muscle subsided, but I did not recover the use of the finger, which was moved by it, for five months; at the end of which it was healed by a balsam administered by a famous druggist in the town of the Holy Apostles. Even at this day I bear about me a scar, the witness of a signal wound, the monument of my contempt of death, and defence of the colony, and a constant memorial of beloved Paraguay.

CHAPTER XLIV.

COROLLARY TO THE EVENTS DETAILED IN THE
PRECEDING CHAPTER.

No one will deny that my Abipones performed wonders, beyond all expectation, and even belief, when it is considered that twelve of them not only held out for some hours against six hundred savages, but even repulsed them. Amid such a cloud of arrows no Abipon received any injury but the man I mentioned, and a boy of twelve years old, who, being awakened from sleep by the neighing of the horses, and the shouts of the combatants, was slightly wounded in the leg by an arrow, as he chanced to look out of his tent. We concluded that many of the enemy had been wounded from seeing two here and there seated on the same horse, and because breastplates of hard antas' skins were found next day in the plain covered with blood, and pierced with weapons. An Abiponian youth, who had been stationed in a secure place, bravely defended a flock of our sheep, which the enemy made frequent attempts to carry off, by continually shooting arrows, and succeeded in preserving it untouched. Fain

would I bestow some commendation on those four noble Spanish guards; but, alas! no sign of bravery or dexterity could I discover in either of them: one discharged his musket at the moon, and another did not even know how to load his, for he put the ball in first, and then the gunpowder, so that the one prevented the other from catching fire. Other instances of stupidity, which I observed in their comrades' method of handling their arms, I have neither time nor inclination to commemorate. Block-heads of this kind were sent us by the captains for the defence of the colonies, whilst the more skilful, the more active, those in short that alone deserved the name of Spaniards, were left at home to increase their property.

On the same day which was rendered so memorable by the assault of the Tobas, when we thought ourselves out of danger, ten savage horsemen, issuing from a neighbouring wood about sun-set, presented themselves to our sight, but quickly disappeared. The general opinion was that they were spies, and this gave us occasion to suspect that the enemies were lurking disguised in ambush, in the intent of returning at night to surprize us. The unusual and universal barking of the dogs, during the whole night, confirmed our fears. To ascertain whether any of the enemy were lying in wait,

I armed myself at ten o'clock at night, and traversed the whole neighbourhood, the plain, the wood, and the shores of the adjacent lake; followed by the four Spaniards. Having examined every place in the vicinity, I became more tranquil, and wrote an account to the Governor at Asumpcion of the state of our affairs. With my letter I sent, wrapped up in my bloody shirt sleeve, the arrow which had wounded me; a trophy of the religious obedience which had fixed me to this perilous colony. The arrow and the sleeve stained with my blood attracted all eyes in the metropolis, and were honourably preserved as monuments. The Spaniards judged of the wound, and of my danger, partly from the accounts of the Abiponian messengers, partly from the size of the barbed arrow; and, as report usually swells in its progress, my acquaintance mourned me as dead, and offered the sacrifice of the host for my atonement. Others, knowing me to be still alive, honoured me with the title of Confessor of the Lord; as my administering baptism to the Cacique of the Tobas was the occasion of my receiving the wound. The report of the assault and defence of the colony was spread in the metropolis with great augmentations, when those four soldiers, who had partaken of the danger, and been spectators of the whole conflict, arrived. They

declared upon their honour that we were attacked by eight hundred savages, more terrible to behold than hobgoblins; they extolled to the skies the bravery of the Abiponian defendants, who were so few in comparison with the enemy; and they openly declared that their own safety and that of the rest was principally owing to me, who had dared to approach within ten steps of the savages, and to contend with them so long in the open plain. But I always gratefully acknowledged, that, being destitute of all human aid in repulsing the savages, we were preserved in our extreme danger by divine assistance.

Though the assailants were departed, the minds of the inhabitants were far from being in a state of tranquillity. Next day, the market-place resounded with the screams of women, lamenting their husbands and sons, who had gone out under pretext of hunting, as slain by the confederate savages: but their speedy return to the colony dissipated the alarm excited by this false report. Our joy for their safety was equalled by their grief at hearing how many excellent horses had been carried off by the enemy. To indemnify themselves, however, for the loss, was a matter of little time and trouble; for, by a dexterous use of twenty horses, given them by their

friend Oaherkaikin, and of many others which they had used on their journey, they soon after took a drove of four hundred from the Mocobios, which subsequently proved the means of acquiring still more. In the course of a few months, such was the abundance of horses in the colony, it seemed impossible that any could have been lost.

The Governor Fulgentio, who had been informed by me of the danger of the colony, at length appointed ten regular soldiers for the defence of it; but as men of this description are always slow in their obedience to orders, and often refuse to comply with them altogether, they landed with us two days after the hostile incursion that I have related took place. I was greatly rejoiced at the arrival of the Spaniards, as it secured me from being left alone should fear again induce the inhabitants to desert the town; for fresh assaults were shortly to be apprehended, the Tobas being neither appeased nor satisfied with plundering horses, since they had been disappointed of an opportunity of slaying their owners. They resolved upon a fresh incursion, repeatedly exclaiming, that blood could only be repaid by blood; which being conveyed to our ears by good authority, we were under the necessity of watching day and night. The women,

dreading the cruelty of the minacious Tobas, sought security in the remotest lurking places, and persuaded their sons and husbands to accompany them thither; so that in a few weeks the little town was stripped of inhabitants. The Governor continually promised to go out against the Tobas for the purpose of revenging the blood I had shed, but he did not stand to his word till six months after; meantime the hordes of Tobas had removed to more distant places: in consequence of this long delay, the joint expedition of the Spaniards and Abipones, though attended with an amazing deal of inconvenience, proved totally fruitless, the Tobas remaining undiscovered, and reckoning this vain journey of the Spaniards amongst their victories.

Amidst these continual tumults, no time was left for the instruction of the Abipones, nor the faintest hope of success in the attempt. Engrossed by the pursuits of war and the chase, they had neither time nor inclination for religious duties, and though in the evening most of the young women and boys assembled in the chapel to learn from me the rudiments of the faith, very few, and often none of the male adults appeared there. No industry or eloquence seemed sufficient to abolish their drinking-parties and superstitious ceremonials. It

was with the utmost difficulty that I could prevail upon them to receive baptism, even at the point of death. They often refused to obey me when I advised any wholesome ordinances, tending either to the security of the colony, or the welfare of individuals. Hence, when the Governor desired to be informed, by letter, of the number of inhabitants, that by exhibiting this testimonial he might procure me the usual Missionaries' pension from the master of the royal treasury; I replied to him in these words: "I should not dare to demand the annual pension which his Catholic Majesty has destined for the support of the Missionaries; for this colony is not composed of catechumens, but of *energumens*: but the stipend paid to the King's soldiers I assert to be my undoubted right, and I verily believe that there is no captain or lieutenant in this province who would be induced, by any emolument whatsoever, to pass even one month amidst the perpetual dangers, watchings, labours, and miseries, which I have daily undergone during a period of two years, in defending this situation against the savages." These things I told the Governor with the greatest sincerity; but let it be known that I never received a single penny from the royal treasury, either in the character of missionary or of soldier. Hence originated the uncommon indi-

gence of this colony: for the money which the piety of the King had appropriated to the support of the Missionaries, was the chief, and almost the only source from which we used to purchase the sacred utensils, the instruments of iron, and other necessaries for clothing and remunerating the Indians.

Worn out by two years' afflictions, labours, and cares; frequently tormented by the gout; and deprived of the use of my middle finger; I requested the Provincial to substitute another priest in my place. At length, at the end of three months, Joseph Brigniel, a veteran Missionary of the Abipones and Guaranies, accompanied by Father Jeronymo Rejon, was appointed my successor. Both of them, though they had come from the city plentifully furnished with small gifts to gain the good-will of the inhabitants, and with things pertaining to domestic use, were daily called upon for the exertion of their patience, finding the Abipones little tractable, the Mocobios and Tobas ever hostile. These latter, not to mention other instances, invaded the colony whilst Brigniel was performing divine service; on which occasion an old Guarany shepherd was killed in the country, and Oahari, amongst several others, received a deep wound in battle. This Cacique died soon after of the deadly bite of a serpent.

Though of mean extraction, he was famous for military deeds; politic, intrepid, courteous to his own countrymen, and formidable to strangers; qualities which gained him the title of Cacique, and the celebrated names, first of Revachigi, afterwards of Oahari. Though scarcely more than thirty years of age, he had rendered his name already illustrious, being superior to most of the Abipones in dignity and beauty of person, in dexterity in horsemanship and the handling of weapons, in contempt of danger, and in greatness of mind. He was always well-disposed towards me, and attentive to my admonitions, except that, from too great a desire to gratify his countrymen, he suffered himself to be hurried into vices, which they indeed account virtues, and was restrained from laying any commands or prohibitions on his people by the consideration that the title of Cacique did not belong to him by hereditary right, but had been conferred by the free votes of the people, and consequently was a very precarious honour. In one respect, he was more fortunate than the Caciques Debayakaikin, Ychamenraikin, and Alaykin, who, though old inhabitants of our colonies, died in battle without having received baptism; whereas he, of his own accord, desired to undergo the ceremony, when he found himself at the point of death.

Joseph Brigniel, though long accustomed to the Abipones, thought the ferocity of the inhabitants, the perpetual incursions or threats of the enemy, and the wretchedness of the place itself, quite intolerable; and indeed, not many months after, he had a dangerous and obstinate fit of sickness. He told many of his friends in letters that he could not conceive how I had been able to remain for two years in so calamitous, turbulent, and perilous a situation; and in one addressed to the Governor declared that the preservation of this colony was, under God, to be attributed to my patience, vigilance, and industry. I should have forbore to mention this honest encomium, were it not to refute the calumnies of certain individuals, who, never having performed any praiseworthy actions themselves, are impelled by envy or malice secretly to detract from the good deeds of others, when those who might convict them of falsehood are far away. Let me now proceed to relate my departure from the colony.

The decaying and shattered bark in which my successor Brigniel had come, served to convey me up the river Paraguay, in company with a few soldiers, to the city of Asumpcion. We performed a voyage of seventy leagues in eight days, using both oars and sails. The night before we reached port, a furious tempest

drove us against a very lofty bank, the height of which we at length gained by means of planks stuck into the ground, and supported by the vessel. Sitting in the fields, we had for some hours to endure a storm of rain and loud thunder, and though completely drenched, esteemed ourselves fortunate in having escaped being swallowed up by the waves, or struck dead by lightning. As the soldiers were gone, and the sailors forced to remain to look after the skiff, I set off on foot and alone, unless you call rain, wind, and thunder my companions; and after travelling through a country swollen with torrents, reached the metropolis a little before noon. The kindness of my former associates in our college, who all ran to embrace me, effaced from my mind the perils of the voyage, and the distress of the preceding night. I went to the Governor, and told him as a friend what measures he ought to pursue for the preservation of the colony and the Fathers, and for the coercion of the savages. The good man acquiesced in my counsels, promised much, and performed almost nothing: for, from letters written to me subsequently by Father Brigniel, I understood that affairs continued in the same state as before my departure, or rather that they grew worse and worse.

My strength being somewhat repaired, it

was thought advisable for me to pursue my journey to the Guarany towns, where I might be entirely restored to health. Antonio Miranda, rector of the college, a man of plain manners, and a hater of flattery, said to me, just as I was going to mount my horse; "You have had more to endure in two years, in the situation you have just quitted, than others go through during many years in other colonies." The rector also desired me to defer my journey for a while, and to act instead of the Jesuit priest, who was absent on business, in the estate of our college, called Paraguay, and twenty leagues distant from Asumpcion. This place stretches out on one side into a pleasant plain, affording pasture to a vast quantity of cattle; on the other, where it looks towards the south, it is surrounded by hills and rocks; in one of which a cross piled up of three large stones is visited, and held in great veneration by the natives for the sake of St. Thomas; for they believe, and firmly maintain, that the Apostle, seated on these stones as on a chair, formerly preached to the assembled Indians. Having executed my commission here, I pursued my journey on horseback, accompanied by a few Negroes; for the shores of the Tebiguary, which we crossed in a boat, are thought extremely dangerous for travellers. On Christ-

mas-eve, I reached the towns of the Guaranies, and after travelling so many hundred leagues by water and land, laboured sedulously, the first days of my arrival, both in the pulpit, and the confessional chair. The tranquillity of those places, proper diet, and the prescriptions of Norbert Ziulak, a famous physician and apothecary, within a few weeks restored me so completely to health, that seeing myself capable of undertaking another journey of an hundred and forty leagues, I returned in Lent to the town of St. Joachim, at the earnest request of its magistrate, and with the permission of the Corregidor of the Indian towns. Amongst the Ytatinguas, the inhabitants of this town, with whom I had formerly lived six years, I now spent two more with much satisfaction. Here, indeed, my labours were great, but they were pleasant, being crowned with abundant success; I would that they had been lasting! But in two years I was recalled from this town, and sent back to Europe with my associates, by order of the king. The banishment of the shepherds was the destruction of the poor little sheep; and the Abipones, leaving their towns, began anew to cut the throats of the Spaniards. A Jesuit who sailed to Europe a year later than the rest, told me, at Vienna, that all the Abipones had deserted the town of St. Joachim, where

I had left two thousand and seventeen Christians on my departure, and that the neighbouring town of St. Stanislaus, which had formerly contained two thousand three hundred neophytes, was entirely destitute of inhabitants. Some secular priests, as well as monks, were indeed put in place of the Jesuits, but they were all such as disliked the Indians, or were disliked by them, having undertaken the care of the towns, not spontaneously as we did, but by compulsion. Some came weeping, as I myself witnessed; others, weary of dwelling ever so short awhile amongst the indigent and formidable Indians, fell sick, or feigned to do so, that they might be permitted to return. How much could I write on this subject! but it is better to be silent. Time will discover things, which, though perfectly true, cannot with propriety be inserted in books.

CHAPTER XLV.

HOW ARDUOUS A TASK IT IS TO PERSUADE THE ABIPONES TO ENTER COLONIES, AND TO EMBRACE THE RELIGION OF CHRIST.

HAVING given a plain and faithful description of the superstitious rites of the Abipones, of their native vices, ferocious temper, and wars both domestic and foreign, I appeal to the judgment of my reader whether it be not a business of more time and labour to transform these savages into Christians, than to carve a Mercury out of a solid block, and whether it be due subject of wonder, that such astonishing efforts on the part of the Jesuits should be attended with so little success; which however was by no means despicable, if the difficulties of the undertaking be properly appreciated. I shall now clearly state, for your consideration, in what these difficulties consisted, and why it was so arduous a task to instruct the equestrian savages in civilization and Christian discipline.

Ever wandering, ever abroad, the Abipones from childhood were unaccustomed to home, and to remaining in any one fixed place. Wherever the hope of booty, the necessity of

hunting, or danger of the enemy called them, thither they went on swift horses, subject to no authority which could either prohibit their departure, or enforce their speedy return; for the obedience which they paid their Caciques was entirely spontaneous. They thought it insufferable to depend on the will of another within the narrow limits of a colony, and to be confined to their houses, like a snail to its shell. Though free to range up and down the nearer plains and woods at pleasure, they found them, from being frequented by other hordes, despoiled of those fruits and wild animals to the use of which they had so long been accustomed, that, if deprived of them, even when plentifully supplied with better food, they complained of being starved and miserable. While they lived uncontrolled, like the birds which fly up and down, liberal nature spontaneously offered them food without need of agriculture: but as all things are not produced in all soils, they were constantly under the necessity of migrating from place to place, and this change of abode, and variety of hunting, seemed to contain a sort of charm for them.

In each of the colonies beef was distributed amongst the inhabitants at stated hours of almost every day; but by reason of the poverty of

the pastures it was often lean, often insufficient, and sometimes (which however happened but seldom) there was none at all : for where could the Missionary get beef if he wanted oxen, and if the Spaniards were as slow and niggardly in supplying the colonies of the savages, as they had been forward in founding them? They were extremely solicitous that the Abipones and Mocabios should be tamed like wild beasts, and guarded in the towns from slaying the Spaniards, but took very little care to prevent them from dying of hunger. In the towns of St. Jeronymo and St. Ferdinand, the estates were sometimes reduced to such a wretched condition that, having nothing left for their support, the Abipones with their families were forced to go out into the neighbouring plains for the sake of hunting. After they had been two or three months absent, the fields which our entreaties had prevailed with them to plough, were covered with tares or browsed on by beasts, and the loss of the expected harvest induced a necessity either of roving or starving; a very pernicious alternative : for in repeated wanderings, often of many weeks, civilization and the knowledge of the rudiments of religion, so laboriously instilled into them, were forgotten, and they gradually relapsed into their former barbarism. The deficiency of sheep and oxen was

certainly the chief cause which retarded the progress of Christianity in these colonies. If, according to St. Paul, amongst other nations faith enters by the ear, with the savages of Paraguay it can only be thrust in by the mouth. Hence our anxiety lest cattle should fail us; hence our grief to find that they could so seldom be obtained or preserved.

This scarcity of sheep and kine originated sometimes in the niggardliness of the Spaniards, sometimes in the gluttony of the Abipones, who, not content with the ordinary portion of meat awarded to all, often slew oxen, and still oftener young cows and calves, without our knowledge or consent, for their own private eating. If we detected and reprehended them, saying that the estate would be drained by these secret depredations, "That is no concern of your's, Father," they would reply; "the Spaniards must send more; they promised to do so when, at their request, and for their convenience, we entered this colony. If they fail to perform their promises, we are also freed from our engagements, and shall return to our old way of putting them to death." Providently reserving the cows for breed, we ordered that none but the superfluous bulls or steers should be taken to the shambles; but the Indians, careless of the future, wanted to eat the young heifers because

they were fatter: "When bulls bring forth," said I, "the cows shall be killed." This refusal affronted them very much, and they threatened to desert the colony. If the Jesuit, either fearing the threats of the Indians, or desirous of obtaining their good-will, leave the herd at their discretion, he will see the estate suddenly destitute of cattle; if he firmly refuse to comply with their wishes, the town will be as suddenly stripped of inhabitants: in the one case, he will be accused of prodigality, in the other of parsimony, so that whichever way the Missionary acts, he is sure to incur blame—should he avoid Charybdis, he will hardly be able to escape Scylla.

Nor is it sufficient to satisfy the Abipones in the article of food; whatever they took it into their heads to wish for, though perhaps it could not be found in any shop at Amsterdam, they used to require at our hands, and that not in a supplicatory, but an imperative tone. Day and night they trod our threshold in crowds, and wearied our ears with the constant repetition of "Father, give me a hat, a knife, an axe, a ring, glass-beads, salt, tobacco, &c." If to any of their requests you reply, though with great mildness and the most perfect sincerity, that you are not in possession of the thing in question, they will rudely accuse you of stinginess and falsehood—

nay, I have sometimes heard worse. One of the older Abipones, not a bad man in other respects, desired me, in an imperious manner, to furnish him with a knife; I gently replied, that I had none just then, but would give him one as soon as the expected supply arrived from the city. "If I were to meet you in the field with this lance," rejoined he, smiling, and taking up a lance that was lying near, "you would hardly dare to tell me that you had not a knife." These perpetual and unreasonable requests of the Abipones are not however to be wondered at. Poverty rendered them importunate, arrogance, bold. Now learn from whence this arrogance proceeded. They knew that they were feared by the Spaniards. The slaughters which they had perpetrated, the terror which for many years they had spread throughout the whole province, the victories which they had gained, were yet fresh in their memory. They spoke of it as of a favour extorted from them by the prayers and promises of the Governors, that they had laid aside arms for a while, to settle in a wretched colony, and insisted upon it that the advantages resulting from this measure were entirely on the side of the Spaniards. At every refusal which our poverty compelled us to make them, they complained that they were richer and happier whilst at enmity with the

Spaniards, than now that they were their friends. "Alas! how senseless were our chiefs and old men," said the Abiponian youths, full of discontent, and panting for plunder, "in granting peace to the Spaniards! Here we are forced to pine miserable and inglorious in this little town; whereas formerly, by plundering estates, or merchants' waggons, we furnished ourselves with enough to last many months, more than we can now obtain either by entreaty or artifice." Mindful of former booties, they thought they were imposing great obligations on the Spaniards when they remained quietly in a colony, and ceased to rob, burn, and murder, and looked upon every instance of liberality in their former adversaries as a small return for their own concession of peace.

It certainly ought to be reckoned amongst the noble victories of our age, that the Abipones who, from the time of Charles the Fifth, had continued to defy the arms of the Spaniards, when so many other nations of Paraguay were put under the yoke, have at last been induced to enter colonies. The fruitlessness of innumerable expeditions undertaken against them at length convinced the Spanish soldiers that the Abipones were an overmatch for all the force and cunning of the Europeans, by their craft, their swiftness, and above all by the situation

of the places they occupied, the nature of which itself defended, and rendered them invincible. Their stations served for strong-holds, thick woods for walls, rivers and pools for fosses, lofty trees for watch-towers, and the Abipones themselves for guards and spies. To prevent the possibility of their ever being utterly exterminated, they were separated into various hordes, and dwelt in different places, both that they might mutually warn and assist one another, and that, if any danger were apprehended, that they might with more certainty avoid the enemy. Indeed the old complaint of the Spaniards was, that they had more difficulty in finding the Abipones, than in conquering them when found. Though to-day you learn from your spies that they are settled in a neighbouring plain, you will hear to-morrow that they are removed to a great distance from their yesterday's residence, and are buried amidst woods and marshes. Whenever the savages have any suspicion of danger, they mount swift horses, hasten to places of greater security, and, sending scouts in all directions, generally disconcert the plans of the enemy by unremitting vigilance. I do not think the Abipones are much to be censured for having delayed to enter our colonies so long: for whilst they live in towns, banished from their lurking-places, and exposed to at-

tacks of every kind, they think they have sold their liberty and security, incapable of any firm reliance on the faith and friendship of the Spaniards, which the cruelty and deceit formerly practised towards their ancestors have taught them to suspect.

I can truly say, that my most earnest endeavour was to inspire the Abipones with love and confidence towards the Spaniards. “Had they not come to Paraguay,” said I, “you would still be unacquainted with horses, oxen, and dogs, all which you take such delight in. You would have been obliged to creep along like tortoises. You could never have tasted the flesh of oxen, but must have subsisted entirely on that of wild animals. How laborious would you think it to hunt otters without hounds, which likewise by their barking prevent you from being surprized by the enemy in your sleep! Horses, your delight, your deities, if I may be allowed to make use of the expression, your chief instruments of war, hunting, traveling, and sportive contests, have been bestowed on you by the Spaniards. But all this is nothing in comparison with the light of divine religion kindled for you by that people, whose anxiety for your happiness has led them to offer you teachers of Christianity brought from Europe in their ships, and at their expense. From

all this, it is evident what love and fidelity you ought to show to the Spaniards, who have conferred such benefits on you, and are so studious of your welfare. I do not mean to deny that they once turned their arms against yourselves and your ancestors, but you, not they, were the aggressors. The Spaniards will henceforward return love for love, if, ceasing to cherish hatred and suspicion towards them, you will cultivate their friendship by all the means in your power." These ideas I constantly strove to inculcate into the minds of my disciples, but though none of them ventured openly to contradict me, they gave more credit to their eyes than their ears, to the deeds of the Spaniards than to the words of the Missionaries, and sometimes in familiar conversation during our absence whispered their sentiments with regard to the Spaniards, who, they said, attend solely to their own interests, and care little for the convenience of the Indians; preserve peace only so long as they fear war; and are most to be dreaded when they speak the fairest; whose deeds correspond not with their words, and whose conduct is inconsistent with the law they profess to observe. When reproved for stealing horses from the estates of the Spaniards, they denied it to be a theft, affirming that their country was usurped by the Spaniards, and that whatever

was produced there belonged of right to them. Your whole stock of rhetoric was exhausted before you could eradicate these erroneous notions from the minds of the Indians, which, however, by excessive toil was at length effected ; for all of them knew that, unless they promised peace and sincere friendship to the Spaniards, they would never be received into our colonies, and have the benefit of our instructions. All the Indians in America intrusted to our care were soldiers and tributaries of the Spanish Monarch, not slaves of private individuals. This is to be understood not only of the Guaranies and Chiquitos, but also of the Christian Mocobios, Abipones, and all the other nations which we civilized in Paraguay.

But let us suppose the Abipones to have been prevailed upon to enter a colony, and accept the friendship of the Spaniards ; ye saints, what numerous and almost insurmountable obstacles remain to be overcome in effecting their civilization ! From boyhood they had spent their whole time in rapine and slaughter, and had acquired riches, honours, and high-sounding names in the pursuit. How hard then must it have been for them to refrain their hands from the Spaniards, to sit down in a colony indigent and inglorious, to cut wood instead of enemies' heads, to exchange the spear

for the axe and the plough; with bended knees to learn the rudiments of religion amongst children; and in some sort to become children themselves! These were arduous trials to veteran warriors, who remembered the time when they were formidable, not to one little town only, but to the whole province; and though many of the more advanced in age gradually laid aside their ferocity, and conformed to the discipline of our colonies, we often had to experience the truth of the apophthegm,

Naturam expelles furcá, tamen usque recurret.

The greatest difficulties were to be encountered in taming the old women and the young men: the former, blindly attached to their ancient superstitions, the source of their profits, and stay of their authority, thought it a crime to yield up a tittle of the savage rites; the latter, burning with the love of liberty, and disgusted with any sort of labour, strove by plundering horses to acquire renown, that they might not seem to have degenerated from the valour of their ancestors.

They had never even heard of a benevolent Deity, the creator of all things, and were accustomed to fear and reverence the evil spirit, as I have shown more fully in a former chapter. Instructed by us they learnt to know

and adore the one, and to despise the other. All those pitiful, superstitious, absurd opinions which had been sucked in with their mothers' milk, and, heard from the mouths of old women, as from a Delphic tripod, had received the ready assent of their infancy, they were commanded to look upon as ridiculous falsehoods, and at the same time to yield their belief to mysteries of religion, which surpass the comprehension of the wisest. It was somewhat hard immediately to forego notions which had been sanctioned by the approbation of their grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, and to embrace laws brought from a strange land, and every way contrary to their habits of life. Formerly they had been permitted to marry as many wives as they pleased, and to repudiate them in like manner whenever it suited their fancy. To repress such unbounded liberty by the perpetual marriage tie, this was the difficulty, this was the great obstacle to their embracing religion, and their frequent incitement to desert it.

The custom of drinking had taken such firm root amongst the Abipones, that it required more time and labour to eradicate drunkenness than any other vice. They would abstain from slaughter and rapine, and superstitious rites; confine themselves to one wife; attend divine

worship frequently; evince considerable industry in tilling the fields and building houses; yet after all this, it was scarcely possible to prevent them from assembling together, and intoxicating themselves with drink made of honey or the alfaroba.

The pernicious examples of the Christians, which often meet the eyes of the Abipones, frequently prevent them from amending their conduct. Paraguay is inhabited by Spaniards, Portugueze, native Indians and Negroes, and those born from their promiscuous marriages, *Mulatos, Mestizos, &c.* Amid such a various rabble of men, it cannot be wondered at that many are to be found who *say that they know God, yet deny him with their deeds,—who, though they believe like Catholics, live like Gentiles, enemies of the cross of Christ, whose God is their belly.* Such licence in plundering, such shameless profligacy of manners, such impunity in slaughters and other atrocities, prevailed for a long time in the cities and estates, that, compared with them, the hordes of the most savage Indians might be called theatres of virtue, humanity, and chastity. These reprobates, either strangers or natives, infect the savages with the contagion of their manners, teach them crimes of which they were formerly ignorant, and prevent them from lending an

ear to the instructions of the priests, when they daily hear and see words and actions so discordant to them in the old Christians. Indians returned from captivity amongst the Spaniards, Spaniards in captivity amongst the Indians, stranger from the cities, soldiers sent for the defence of the colonies, and Spanish guards appointed to take care of the cattle, were all certain plagues of the Abiponian colonies. I should never make an end were I to relate all I know on this subject. That the bad examples of the Christians greatly retarded the progress of religion amongst the Abipones, cannot be controverted. Let the old Christians of America become Christians in their conduct, and the Abipones, Mocobios, Tobas, Mataguayos, Chiriguanos, in a word, all the Indians of Paraguay will cease to be savages, and will embrace the law of Christ. This subject was treated of in the pulpit before the Royal Governor, Joseph Andonaegui, and a noble congregation, by the Jesuit P. Domingo Muriel, a Spaniard eminent for sanctity and learning, afterwards master of theology in the academy at Cordoba, and author of a most useful work intituled *Fasti Novi Orbis*, printed at Venice in the year 1776.

CHAPTER LXVI.

NO TRIFLING ADVANTAGES DERIVED FROM THE ABIPO-
NIAN COLONIES, THOUGH FEWER THAN WERE EXPECTED.

THE four colonies of St. Jeronymo, Concepcion, St. Ferdinand, and the Rosary, were so many schools where the assembled nation of the Abipones were civilized and instructed in religion. Spite of innumerable obstacles which had long retarded the progress of our efforts, we succeeded in banishing superstition and barbarism, and in softening their ferocious manners by apostolic gentleness. Those who had formerly lived like wild beasts on the products of plunder or the chase, laid aside their detestation of labour, and applied themselves to agriculture; they who had before appeared most active and skilful in plundering, became afterwards most indefatigable in tilling the fields, and building themselves houses. Ychoalay, Kevachichi, Tannerchin, and others, the terror of the Spaniards, and the most fortunate chiefs of the whole nation, became diligent above the rest in ploughing and building, on their removal to colonies, and exhorted their hordesmen, whom they had formerly encouraged in slaughtering the Spaniards, to

follow their example. Almost all the inhabitants of St. Jeronymo, the capital town, and a great number in the other three colonies, received baptism. Many, both of the younger and older men, by the innocence of their lives, their attention to the Christian faith, their reverence for the church and for images, and their diligence in prayer and frequent use of the sacraments, gave solid proofs of piety towards God and the Saints; though the female sex always bore away the palm in the duties of religion. I have not time to relate every circumstance tending to verify what I have just advanced, but it would be wrong to omit them all.

Ychohake, a man distinguished by a hundred noxious arts, closed a life, infamous for crimes, by a noble death. Having long been declining, he desired to receive the sacrament a short while before his decease, and to evince his abhorrence of the superstitious rites of his nation, refused to admit any of the female jugglers, who usually attend the sick, into the house. For the same reason he desired by his last will that his horses and sheep might not be slain on his grave, according to the custom of the Abipones, but that they might be kept for the use of his little daughter. The more noble Indians dug his grave, at other times a

female office, with their hands, in a place which they had desired us to point out in the chapel, and, rejecting the lamentations of the women and other savage ceremonies, interred him according to the rites of the Church of Rome. Ychoalay was bathed in tears, and said he had now no brother left. Hemakie, and many others, whose lives had been employed in robbing and murdering the Spaniards, died in my presence in a manner worthy of a Christian. An Abiponian girl, converted to Christianity; concealed herself for many nights in a wood frequented by tigers and serpents, to avoid being forced into a marriage with Pazonoirin, a bitter enemy to religion. Intemperance in drinking began to decrease; polygamy and divorce were no longer generally practised; and the savage custom of killing their unborn babes was at length condemned by the mothers themselves. Many chose rather to endure the want of things which could hardly be dispensed with, than obtain them by arts to which they had long been familiarized, but which were forbidden by the divine law.

It is an undeniable fact that these colonies, in which the Abipones were confined like wild beasts in cages, were highly advantageous to all Paraguay. By means of them security was restored to the public roads, through which

merchants were in the habit of passing; and fresh estates were able to be founded and enriched with additions of cattle in places which had long been deserted for fear of the Abipones. By them too, the other savages, the Tobas, Mocobios, and Guaycurus, were prevented from continuing their usual inroads into the lands of the Spaniards, who were thus enabled to repose in safety and tranquillity in the bosom of peace, whilst we were keeping watch amongst the Abipones, and often exposing our lives to danger. I do not deny that many deserted their colonies, took up arms again, and, renewing their predatory excursions, plundered droves of horses from the undefended estates; but, as I have observed elsewhere, that was entirely the fault of the Spaniards themselves, who left none but women at home, having called out all the men to make war upon those seven Guarany towns, which, according to treaty, were to be delivered up to the Portugueze.

It is also most certain that many of the Abipones, after dwelling for years amongst us, still continued to reject baptism and religious instruction, and though blameless in other respects, obstinately adhered to their old customs. This grieved, but did not greatly surprize us: for were either the Jews, the

Greeks, or the Romans immediately convinced by the Apostles who taught the law of Christ? Were the temples and the synagogues overthrown in a few years? No; that was a work of ages, perfected by the toils and blood of numbers, and we have not yet reached the goal. Alas! how small a portion of the globe has sworn allegiance to Jesus Christ; numbers without number still observing the law of Moses, of Mahomet, of Confucius, of Nature; others even paying worship to idols! An aged oak, with roots deep fixed in the ground, is not felled at one blow. To eradicate the ridiculous superstitions of the Abipones, their habits of wandering and of plunder, confirmed by the example of their ancestors, and become as it were a second nature, appeared to many a business of infinite labour, and almost desperate success: for experience shows that the equestrian savages are harder to be civilized than the pedestrian tribes: their inveterate habit of roaming about the whole province, and committing depredations, is a sweet poison, which insinuates itself deep into the very marrow, and is with difficulty expelled. So thought St. Xavier, who, though he left no stone unturned to convert the neighbouring nations of Asia, and even the remote Chinese and Japonese, to Christianity, never attempted to instruct the Badajas,

an equestrian tribe in the bordering kingdom of Narsinga, or Bisnagur, foreseeing that in such an expedition he should lose the labour which, with greater and more certain success, he expended on other nations.

Notwithstanding the hardness and obstinacy of the equestrian nations, they were by no means to be neglected by the Apostolic labourers of Paraguay, as their conversion and civilization were of the greatest importance to the safety and tranquillity of the whole province. But many artifices must be made use of by those who have to instruct or deal with them in any way. They must be advised, admonished, and corrected, with singular mildness, and some indulgence; with them the maxim *festina lentè* should be put in practice, lest premature fervour and severity should suddenly destroy the hopes of future fruits. You will alarm the savages who have but just quitted the woods, and make them fly you, if, burning with the spirit of Elijah, you imprudently strive to abolish their rude, barbarous manners, and conform them exactly to the rule of Christian discipline, at the first trial. But though indulgence was always our aim, we did not think proper to connive at any thing contrary to religion, or injurious to others, which it was in our power to prevent. To procure immortal life.

for dying infants, we often incurred danger of death from the opposing savages, who would rush upon us with spears, foolishly imagining that the ceremony of baptism accelerated dissolution. Even now I tremble at the remembrance of that night when Father Brigniel hastened to baptize an infant which he understood to be at the point of death, I accompanying him, and carrying the torch. Cacique Lichinrain, the father of the child, could be induced by no entreaties, threats, or expostulations, to suffer his little son to be baptized; which as he was endeavouring to effect against the will of the Cacique, the furious Kevachichi laid hands on him, and pulled him back, the rest of the by-standers expressing great indignation, and threatening us with every thing that was dreadful. The Cacique held his almost expiring son tight with both arms, and covered him all over with his clothes, so that he was entirely concealed. We, therefore, returned home without accomplishing our purpose: the infant, however, soon after recovering, put an end to our grief. How often, surrounded by swords and arrows, have we flown to prevent a crowd of drunken Abipones from rushing to mutual wounds and slaughter! If you read the annals of either India, you would be convinced that the Jesuits, who instructed the sa-

vages in the divine law, must have united apostolic severity with mild indulgence, whenever they had to contend for the glory of God, and for integrity of conduct. Above all admiration, and almost beyond belief, are the examples of magnanimity which the men of our order, employed in taming the ferocious nations of Paraguay, have left to posterity. What has not been endured and attempted for the love of God, by Roque Gonzalez, Barsena, Boroa, Ortega, Mendoza, Ruyz de Montoya, Mazzeta, Cataldino, Diaztaño, Lorenzana, Romero, Yegros, Zea, Castañares, Machoni, Strobel, Andreu, Brigniel, NUSDORFFER, Cardiel, Fons, and their numerous imitators, many of whom ended an Apostolic life with a bloody and honourable death! I shall here subjoin a list of the names of those who were slain by the savages, or on their account, at various times and places. As I have not at hand the most approved historians of Paraguay, Father Nicolas del Techo, Doctor Francisco Xarque, and Pedro Lozano, who have given an accurate account of all these matters, I may perhaps omit some who deserve to be enrolled in this class of brave men; but I will faithfully record the names of all those who are mentioned in my notes.

P. Roque Gonzalez de Santa Cruz, born in

the city of Asumpcion; P. Alonzo Rodriguez, and P. Juan de Castillo, killed by the Guaranies in Caarò, in the year 1628, Nov. 15th.

P. Christoval de Mendoza, (who is said to have baptized ninety-five thousand Indians,) slain by the savage Guaranies in Tapè, in the year 1635, April 26. By the same savages, and at the same time, three hundred lately baptized infants were killed and devoured in the town of Jesus and Maria.

Fathers Gaspar Osorio, and Antonio Ripario, killed by the Chiriguanos, in the year 1639, April 1.

P. Diego Alfaro, shot by the Brazilian Mamalukes, in the year 1639, Jan. 19.

P. Alonzo Arias, and P. Christoval de Arenas, slain by the same Mamalukes, but at a different time and place.

P. Pedro Romero, and Brother Mateos Fernandez, his companion, slain by the Chiriguanos, in the land of Curupay, March 22d, 1645, for having said to the neophytes, *It is not permitted you to have two wives.*

P. Espinosa, killed by the Guapalaches, in the way to the city of Sta. Fè, whither he had been sent by P. Ruyz de Montoya, Superior of the Missions, to buy cotton for clothing the naked Indians.

P. Lucas Cavallero, wounded by the Pinzo-

casas with an arrow, and then dispatched with a club, Oct. 18th, 1711.

Father Bartholomew Blende, a Fleming, and P. Joseph de Arce, a native of the Canaries, slain by the Payaguas, anno 1715.

P. Blasio de Sylva, a native of Paraguay, formerly Provincial there, and P. Bartolome de Niebla, slain at another time by the same Payaguas.

P. Antonio Solinas, a Sard, and his companion the Reverend Don Pedro Ortiz de Zarate, a priest, to whose care the new colony of St. Raphael had been committed, slain on the same day by the Mocobios and Tobas, at the door of the church, near the river Senta.

P. Nicolas Mascardi went out with a number of Patagonians to seek the fabulous city De los Cesares, and, after an unsuccessful search, was slain on his return by the Poya Indians.

Brother Alberto Romero had his head cloven with an axe by the Zamucos in the year 1718.

P. Juliano Lizardi, a Biscayan, whilst ministering at the altar in the vale of Ingre, was dragged into a neighbouring field by the rebellious Chiriguanos, tied to a stake, and dispatched with thirty-seven arrows at the town of Concepcion.

P. Augustino Castañares, a native of Salta in Tucuman, slain with a club, as he was tra-

velling, by the Tobas and Mataguayos, Sept. 15, 1744.

P. Diego Herrero, going to the Guarany towns, was pierced with a spear by an Abipon near Cordoba, Feb. 18, 1747.

P. Francisco Ugalde, a Biscayan, killed by the Mataguayos with a shower of arrows, and burnt to ashes in the church, which was set on fire by the same savages with arrows headed with flaming tow.

P. Antonio Guasp, a Spaniard, taken by one Guaña, knocked down by another with a blow on the forehead from a club, and slain and wounded all over with a sword by their Cacique the Mbaya Oyomadigi, in the estate of the town Santissimo Corazon de Jesu, amongst the Chiquitos, anno 1764.

P. Martin Xavier, a Navarrese, a relative of St. Francis Xavier, and P. Balthasar Seña, starved to death among the Guaranies.

Father Hans Neumann, an Austrian, from fatigues endured in a wretched navigation of some months on the river Paraguay, died at Asumpcion, Jan. 7, 1704.

Brother Henrique Adamo died of a disease which he contracted in a journey to the Chiquitos.

P. Lucas Rodriguez, after a long search of the fugitive Ytatines, amid continual showers

and thick woods, expired shortly on his return home.

P. Felix de Villa Garzia, a native of Castile, in a journey of some months, undertaken for the purpose of discovering the same Ytatines in the Tarumensian woods, got an ulcer in his left eye, which continually streamed with blood and swarmed with worms, and which miserably tormented this pious man for many years, and at length put a period to his existence in the town of Sta. Rosa.

P. Romano Harto, a Navarrese, was dangerously wounded in the belly with two arrows by those Mataguayos who slew and burnt his companion Ugalde.

Father Joseph Klein, a Bohemian, who acquitted himself admirably amongst the Abipones for twenty years, received a blow on the head from a young man of that nation, which laid him prostrate on the ground, where he lay for some time senseless and bathed in his own blood, in the town of St. Ferdinand.

Father Martin Dobrizhoffer, whilst defending his own house and the chapel against six hundred savages in the town of the Rosary, had his right arm pierced with a barbed arrow, the muscle of his middle finger hurt, and one rib wounded by a savage Toba, at four o'clock in

the morning, on the 2d of August, in the year 1765.

All these, and many more perhaps, employed in establishing the religion of Christ amongst the various nations of Paraguay, courageously parted with their lives, or shed their blood in the cause. Happy they who were allowed to die for the sake of the Gospel! We who survived, though partakers of their toils and dangers, seemed unworthy of so noble a fate as our comrades in not being permitted to end our lives in Paraguay. The royal mandate by which we were ordered to return to Europe, for reasons still unknown to us, being, in the words of the decree, confined to the King's own breast, was bitterer to us than any death; it did in fact hasten that of many who are at this moment floating on the ocean, or who fell victims to a voyage of four, nay of five months. Out of some thirty Jesuits who were carried to Europe from the port of Buenos-Ayres, five only reached Cadiz half alive, not to mention many others who underwent the same fate in sailing from other countries of Asia or America. All well disposed persons grieved that men distinguished for piety and knowledge of various kinds, who had rendered such signal services to Christianity and to America, and who had been

apostolic fishers of savage nations, should become at last the prey of sea-fishes.

I, who, though exiled from Paraguay, have by God's grace been preserved till now in my native land, derive the greatest satisfaction from the recollection of the toils which I encountered for many years in endeavouring to make the Abipones and Guaranies acquainted with the will of God; though my success never answered to my wishes, especially amongst the Abipones, who, like other equestrian savages, are of an indocile and untractable disposition. Yet no one can call the labour we spent on them subject of regret, or the colonies useless in which they were placed; for besides that by them tranquillity was restored to the whole province, many of the Abipones, infants as well as adults, were initiated into the rites of the Romish church, and brought over to peace and civilization. Nor can it be doubted that many who died ere they enjoyed the use of their reason, but had been baptized beforehand, were admitted into the society of the blest; I also think that many adults who received that holy ablution obtained the same felicity. I am not acquainted with the exact number of Abipones, who were baptized in those four colonies.

In the soil of the Guaranies the harvest was much more abundant. From the year 1610,

till the year 1768, 702,086 Guaranies were baptized by the hands of the Jesuits, not including those who received baptism from men of our order in the ancient towns destroyed by the Mamalukes, most of which contained many thousands of Christians. About two thousand persons, infants as well as adults, were baptized by me alone.

In the last fifty years which the Jesuits spent in Paraguay, 18,875 infants were sent to Heaven, having received baptism, and being devoid of reason, and consequently of sin. That you may not think this an exaggeration, I must tell you that in the year 1732 those thirty Guarany towns situated near the Parana and Uruguay contained 141,182 Christians. The repeated ravages of the meazles and small-pox, military expeditions in the Royal Camps against the Portugueze, tumults of war on account of the Guarany Reductions, bloody incursions against the savages, and various diseases, had so diminished the number of inhabitants that, on our return to Europe, we left scarce one hundred thousand Guaranies, though twenty years before the two colonies of Ytatines, St. Joachim, and St. Stanislaus, each containing almost five thousand inhabitants, had been added to the thirty ancient towns.

I also find it recorded in my notes that from

the year 1747 till the year 1766, 91,520 persons were baptized in those thirty-two Guarany towns.

The ten towns of the Chiquitos in the year 1766, contained 23,788 Indians, men and women. All except a few catechumens, who had but lately quitted the woods, were excellent Christians, formidable to their foes, and useful to the Spaniards. The other colonies of various nations founded and governed by us in the province of Chaco were reckoned the same year to contain 5,424 Christians. I am not acquainted with the exact number of Christians in each of these colonies; this only I know that the town of St. Francis Xavier supported about a thousand Christian Mocabios in the year 1766, and that of St. Jeronymo about eight hundred Christian Abipones. The town of St. Ferdinand contained no more than two hundred; the rest of the inhabitants were only catechumens. I do not know the number of Abipones that received baptism in the towns of Concepcion and the Rosary. I have been the more diffuse in this enumeration in order to make you understand how much more successful the priests were amongst the pedestrian than amongst the equestrian nations, the conversion of which was a matter of so much more time and labour, that the progress of Christianity amongst the Abi-

pones, though it did not equal our wishes, exceeded the expectations of the Spaniards. I have given this account of the Abipones with the greatest fidelity possible, though not in the most elegant style. Veracity was more my aim than polished language. The judicious reader will pardon any rusticity of expression in an author who has passed so many years amongst savages in the woods of America.

THE END.

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