CONTRIBUTIONS OF GERMAN JESUITS TO THE
GOLDEN AGE OF PARAGUAY

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CHAPTER I

EARLY INTEREST OF THE GERMAN-SPEAKING PEOPLES IN HISPANIC AMERICA

New avenues of scholarly research are disclosing fascinating but unexplored fields of history. German interest in Hispanic America may be cited as one conspicuous example of a little-known episode in colonial history. The achievements of Spanish and French explorers could not fail to become known, because sixteenth and seventeenth century geographers vied with each other in unfolding to a wondering world the vast expanses of a New Spain and of a New France. New England, New Netherlands, and even a tiny New Sweden, took their places on the charts of the New World, but there never appeared a New Germany to elate the hearts of adventurous Germans.

Germany, a non-Latin country, enjoyed none of the initial advantages of race, tradition, and religion upon which Spain, Portugal, and in a measure, France have always been able to count. While strengthening and centralizing their administrations at home, these countries were ever keenly alert to the advantages of wealth and prestige which might be gained by foreign expansion. Some of their efforts in this direction were made early, others at a more remote date. Some attempts were accompanied by all the glamour and bravado of the traditional
conquistadores, others were maneuvered by slow, but deliberate and well-planned policies. Meanwhile, for the period of three centuries, the Germans acquired neither a claim to territory nor any of the much coveted trade monopolies. There is no evidence of their ever having established an independent political sway over any region in colonial times. Hence, it has been generally assumed that Germany manifested no interest in the New World.

While it may be conceded that German colonial enterprise is not wholly outside the pale of historical record, the subject has nevertheless remained alien to the interest of most historians. Some are vaguely aware perhaps that "Venezuela was at one time owned by the Welsers of Augsburg." Mural decorations and other allusions proclaim the fact in modern museums, yet detailed accounts and descriptions are for the most part inadequate, hazy, or exaggerated. It might prove interesting to investigate why posterity has focused so little attention on this phase of colonial expansion. Hermann Schumacher, in a lengthy treatise, has summed up his views on the matter. ¹ He presumes in the first place, that the motives and the successes of these expeditions were never accurately recorded by contemporary Germans. Perhaps the subsequent disillusionment of their early hopes was too painful a topic to enlarge.

upon. Hispanic literature, insofar as it calls attention to the German episode in America, refers rather to geographical and ethnological than to political interests. The most logical explanation, however, would seem to lie in the fact that authentic source material has lain dormant down to practically our own times. Lastly, whatever was known of the Germans in Venezuela and elsewhere in Hispanic America was strongly biased by the accounts of Las Casas. Ever severe in his criticism of harsh and oppressive measures against the natives, it was only natural for the patriotic Spaniard to cast particular odium upon the Germans who dared to encroach upon what was considered Spanish domain.  

2 Much has been written on the excessive cruelty of the Germans during their sixteen years of occupation in Venezuela. Friederici endeavors to modify and explain the charges when he says: "The entire coast from Trinidad to Cartagena had been given over to the slave trade years before the arrival of the Germans; it was simply a part of the system expressly sanctioned by the Council of the Indies, and a monopoly which was henceforth to be vested in the German company alone." Georg Friederici, Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer, Stuttgart, 1936, II, 262. A French author, Jules Humbert, Les Origines Vénézuéliennes, Paris, 1905, 35, takes the opposite stand. He blames German conquests and depredations for Coro's depopulation. He says the town was practically defenseless and exposed to Indian invasions by 1550. Charles E. Chapman, Colonial Hispanic America, New York, 1933, 57-58, says the German Welser company "took up the search for El Dorado and other marvels with as much enthusiasm as ever the Spaniards had done, and were not behindhand either, when it came to cruelties perpetrated upon the Indians." Philip A. Means, The Spanish Main, New York, 1935, 102, says: "The Germans varied in character precisely as did the Spaniards, the English and all other conquerors of America, people being then, as now, much the same from nation to nation."
German trade had reached vast proportions when the Hansa dominated the markets of northern Europe and when the south-German cities of Regensburg, Ulm, Augsburg, and Nürnberg reigned supreme as commercial centers. But when the Hansa declined, and the arteries of trade with Italy were closed as a result of continental wars, there seemed to be no solution to the problem of rebuilding foreign trade. No farsighted leader, no German prince or city dared, it would seem, to take the initiative in the face of Spanish supremacy. But a stronger power, the mysterious lure of the unknown, eventually conquered even the Germans. Some of the more adventurous traders and navigators sailed under foreign flags, and German missionaries were no less brave and zealous in the conversion of Hispanic American peoples on both continents of the western hemisphere.

In all fairness to Germany, however, some consideration should be given her political position in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, since it would serve to explain her reticent colonial policy. It is difficult to see indeed, how she could have sponsored any worthwhile foreign enterprise, however willing or anxious she might have been, at a time when her own territorial expansion was still in progress. Then too, the Hapsburg Emperors who controlled both Germany and Spain, felt no need of stimulating any colonial interest beyond that which emanated from Spain itself. Among the greatest obstacles of all was the religious and political turmoil which rent the unity of Germany during those centuries. Another factor in this connection was the attempt of Spain
to exclude heretics from her colonial possessions. Moreover, colonies were viewed primarily as sources from which to obtain luxuries. Hence, their possession was not particularly desirable in times of economic distress occasioned by incessant wars. Much of the wealth which remained in Germany was in the hands of the already declining Hansa towns. Spain, it is true, had offered these cities the privilege of sharing her American commerce as early as 1627, provided they support the Emperor's cause in the Thirty Years War. The offer was declined, however, not for religious reasons, but because the Hansa had already lost its vitality. Perhaps too, there was in this refusal a certain scorn for Spain. 3 Had the proposition been made and accepted a century earlier, it might have saved the Hansa and effected a more rapid progress of Hispanic America.

Inseparably connected with the financial and economic history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are the names of Fugger and Welser, the powerful money barons of that age. The Fuggers in particular, were heavily interested in Spanish trade. They were always loyal to the old faith and to the Hapsburgs, and are known to have furnished millions in support of the Emperors. But it was the Augsburg firm of Welser which entered upon a most extraordinary American trade venture,

practically the only one of its kind in early German history. It was an adventure on the Spanish model, and Bartholomew Welser hardly deserves the praise which has been lavished upon him for it. Yet the undertaking will always remain memorable as the first and only attempt on the part of the Germans in America, even though it was sponsored by a foreign monarch, for Charles V ruled there as King of Spain, not as German Emperor.

Scarcely had it become known that the once prosperous trade of Venice had drifted in great part to Portugal, than the firm of Welser dispatched an agent named Simon Seitz to Lisbon. Soon after, others of their representatives were to be found in Sevilla and in Madrid. By 1525 and 1534, their pioneer cargoes were on the way to Santo Domingo and to La Plata respectively. Two Germans, Henry Alfinger and Jerome Sayler, proposed to the Spanish crown to equip at their own expense a fleet of four or more ships with not less than 200 armed men for the purpose of pacifying the region of Santa Marta. The pact was signed in 1528 and was an authorization of conquest with definitely stated provisions. They undertook to found two towns and three forts and to pay the customary royal dues. The usual injunction was added regarding the conversion and good treatment of the Indians. But another clause was included which stated:

4 Schumacher, op. cit., 5.
"I give you license and faculty ... to take as slaves those Indians who are rebels, after admonishing and requiring them ... and you may take and purchase those who are (already) truly slaves, paying the usual fifth on slaves."

These merchants evidently hoped for an abundant return on their investments in the form of gold, pearls, slaves, and whatever other commodities might be found. Two years later, in 1530, the grantees asked Charles V to transfer their rights to the brothers Anthony and Bartholomew Welser, famous Augsburg bankers, which favor was granted by a capitulation identical with the first. Alfinger thus became the representative of the German bankers. Needless to say, the Germans made a wide use of the privilege of bringing African slaves to the colony, since slavery was one of the best and most lucrative of all the Welser enterprises. They were less ready, however, and less faithful in complying with their obligation to establish two towns and three forts. By April

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7 Henao-Arrubla, *op. cit.*, 30, f. says: "According to several Venezuelan historians, Charles V made this grant because he was in debt to the Welsers." This view is also supported by Antonio de Herrera and by Fray Bartolme de Las Casas. Means, *op. cit.*, 102, is of the same opinion: "Having advanced to Charles large sums of money wherewith he convinced certain electors that he would make an excellent emperor, the Welsers, not unnaturally looked to the successful candidate for a substantial token of his regard for them."

More recently it has been urged that such indebtedness played no part in the transaction: "The whole affair was merely one, the most conspicuous and dramatic, of a series of money-making schemes upon which the Welsers, with imperial approval, had already embarked, before ever it was established on the Venezuela shores."

30, 1530 another German expedition arrived under the leadership of Hans Seissenhofer. Strangely enough, only sixteen German names are connected with the entire Welser episode. We may presume that there were more, since many of the Germans found it convenient to change their names. To mention but one instance: Georg Hoermuth von Speyer underwent repeated variations from Georg Speier to Jorge d'Espiro or Spiro, and finally to Despiro. Germans were everywhere in the minority. The entire régime in matters of government and military organization, in language and tradition was carried on along Spanish lines. It was probably the wisest policy to conciliate the Spaniards who never ceased to view the Germans as intruders. There is a letter extant from the bishop of the Welser settlement to the Emperor, dated January 20, 1535, begging that, except for the German governors allowed by the contract, no more Germans be permitted to enter Venezuela, lest Lutheran heresies be spread. 8

From an economic point of view, the German colony in Venezuela was singularly unsuccessful. In the first place, settlers came in insufficient numbers, and even the few were more interested in exploration than in permanent settlement. The only foundation at Maracaibo declined

8 Friederici, op. cit., II, 265. This bishop, Roderigo de Bastidas, was appointed to the see of Coro in 1532 by Pope Clement VII, the bishopric having been established in 1530. The episcopal residence, however, was transferred to Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, in 1637. Cf. Sister M. Kathleen Walsh, O. P., "The Origins of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in New Spain (1492-1545),' Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, (June, 1931), vol. 42, No. 2, 149.
because it was not self-supporting. Repartimientos were never established at Coro largely because of the selfish motives of the settlers who refused to tie themselves down to work and to the maintenance of necessary military garrisons. Besides, the company did little to strengthen the colony, once it had defrayed initial expenses. With Spanish rivalry and local mutiny added to these causes, general dissatisfaction and failure were inevitable. Several expeditions into the interior occasioned the ultimate collapse of the German enterprise.

Many opportunities indeed were missed by the Germans, but like the Spanish conquerors, they could not resist the lure of the interior of South America. They were among the first to explore the wild, unknown river valleys of the Orinoco, the Magdalena, and the Amazon; and their search for gold led them over icy, windswept paramos, through jungles, swamps, and deserts. When Alfinger, the first Weiser governor, arrived in Coro in 1529 with a gay company of adventurers recruited in Spain and elsewhere, he did not remain long after taking possession of the territory. Driven by an insatiable thirst for gold, he set out on his first sally in November, 1531, accompanied by 300 men and many Indians who carried provisions and baggage. All along the way, he collected by barter and by force, some 35,000 pesos in gold, pushing westward over the mountains and thence southward to the valley of the Magdalena River. The conqueror left a trail of robbery, assassination, and arson, and subjected the Indians to the most inhuman treatment. The Spanish chron-
iclers call Alfinger the "cruel of the cruels," and the more recent German writers have accepted this statement. The hope of finding richer lands led Alfinger to dispatch one of his captains, Íñigo de Vascuña, with thirty-five men to Coro for horses, arms, and fresh recruits. The party was also charged to convey the vast accumulation of gold back to the colony. But Vascuña and his men became lost, and were unable to carry the precious burden farther, so they buried it under a tree and "left with it their hearts," never to be found again by later searchers. Alfinger himself, after waiting months for the return of the ill-fated expedition, ultimately abandoned the quest and died soon after from the effects of a poisoned arrow of the Indians.

Alfinger's successor, Georg Speyer, hurriedly settled his Welser business at Coro in order to set out in search of the Inca treasure made famous by Pizarro and Almagro. He had probably penetrated no farther than some tributary of the Amazon when he returned to Coro after three years of weary, fruitless wandering. Where Speyer (Spiro) failed, his lieutenant, Nikolaus Federmann, a native of Ulm, succeeded in the great discovery, but too late to win the prize. He is considered the most celebrated of the Welser explorers, who, in the absence of his chief, determined to conquer on his own account. Accompanied by some 500 followers,

10 Kirkpatrick, op. cit., 306.
he carefully avoided encountering Speyer, although he was traversing the same plains at the same time. With less than one third of his original company, he reached the object of his goal, the heights of Bogotá, only to find himself forestalled by Jimenez de Quesada. Immediately after Federmann, Sebastian de Benalcazar arrived from the south, through the Magdalena valley. The remarkable outcome of this race for gold which was won almost simultaneously by three men, is considered one of the most highly dramatic incidents in the history of the conquistadores. However distinguished as a strategist, Federmann is the least attractive and the least honorable of the German conquerors. He was cruel to the natives, unreliable, and a traitor to the Welsers; yet he possessed the confidence of his soldiers whom he treated with kindness.

The last German governor of Venezuela contrasts favorably with the ruthless types represented by his predecessors. Philipp von Hutten, who had accompanied Speyer on his hazardous expedition, took charge of affairs at Coro in 1541. Later in the same year, he made one more attempt to cross the plains from Coro in quest of El Dorado. But the venture ended in tragedy four years later, when the valiant leader, together with Bartholomew Welser, was beheaded by Carvajal. With the death of Hutten in 1546, the Welser domination began to decline. It was decided by the Council of the Indies that the Germans, notwithstanding their long efforts,

11 Schumacher, op. cit., 143.
had failed to live up to the terms of their contract, and had therefore lost their rights to the colony. Perez de Tolosa next governed Venezuela as a Spanish province. On April 30, 1556, after ten years of more complicated litigation through which the Germans sought to reassert their title, the judgment against them was confirmed by the Council of the Indies, and their last claim to Venezuela was definitely abrogated. 

Here and there one encounters other German names in the early annals of Hispanic America. Pedro de Valdivia's expedition to Chile, for instance, included a German officer named Robert Blum, also known as Blumlein, and later as Flores, who gallantly assisted in the founding of Santiago. As early as 1535, a German named Cromberger or Krumberger, established the first printing press on the continent in Mexico and later in Peru. Freelances were always willing to serve foreign armies abroad. Thus we meet Hans Staden in Brazil, Peter Lisberger in Chile, and one of the most outstanding of all, Ulrich Schmidel from Strassburg, in the Plata region. The excitement raised by Pizarro's discoveries, and the hope of finding another way to the opulent shores of the South Sea, and especially the rivalry of the Portuguese in Brazil, led to the dispatch of one of the greatest expeditions which had yet sailed from Spain. Schmidel served throughout this campaign and wrote an excellent account of it in

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12 Merriman, op. cit., 537.
13 Le Conte, op. cit., 86.
his own language some years later. 14 The expedition, headed by Pedro de Mendoza, included a considerable number of Germans, many of whom had enlisted in a military capacity or as mercenaries though not as builders or settlers. 15

Thus it may be seen that the high-water mark of German activity in the Indies was passed before the middle of Charles V's reign. His liberal policy of admitting non-Castilians, and Germans in particular, to the Spanish dominions was finally abandoned when incessant complaints were made by the Council to the Cortes. He found it convenient in the last years of his reign to give secret instructions to the Casa to find excuses for their exclusion. 16

What then, may ultimately be concluded regarding the early German influence in Hispanic America? A true evaluation of the conquerors and their motives will probably lie between two extremes. We cannot agree...


15 Bruno Garsch, Der Einfluss der Jesuiten-Missionen auf den Wandel der Naturlandschaft zur Kulturlandschaft im Stromgebiet des Paraguay-Parana während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, Breslau, 1934, 47, says this expedition consisted of 14 ships, 2650 men, of whom 150 were Germans.

16 Merriman, op. cit., 630.
with Friederici who calls Alfinger, Speyer, and Federmann "an honor to their country." 17 Nor is it possible to accept the statement in which he compares these expeditions to those of De Soto, Moscosos, and Coronado as to their extent and importance and the endurance of their leaders. 18 On the other hand, the activity of the Germans cannot be totally ignored. Philip Means says "Venezuela had a unique history in the sense that it was opened up to European influence largely by Germans rather than by Spaniards." 19 Again, we are told by Chapman "the result of the activities of Germans and Spaniards was the addition of Venezuela to the fast-growing Spanish Empire." 20 Evidently, German colonial activity cannot be hastily dismissed as one of the dark chapters of history. Modern German writers are of the opinion that if Venezuela was lost to the Welsers, the defeat was not an inglorious one. Schumacher says it was due rather to a combination of unfortunate circumstances than to incapacity of leadership. He blames in particular the "superhuman" machinations of polit-

17 Friederici, op. cit., II, 287.
18 Ibid., 282. Friederici's work is not reliable. "It is not objective nor scholarly in spite of its impressive but undigested bibliography. It is a colossal indictment of all except Germans, based in part on anti-Spanish, anti-French, anti-English, pro-Nordic, and pro-Indian opinions of authors, and containing exploded theories and inaccurate generalizations." Mid-America, XXI, (April, 1939), 170.
19 Means, op. cit., 102.
20 Chapman, op. cit., 58.
ical rivals who were constantly at work to undermine German success. 21
The Germans themselves did little to inform the world of their achievements. At any rate, their accounts were weak and unscientific, and therefore justly discredited. Neither were the Welser files very enlightening nor enthusiastic. Unlike the Fuggers who carefully preserved their archives, the Welsers lost theirs after the fall of their business, and it is only recently that the scanty remains have been collected. 22

Some writers assert that mercenary motives were the only ones which led the Germans to the New World. This economic urge, the desire for gold and for a share in the slave trade was, of course, an hallucination, but it paved the way for better things in Hispanic America. Whatever bad impression was created by the conquerors was, as in the case of the Spaniards, erased by the magnificent constructive work of the missionaries. The conquerors had come for reasons of a highly complex nature, and they were at times ready to despoil and even to exterminate the Indians. The padres, on the other hand, were led by the gentle Spirit

21 Schumacher, op. cit., 5.
Erich Reimers, Die Welser landen in Venezuela, das erste deutsche Kolonialunternehmen, Leipzig, 1938, emphasizes the same point of view. The author attempts to show that while the Welser firm was instrumental in launching the project, it proved unable to save it from disaster. According to his final conclusion, Venezuela was lost because of Spanish intrigue and German malice.

of love and peace; they came not to take away but to give, and they gave their very selves that others might be enriched. What they contributed toward the spiritual, economic, and cultural advancement of both natives and colonists constitutes the most glorious chapter in early Hispanic American history.
CHAPTER II

MISSIONARY DEVELOPMENT IN THE GERMANIES

As everyone conversant with mission history well knows, the nations of southern Europe were never surpassed by those of the north in the great projects of evangelization which immediately succeeded the epoch-making discoveries. But it is not so well known that German missionaries very soon followed in the wake of the Spanish, Portuguese and French, and that no inconsiderable number of them suffered and died in distant lands for the cause of Christ. It was probably the revival of German missionary interest in the latter half of the nineteenth century which prompted various religious orders to scan their annals for the names of seventeenth and eighteenth century heroes in the mission fields. To mention but one instance, Father Anton Huonder, S.J., has collected some 800 names of German Jesuits who labored in foreign parts between 1670 and 1770.1 And this number undoubtedly falls far short of actual facts when one remembers how many priceless records were destroyed or lost in the stormy days of the suppression. The term "German" as applied to the

missionaries of these centuries included, of course, not only such as traced their origin to territory which is German today, but also to those from the "Germanies" of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, a vastly greater area. Hence, we shall find missionaries bearing Czech, Polish, Dutch, Flemish, Lithuanian, and even Hungarian names, listed as "Missionarii teutscher Nation." Nor is such classification inconsistent, since the latter fathers were included in the same Jesuit province which embraced German-speaking Austria. Moreover, these members of the Society were themselves very emphatic in stressing their German allegiance.

If German missionary enterprise was less conspicuous, and at times perhaps totally absent in the sixteenth century, the reasons can be readily explained. Germany lay prostrate in consequence of the ravages caused by the religious revolt. Notwithstanding, there is abundant evidence to prove her enthusiasm for the conversion of the Indies, even in that tragic century. It was a keen disappointment to her apostolic men when these longings were silenced for the time being by peremptory orders from Rome. In accordance with a decree dated January 3, 1562, the German province of the Society of Jesus was to send no members to any foreign missions, since their services were so much needed at home. "Germany was to be regarded as their India." Despite this prohibition,

3 Huonder, "Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre," loc. cit., 203.
however, the flame of missionary zeal was fanned to great heat by glowing accounts which reached the Germanies from fields afar. Innumerable petitioners asked superiors to be allowed to assist in the conversion of the pagan world, as hundreds of manuscripts still extant in private collections attest. But only four young Jesuits were at that time designated for South America by Father Mutius Vitelleschi, the General at Rome. 4 These appointments to the foreign missions were a new and most extraordinary occurrence in the Society of Jesus, and they evoked demonstrative enthusiasm, even on the part of those whose hopes had not been fulfilled. 5 A modest beginning was thus made, but Father Huonder's most assiduous research reveals that only twenty German Jesuits were sent to the Americas between 1620 and 1670. 6

4 They were Andreas Agricola from Engen in Baden, Kaspar Rues from Haunstetten near Augsburg, Ferdinand Reinmann from Meran in the Tyrol, and Michael Durst from Augsburg. The first of these was appointed for Paraguay, the other three for Peru. Cf. "Die erste Aussendung deutscher Jesuiten in die Missionen," Die Katholischen Missionen, Freiburg, XLI, (Oct. 1912 to Sept. 1913), 10-11.

5 Huonder, loc. cit., 204-205 dwells at some length on these reactions. Die Katholischen Missionen, loc. cit., 11-13, reproduces several letters which reflect the almost ecstatic joy which prevailed in all the houses where the news was received. The honors to which the new missionaries were treated were quite overwhelming, and "comparable," says Father Ruess, "to those which are accorded the leading men in the Society."

6 Some German Jesuit leaders, among whom was the pious and learned Father Jacob Rem in Ingolstadt, did not favor the foreign missionary enterprise. He said: "Twenty years from now, there will be a religious revival in Germany. Numerous conversions will be effected in all classes of society, and the small number of the secular clergy, together with our own depleted ranks, will not suffice to lead all the erring sheep back into Christ's fold." Huonder, loc. cit., 206.
By 1650, however, the five German Jesuit provinces had experienced a notable increase. Together they numbered 2829 members. But a new and very formidable impediment now presented itself to the missionary labors of the German fathers: the provisions of the Patronato Real and the Spanish crown policy. A succession of popes, including Martin V, Nicholas V, Calixtus III, Alexander VI, Leo X, Paul III, IV and V, and others had granted to the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal very far-reaching privileges which empowered them to regulate ecclesiastical affairs in the newly conquered lands. Among them were included the collection of tithes, the establishment of bishoprics and seminaries, and the appointment of bishops, besides the complete responsibility for the organization of the missions. In view of her "apostolic conquests," and in order to induce Spain to fulfill these duties more perfectly, Alexander VI subsequently granted her "the exclusive right to evangelize, withdrawing it from every other nation." 8

On the 3rd and 4th May, 1493 Alexander put his signature to three highly important documents. The first, dated 3rd May, confers on Spain an exclusive right of possession over all the islands and countries, now discovered by Columbus and

7 This included the Bohemian province which had been separated from the Austrian in 1623.
8 W. E. Shielis, S. J., Gonzalo de Tapia, New York, 1934, 176. This work presents a short but enlightening chapter on the nature and the history of the Patronato Real, a thorough understanding of which is essential to one who would comprehend mission history.
all future discoveries of his, on condition of propagating the Christian Faith in them, and provided such lands are not already occupied by a Christian power."

The mission was part of the king's vast plan of action. "From a political standpoint he had a paramount interest in this most efficient force for colonization and national expansion, for peace and prosperity." 10

The sovereign was empowered to regulate the smallest details, giving direct orders for the qualifications of missionaries, the routes for transportation, for equipment and supplies. 11 The Bull Of Alexander VI, dated May 4, 1493, and addressed to their Catholic Majesties King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella was very specific as to its orders for the Christianization of the Indies and the persons who were to be denied entrance to the new lands. It read:

9 Ludwig Pastor, History of the Popes, tr. and ed. by F. I Antrobus, St. Louis, 1923, VI, 160.
10 Shiels, op. cit., 173.
11 Portuguese missionaries, destined for Asia, were to sail from Lisbon, while those bound for the Spanish colonies were to leave from Sevilla, later from Cádiz. This latter privilege, however, was subsequently revoked by Paul V in 1609, and the repeal was confirmed by Urban VIII in 1633. Henceforth, religious orders might send their missionaries by whatever routes they chose. Political dissensions and rivalries among various nations were the immediate results. Ruonder, op. cit.208. P. F. Charlevoix, Histoire du Paraguay, Paris, 1757, I, 206 relates a pertinent instance of the case in question. When the bishop of Asunción summoned Portuguese Dominicans from Brazil, they were not permitted by the Council of the Indies to labor in Paraguay. Similarly, Portugal would supply no missionaries outside the jurisdiction of her crown.
Furthermore, we command you in the virtue of Holy Obedience (as you have promised, and as we doubt not you will doe, upon meere Devotion and Princely Magnificit) to send to the said firme Lands and Islands, honest, vertuous, and learned men, such as feare God, and are able to instruct the Inhabitants in the Catholike Faith and good Manners, applying all their possible diligence in the premisses. We furthermore straitly inhibite all manner of persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, although of Imperial and Regall Dignitie, under the paine of the sentence of Excommunication, which they shall incurre, if they doe to the contrary. That they in no case presume, without specialle Licence of you, your heires, and successors, to travaile for Marchandises, or for any other cause to the said Lands or Islands, found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a line from the Pole Artike to the Pole Antartike . . . "

It may be a matter of surprise that men of the spiritual calling were prevented from entering the Spanish possessions. But the king used his prerogative under the Patronato Real to regulate all religious activity there. At first only members of the three ancient orders, the Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans could enter. In 1571 the barrier was opened for the Jesuits, the Carmelites, and other groups, but all these missionaries were required to be nationals of Spain or of the countries subject to or allied with her, such as the citizens of the Holy Roman Empire. French missionaries were at this time not sufficiently numerous to supply even the needs of French colonies. Aside from this fact, they were not likely to be found in Spanish dependencies.

12 Samuel Purchas, Purchas His Pilgrimes, Glasgow, ed. 1905, II, 41.
in view of the century-old tension between the two nations. And what of
the German and Austrian apostles to the Indies? As far as can be ascer-
tained, little political opposition was offered to their entrance dur-
ing the sixteenth century while their number was still negligible. Un-
fortunately, a change came during the reign of Philip IV (1621-1665), a
change for which various reasons may be advanced: political strife in
Spain, dangerous revolts in the Italian states, the increasing practice
of piracy, and most of all perhaps, the enmities aroused in connection
with the Thirty Years War. Early signs of distrust had in fact been mani-
fest even in the days of Charles V. "Although he invited the famous
Flemish teachers to begin the Franciscan schools in Mexico, nevertheless
it was he who cancelled the German Welser franchises in Venezuela when
pressure was put on him in Castile." 14

These restrictions upon aliens were to prove detrimental to Span-
ish colonial enterprise, and more especially so to the progress of the
missions. The wide expansion and multiplication of missions under the
jurisdiction of the Spanish crown demanded more volunteers than the moth-
er country could supply. 15 A new, emphatic veto was placed upon non-
Spaniards on the occasion of the projected sailing of Father Juan Pastor,
the mission procurator from Paraguay. He had succeeded in gathering

14 Ibid., 99.
15 The crying need for missionaries in New Spain, for instance, is re-
peatedly stressed in the contemporary Jesuit correspondence (1646-
when the need became urgent, Spanish funds were generously supplied to transport them. The effect of this new turn of events can be gathered from the tone of a letter sent November 29, 1664 to all the provinces of the order by its General, Father Paul Oliva:

"I have happy news from Spain, news that will rouse many to demand with noble enthusiasm the mission to the West or Spanish Indies, that is to Paraguay, the Philippines, Mexico, Peru, Chile, and New Granada. For many years, all but Spaniards have been shut out from these provinces. Now we have obtained some relaxation of that rule, with good hope of extending the faculty that was formerly so circumscribed. Many letters bring me word that the Council of the Indies of His Catholic Majesty has revoked its earlier position and conceded permission to non-Spaniards among our men to go to the Indian missions. The understanding is that one fourth of the men in each mission may be formed of subjects of the Catholic King (France), and also of the Emperor or any Austrian prince. Into these categories fall almost all those in our province of Austria, Belgian Flanders, France-Belgium, and in upper Germany the section ruled by the Austrian Dukes of Innsbruck. They also write that this privilege extends to the subjects of the other princes who are allied to the Austrian houses...." 17

From this date on, reinforcements of German and Austrian Jesuits were sent at fairly regular intervals to the Spanish provinces overseas, a fact which is clearly borne out by the names occurring in succeeding accounts of Hispanic mission history. 18 Considerable time was required,

17 Huonder, op. cit., 213.
18 The proportion of German Jesuits who came to America before 1700 was nevertheless very small. Neuman (1678) and Kino (1687) are among the more famous, and they belong to Mexico. Among some 120 Germans who came to Paraguay, only seven entered before 1700. The high-water mark there seems to have been between 1730 and 1748. Cf. Huonder, op. cit., Part II, 297-309; 331-343.
however, before ancient prejudices were altogether broken down. It hap-
pended not infrequently that German missionaries, believing themselves at
the goal of their ambitions when they reached Spain, were obliged to re-
turn home because of some technicality devised by Spanish bureaucracy.
Because of these circumstances, many Germans sought to disguise their
origin by converting their unharmonious names into others, more accept-
able to Castilian ears. We are acquainted with some amusing specimens
in this connection in a letter written by Father Caroli Boranga who
came originally from the Austrian province. He writes on March 21, 1681
from Acapulco in Mexico, probably en route to the Philippines:

"Before I board the ship, I must inform Your Reverence of
the new Spanish names under which we have been registered:
Father Andreas Mancker is now Padre Alfonso de Castro de
Viennas. I am Juan Bautista Perez, natural de Caladajul,
that is naturalized at Bilbilis (Caladayud) in Aragon.
Father Johannes Tilpe is known as Padre Luis Turcotti, na-
tural de Nissa de Austria, Father August Strobach as Padre
Carlos Xavier Calvanese, de Calvà, natural de Milan ...

German missionary activity was once more temporarily jeopardized
during the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714) when Charles II, the

19 Joseph Stoceklein, S. J., Der Neue Welt-Bott mit allerhand Nachrichten
der Missionariorum Societatis Jesu, 1642-1726, Augsburg und Graz,
1728-1761, no. 2.
Sometimes the mere translation of a German name made it acceptable to
Spaniards, as for instance, when Kerschpamer (who accompanied Father
Kino) was converted into Cereso. Fortunately for posterity, most of
the fathers did not neglect to sign their correspondence with both
their German and their Spanish names. Welt-Bott, no. 239, 2, gives
this example: "Andreas Mancker, der Ges. Jesu Missionarius. Mit
meinem spanischen Nahmen Alphonsus de Castro genannt."
last of the Spanish Hapsburgs died. Documents in the archives of Simancas testify to the efforts of confessors at court who endeavored to secure the admission of eight German missionaries. Their pleadings were seemingly fruitless, though it was pointed out that the respective superiors and many of the fathers in the colonies were Spaniards, that the German fathers would be separated, once they had reached their destinations, and that they were exemplary religious. 20 As time went on, however, and none but favorable reports concerning the Germans reached Spain, the new Bourbon dynasty withdrew all further opposition. On November 19, 1715, the request for sixty European missionaries was formally ratified by the Council; and before the close of the same year, Philip V informed the General of the Society of Jesus that he would be permitted to send priests, scholastics, and lay brothers from any province to the Spanish Indies, excepting only those of Milan and Naples where political reasons of the day argued against using the privilege. 21 As concluding evidence of the king's favor, reference may be made to Article 12 of the famous decree issued at Buenretiro and dated December 28, 1743:

"Lastly I am informed that one of the charges brought against the Fathers of the Society of Jesus is their policy of admitting foreign members to their missions. I am hereby informing you that they have done so by royal concession, that I myself, by decree of September 17, 1737 permitted the General of the

20 Huonder, op. cit. 217, is indebted for this information to Father Bernhard Duhr, S. J. who worked for some time in the archives of Simancas.

21 Ibid., 219-220.
Order (R. P. Emblem Retz) to allow one fourth of each mission contingent consist of German members. I have learned that they have manifested their loyalty on every occasion, and that in 1738 Father Thomas Werle, a Bavarian who took part in the siege of the Colony del Sacramento, together with 4000 Guarans, all mortally wounded by the enemy. For these reasons, I have considered it expedient to recommend great caution to the fathers when choosing their missionaries, particularly when they question of such as are subjects of foreign naval power."

22

This document is titled "Final decree regarding the missions and the Indian reducions of Paraguay and Buenos Aires, insofar as they are under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits." It is quoted by Father Huonder, 220, with Charlevoix, Histoire du Paraguay, III, Pièces Justificatives, VIII, as the source of information.
CHAPTER III

TWO MAJOR PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE MISSIONARIES

Added to the difficulties reviewed in connection with the need for German priests at home and the crown policy of Spain, there were the lesser, but important difficulties of travel and finance. "Going to the Indies" required of every missionary an uncommon degree of patience, if not of positive heroism. A tedious and laborious land route to Spain was usually succeeded by a long and onerous period of waiting in that country. The Spanish fleets sailed but twice a year, so it was only natural that cities like Sevilla and Cádiz were always overcrowded with prospective travelers. ¹ All the hazards of early sea-farers befell the future apostles in abundant measure. The infrequent sailings caused every galleon to be crowded far beyond its normal capacity. The numbers of passengers on a single expedition were varying, and seven or eight hundred, or even a thousand names on the list was not an extraordinary

¹ During their stay in Spain, the fathers were cared for in Jesuit mission hospices, constructed at the expense of the American provinces of the Society. These establishments and countless other details regarding the travels of German Jesuits to the New World have been admirably described by Theodore E. Treutlein, "Jesuit Travel to New Spain (1678-1756)", Mid-America, XIX, (April, 1937), 104-123.
occurrence. A shortage of food and water, due to prolonged unfavorable winds, was sometimes followed by disease. Shipwreck was almost expected. We are told that in the forty years between 1686 and 1727, one hundred thirteen Jesuit missionaries lost their lives at sea. 2 In addition to these natural perils, there was the constantly threatening danger of pirates and the possibility of capture by privateers during the periods when Spain was at war with France or with England. Once again on land, the missionaries mounted mules or horses and proceeded into the interior, either along well-traveled royal roads, such as led to Mexico City, or through jungles, deserts and swamps. The road to Chile and Peru was the most arduous of all. It was the "death road over Panama." So many lives were lost through disease, exposure, and every kind of hardship that it was decided in the early eighteenth century to abandon the route. From that time forward, missionaries for Peru and Chile went to Paraguay and from thence overland by way of the royal roads. 3 This region, known as the Rio de la Plata was, unlike Peru, easy of access. By means of the rivers of the Plata system one could travel great distances into the interior, for the Paraguay, the Paraná, the Uruguay, and the Pilcomayo.

2 Father Huonder has gleaned these facts from numerous letters contained in the Welt-Bott.

3 Father Francis X. Dirrahim, S. J. has left a manuscript describing this very route which he covered in 1717. The account, edited by Father Huonder, is published as "Eine Missionsreise nach Hochperu vor 200 Jahren," Die Katholischen Missionen, XLV, (December, 1916, 49-52; January, 1917, 77-80; February, 1917, 104-106).
were navigable for hundreds of miles. It was only in the north that the fall line of the rivers prevented navigation, and the semi-tropical climate produced jungles and almost impassible swamps. In the west, the range of the Andes made communication with Chile and Peru difficult, but not impossible.

Finance was another major concern of the missionaries. The question was relatively simple for the missionaries themselves as long as the kings of Spain and Portugal so nobly fulfilled the obligations of the Patronato Real. For centuries their kingly generosity furnished millions for the propagation of the faith. How much was actually spent for the purpose is still a matter to be investigated by some brave and enterprising scholar. Notwithstanding such magnificent support, many a problem still remained to be solved by the missionaries in view of the high price of such necessities as linen, iron utensils, and the like.

When Spanish naval power was superceded by English and Dutch ascendancy, the missions lost their chief source of income. There was no thought of contributions from the people at large. The masses knew nothing whatsoever of what was being done to spread the faith in foreign lands, and there were, of course, no magazines to enlighten them nor to awaken their interest. The participation of the laity in the world-wide missionary activity of the Church is truly the characteristic mark of modern mission history. German missionaries therefore determined to appeal to their respective princes. The favorable response of these rulers
is unfortunately too little known and lauded. As the Austrian Hapsburgs had ever been the patrons of the Society of Jesus, it was not difficult to secure their co-operation, now that it was so sorely needed. We have a beautiful letter from the pen of Leopold I to the Father General Paul Oliva, dated September 17, 1664:

"It was the urgent wish of our illustrious Grandfather and Father, Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III of blessed memory that the gospel of Christ be spread among the heathen nations, especially in the vast empire of China. It was for this purpose that Ferdinand III, ten years ago, ordered an annual sum of 1000 gulden to be sent to that mission, for the maintenance of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus." ⁴

The missions of Hispanic America seem to have shared less directly in the munificence of the Hapsburg emperors than did those of the Orient. But grateful letters from the German fathers are filled with the praises of Queen Maria Anna of Portugal, a princess of the House of Austria. She frequently arranged for personal interviews with the departing missionaries and manifested a truly maternal interest in their welfare. Father Baucke calls her "a truly holy woman whose virtues and piety proclaim the noble House from which she comes." ⁵ The princely House of Bavaria was no less interested in furthering the cause of the missions than were the Hapsburgs, but practically no reference can be discovered of their having supported other than Asiatic mission centers.

⁴ Huonder, op. cit., 239.
Area of Jesuit Activity in Paraguay

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Northern boundary of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay.

Area of the Thirty Guaraní Reductions about the middle of the eighteenth century.

Hernandez, vol. I
CHAPTER IV

ARRIVAL OF GERMAN JESUITS IN PARAGUAY

AND WHAT THEY FOUND

In 1567, at the earnest request of Philip II, St. Francis Borgia, then the General of the Society of Jesus, sent the first Jesuits to Peru. Father Geronimo Ruiz Portilla, with six companions, arrived at Callao on March 28, 1568. From Peru the sons of St. Ignatius spread north to Quito, and south to Chile, and eventually they crossed the mountains to Santiago and to Asunción. In Paraguay, as elsewhere in Hispanic America, the earliest pioneers of the faith were Franciscans, Dominicans, and Mercedarians. The immense territory was divided into three dioceses with sees at Asunción, Santiago del Estero (later Córdoba), and Buenos Aires. ¹ Tucumán was honored by the presence of St. Francis Solano who had come from Peru to the Paraguayan Chaco (1588–1589). Yet the fires he had enkindled rapidly died out. As Charlevoix remarks, "the miracles and conversions of St. Francis Solano were like fleeting clouds that caused a barren soil to

¹ The first Paraguayan diocese was created under a Bull issued by Paul III on July 1, 1547, eleven years after the foundation of Asunción by Juan de Ayolas, and is therefore the oldest see of the Plata area. The first bishop was Pedro de La Torre, a Franciscan. Cf. Catholic Encyclopedia, "Paraguay," XI, 471.
be refreshed and to bear fruit for a time ... but the precious seed of faith perished for want of permanent care." 2 The new Spanish masters or encomenderos were far more interested in the enslavement of the natives than in their spiritual and economic welfare. Eventually there came to be towns without a single priest. Children grew up in ignorance of the faith, and the few remaining Christians died without the last sacraments.

The urgent need for spiritual assistance induced Don Francisco de Victoria, the Dominican bishop of Tucumán, to apply in 1579 to the Council of Lima, Peru for the Jesuit fathers. 3 The same request was renewed in a letter to Claudius Aquaviva, the Jesuit General, on March 6, 1585. The Society of Jesus was then some forty-five years in existence and in its first ardor. Moreover, the fame of Francis Xavier in eastern India, of Anchieta in Brazil, and others had spread, and it was hoped the Society would prove an aid toward improving the religious conditions in general and toward pacifying and converting the numerous wild tribes. Philip II showed himself favorably disposed toward the project, and the first Jesuits arrived from Peru at Santiago del Estero in 1586. 4

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2 Charlevoix, *op. cit.*, I, 207.
4 They were Fathers Barsena (Barzano) and Angulo and Brother Villegas whose previous labors in Peru had enabled them to acquire a knowledge of the aboriginal languages. Garsch, *op. cit.*, 53.
The bishop next sought missionaries from Brazil since he was at odds with the governor of Peru. The five padres designated for Paraguay came up the river and arrived at Asunción in August, 1587. These fathers, we are told, were received "as angels from Heaven." Wider fields of action were soon to flourish; colleges, seminaries, residences, and houses for spiritual retreats were founded after 1593. But the care of the Indians remained the chief concern of the fathers. Itinerant missionaries went forth to other towns as apostles, making Santiago, and later Tucumán, their headquarters. No lasting results were achieved, however, until their efforts were concentrated on the reductions. All this early activity in Paraguay was directed by the Jesuit province of Peru until 1607 when a new province including Tucumán, Córdoba, Santiago del Estero, and Asunción was founded. The new province grew gradually, so that by 1614 it had 122 members and eighteen houses. In 1623 the province of Paraguay had 196 members, but in the same year, Chile was separated from it and became a vice province of Peru. By 1647 Paraguay

5 Astrain, op. cit., IV, 613.
6 Charlevoix, op. cit., I, 172.
7 The first college was opened at Córdoba in 1599.
8 Astrain, op. cit., IV, 633-634.
9 In this number were included five colleges: Córdoba, Santiago del Estero, Tucumán, Asunción, Santiago (Chile); four residences: Buenos Aires, Santa Fé, Mendoza, Concepción; two grade schools; and a novitiate at Córdoba. Cf. Astrain, IV, 643.
had reached the highest number for any year of the seventeenth century; of its 175 members, about forty-six were employed in the missions.

The Jesuit ministry among the natives was centered toward the northeast in the province of Guayrá where, with the royal authority as a guarantee of protection, the first of their missions was established by Fathers Cataldino and Maceta in 1610. The Guawani flocked to Loreto in such numbers, and listened so gladly and obediently to these the first white men who had ever come to them as friends and helpers, that twelve missions rose in rapid succession, containing in all some 40,000 Indians. But while the Guayrá missions grew and multiplied, the slave raiders were on the watch. As early as 1618, the missions were attacked by the fierce Paulistas, the Brazilian frontiersmen from Sao Paulo, who in their isolated southern province, had never been willing to acknowledge the Spanish king. These well-trained, well-armed, roaming, pillaging Paulistas or Mamelucos became the dread and scourge of this beautiful land. In 1629 the storm broke, and within the space of two years, all but two of the flourishing establishments were destroyed, the houses plundered, the churches pillaged of their rich belongings upon which almost the whole surplus of the mission revenues had been lavished. No less than 30,000 Christian and civilized Indians are said to have been murdered or carried off for sale in the slave markets of Sao Paulo and Rio Janeiro.

10 Astrain, op. cit., 662.
Many appeals were made to Spain and Portugal. Decree after decree was issued by the kings of the two countries, but the governors could not enforce them. 11

The Guayrá missions were seemingly doomed. The few thousand Indians remaining of nearly 100,000 had scattered to the forests. Father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, the superior, determined to abandon the province and to remove the neophytes and the missions to a southern territory out of reach of the slave hunters. Some twelve thousand Indians, men, women, and children were gathered together, rafts and canoes were built, and with infinite labor and danger by land and water, with famine, fever, and death always following in their march, they descended the Parana five hundred miles and re-established Loreto and San Ignacio south of the Iguazu. 12

This territory between the Paraná and the Uruguay is still called Misiones. In it the Jesuits were able to restore all that the Paulistas had destroyed, and under the wise and firm direction of the padres, Paraguay reached its

11 Cretineau-Joly attempts to explain the apathy of those in authority when he says: "Had the victims of these inroads been the slaves of the Spaniards, they would have undertaken their defense. But the Jesuits had made them freedmen, so let them assume the responsibility of their protection." Cretineau-Joly, Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus, Paris, III, 361.

12 Dr. H. von Hering, a Protestant, calls this exodus "one of the greatest achievements of its kind in history." Not Xenophon with his valiant Greeks, but only Moses who led an entire nation out of bondage can be compared to Father Maceta who led the exiles out of Guayra. Cf. "Die Reductionen von Paraguay," Die Katholischen Missionen, 1894, no. 4, 74.
Golden Age in the course of the next one hundred and fifty years.

It is not within the scope of the present paper to review the progress of this century and a half, but rather to concentrate on the achievements of the last decades before the expulsion, when the German Jesuits came into special prominence. Their extraordinary ability and their practical common sense in economic undertakings were invaluable at the time when Spain's industrial activity was declining. Nor was this all. The Germans had gained an enviable reputation as mission workers. Their characteristic influence began to show its effects in Paraguay about 1720, though for more than a century previous to that date, Spanish and Italian Jesuits had labored among the natives along the Parana and the Uruguay. The inception, establishment, and preservation of the reductions is their monument, and theirs alone. It has been observed, however, that down to the close of the seventeenth century, their organization was simple and unpretentious almost to the degree of poverty. The German fathers, upon their arrival, were quick to note the opportunities for improvement, especially along economic and artistic lines. What were the conditions which confronted them?

Every people, regardless of the degree of culture to which it may have attained, is aided or limited in its development by the distinctive features of its geographical position. Paraguay, in the days of the reductions, was no exception. Father Dobrizhoffer credits the missionaries for most of the scientific information concerning the country
when he says: "The eyes and footsteps of the missionaries have supplied practically the only knowledge regarding the external aspect of the country." 13 Those who discovered it were content to see and possess it. 14  

The modern republic of Paraguay does not convey the idea of an extensive territory. But the Paraguay known to Jesuit missionaries included a vast region extending very widely in every direction. Father Dobrizhoffer informs us that from Brazil to the kingdoms of Peru and Chile they reckon seven hundred Spanish leagues; from the mouth of the Plata to the northern region of the Amazon eleven hundred. Some reckon more, some less according as they use German, French or Spanish miles. 15 Geometry, he continues, is there a "rara avis" and were anyone 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 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 to the utmost of their ability, every part of the province, always risking, and often losing their lives. In Peru and Mexico,

13 Dobrizhoffer, op. cit., I, 2.
14 No scientific works according to modern standards were produced before the close of the eighteenth century. Don Felix Azara, the Spanish naturalist, wrote in 1802, Johann Rengger in 1835. A recent work presents a good study of the inter-relation of Paraguayan geography and the country's cultural development by the Jesuits: Dr. Bruno Garsch, Der Einfluss der Jesuiten-Missionen, Breslau, 1934.
there is no corner which the Europeans, attracted by the hope of gold, have not searched into, but we are still unacquainted with the greater part of Paraguay, a region unproductive of gold, and therefore wanting the requisite lure...." 16

The author was impressed, as was every newcomer to Paraguay, by the country's magnificent river system. "It is inconceivable," he says, "with what a mass of water these conjoint streams roll proudly down one mighty channel. If you did not see the banks, you might fancy it a sea." 17 Very significant in a study of the reductions, is the important part played by the rivers when choice was made for the site of a new settlement. Father Baucke who spent nineteen years as a missionary in this same area has several remarkable things to say in reference to the rivers. 18 The western bank of the Paraná, bordering on the Gran Chaco, is low and slimy, with not a pebble either on the surface nor under the soil, whereas the eastern bank exhibits towering bluffs which afford a splendid panorama for miles about. 19

16 Ibid., I, 2.
17 Ibid., I, 11.
18 Baucke, op. cit., 90.
19 Garsch, op. cit., 11-36, gives a survey in scientific terms of the physical features of Paraguay: its soil, watersheds, rainfall, climatic variations, its flora and fauna. He concludes his chapter by stating: "The territory occupied by the Jesuit reductions was in a sense the area of transition between the dense tropical forests of Brazil and the open pampas of the South." , 36.
Politically, Paraguay was under the jurisdiction of the Spanish king in whose authority it was ruled by three governors and as many bishops, the viceroy of Peru presiding over all of these. Asunción, the metropolis of Paraguay proper, was the first center of government founded by the Spaniards, and the regions surrounding that city were for over a century the scenes of Jesuit activity. The city was controlled by Spaniards exclusively who made it a center of commerce. Here Chile traded its wines and fruits, while Peru sent in a steady exchange in silver. A second division, the Plata area, had its seat of government and its bishop's see at Buenos Aires. At the time of Father Dobrizhoffer's arrival in 1748, this city had a population of 40,000. The diocese had been organized in 1620 when the original diocese of Asunción was divided. Father Dobrizhoffer was pleasantly surprised to note the prosperous appearance of Buenos Aires, its monasteries, its well-fortified citadel, and its three hundred brick houses, all of them low, except a few which had two stories. The churches he proclaimed "handsome even to the eyes of a European." Wealth in this section of Paraguay consisted rather in cattle than in money. Several other important cities were likewise included in La Plata: there was Montevideo, founded in 1726 by Governor Zavala of Buenos Aires, and there were the two prosperous cities of Santa Fé and Corrientes. Within the jurisdiction of the governor of Buenos Aires were found also the famous Thirty Guarani Towns, on or near the banks of the Paraná, the Uruguay, and the Paraguay. Regarding these towns Father Dobrizhoffer
says: "By geographers they are called Doctrinas, or the land of the 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 colors which envy and unbridled calumny can suggest."  

Lastly, there is to be mentioned Tucumán, the third and most extensive division of Paraguay, reaching from Buenos Aires to the mountains of Chile and from the pampas northward to the land of the Chibchas. Its capital was Córdoba, its trading center, leading to Peru, was Salta. The oldest city was Santiago del Estero, a former bishop's see. But the town perished because of Spanish slave raids and disease. Another pleasant little town, called like the province, Tucuman, nestled at the feet of the Chilean hills. All of these towns are given passing, and sometimes special mention in the narratives and the correspondence of the missionaries, so an idea of their approximate location would seem necessary for the better understanding of Paraguay's mission history.

It would be a serious mistake to suppose that all the aborigines who came under the guidance of the Jesuits in the huge area of Paraguay were related in language, customs, and general disposition. As a matter of fact, the extreme differences which characterized the natives constituted one of the greatest obstacles to their success. It is known, for instance, that the fathers taught in fourteen different dialects in Paraguay alone. Father Dobrizhoffer devotes two entire chapters of his monumental work

20 Dobrizhoffer, op. cit., I, 13.
to the intricacies of the Abipone speech. Aside from their highly complicated structure, these languages were exceedingly difficult to speak, the sounds resembling sneezing, stuttering, and coughing rather than human speech. Outstanding among the various tribes were the Guarani who came to be incorporated in the famous Thirty Guarani Towns along the river banks. Though subdivided into some forty distinct groups, their language possessed a certain uniformity and was adopted by European settlers, traders, and missionaries in farflung sections of South America for their dealings with the Indians. As might be expected, however, Spanish and Guarani came to be intermingled in such a way that neither language was spoken correctly. Summarizing what various authors have said, the Guarani may be classed as a primitive race. They were short and stocky in appearance; and though they were no longer a nomadic people, and had acquired some knowledge of agriculture, they were lacking in those qualities possessed by the natives of Peru and Mexico which marked them as a people of some culture. They are best known for their connection with the early Jesuit missions of Paraguay, for their heroic resistance in the defense of the Paraguayan State against the combined powers of Brazil, Argentine, and Uruguay. However interesting the variations among these aboriginal tribes may be, comparisons cannot detain us here. For the purpose of future identification, however, reference might be made to some of the more important names.

There were the Guaycurus who lived north of Asunción, and who were
in all things, even in stature, the most pronounced antithesis of the Guarani. Toward the northwest, in the Bolivian hill country, were the war-like and oscillating Chiquitos. Southwest of these, along the upper Bermejo, dwelt the Chiriguanos, a fierce tribe given to cannibalism. Lastly, there were the Mocobios and the Abipones, inhabitants of the Chaco region, as the territory west of the Paraguay river is commonly known. These mounted tribes were especially singled out by the German Jesuits in Paraguay, for which reason more will shortly be said of them. The Abipones were concentrated between the Río Bermejo on the north, the Río Salada on the south, and the Paraná on the east, on the present soil of Argentine Republic.

The extreme differences which marked the physical appearance of the tribes were typical of their dispositions as well. Some were morose, silent and apathetic, while others were lively and cheerful. Attributes more or less common to all were indolence, craftiness, strong inclinations to greed and drunkenness, and a total lack of all sense of responsibility. It was probably in view of these vices that Rengger wrote:

21 Garsch, op. cit., 36-45, has a splendid chapter on this subject, based on numerous reliable authors, both old and new. To mention but several: Montoya, Sepp's Reisbeschreibung, Baucke, Dobrizhoffer, Muratori, and Welt-Bott. Among newer writers may be enumerated: Bürger, Otto, Paraguay, Leipzig, 1927. Fassbinder, M., Der Jesuitenstaat in Paraguay, Halle, 1926. Vogt, Fr., Die Guarani-Tupi Völker, Buenos Aires, 1919.
"These people will never be civilized as a nation." 22 Yet the fathers, patient, wise, and persevering, recognized so latent qualities which they proposed to develop for good. The Guaraní, for instance, paid great respect and obedience to their caciques or tribal leaders. Parents displayed an almost idolatrous love for their children to whom they taught the use of arms and a certain stoicism in bearing physical pain. But no sort of chastisement was ever inflicted upon them. Little is recorded concerning their religious notions. They believed in a supreme being, the creator of men and of all things. His name was Tupá. There were no sacrifices and no priesthood, but there prevailed a strong and often fantastic belief in immortality. Some of the missionaries declared these tribes to be remarkably inclined to religion.

Had the missionaries been the only white men known to the Indians, confidence and friendly relations might have developed under far less trying circumstances. But the Spaniards, following the ruthless methods of Irala, had aroused desperate resistance on the part of the natives. The conquerors presumed the right to control them, since it was the only method by which they could hope to maintain their claim. Accordingly, the system of repartimientos was established, and the helpless natives were reduced to the status of mitayos who were bound to give their labor.

22 Johann Rengger, Reise nach Paraguay (1824-1826), Aarau, 1835, 322.
at certain definite times. Spanish law (1609) had declared the Indians "free as the Spaniards," yet those who resisted were soon reduced to veritable slavery and were known as yanaconas. In time the encomenderos grew more arbitrary. Excessive and cruel punishments, death not excepted, were inflicted, and eventually there developed a system of undisguised traffic in slaves.

Irritated and tormented, the exasperated natives sought means of escape. Tribes who had not yet been subdued fled to the wild regions of the Gran Chaco where they effectively barred the entrance to Peru to all Spaniards, and from where they menaced the surrounding colonies. Those in bondage endeavored by constant bloody revolts to throw off the detested yoke of the Spaniards. 23 The crown was not unaware of these conditions, and colonial legislation was revised at various times to safeguard the liberty of the Indians. The Cédula Real of December 18, 1606, given at Valladolid, commanded the governor, Hernando Arias de Saavedra

"even if he could conquer the Indians on the Parana by force of arms, he must not do so, but must gain them solely through the sermons and instructions of the religious who had been sent for that purpose." 24

The Cédula Real of January 20, 1607 provided that the Indians who were converted and became Christians could not be made serfs, and should be

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23 The extermination of the Indians from this cause amounted to almost a million in the period of 250 years. Pablo Hernandez, S. J., Organización Social de las Doctrinas Guaraníes de la Compañía de Jesús, Barcelona, 1913, II, 127.

24 Catholic Encyclopedia, "Reductions," XII, 689.
exempt from taxation for a period of ten years. These laws brought temporary relief to the natives, but their complete enforcement was impossible for many reasons. The colonial empire was far too extensive for perfect administration; there were the enormous distances between the mother country and the colonies, between the governor's seat and the encomiendas. Then too, greed and bribery among subordinate officials could not be prevented.

Three principal difficulties lay in the way of solving the ever-growing problem, namely: the oppression of the natives by force, the consequent aversion to the religion of the oppressors, and the bad example of the colonists. The watchword was:

"Liberty for the Indians, emancipation from the servitium personale, and the gathering and isolating of the natives won over by the conquista espiritual in separate mission colonies or reductions, managed independently by the missionaries."

Hernando Arias de Saavedra, one of the noblest and most farsighted governors of Paraguay, encouraged the plan of transferring the encomiendas from the control of the conquerors to the exclusive supervision and responsibility of the Jesuits, firmly convinced that their paternal care would provide far more efficiently not only for the spiritual

25 Ibid., 689.
26 Garsch, op. cit., 53.
27 Catholic Encyclopedia, XII, 689.
needs, but also for the material welfare of their charges. Coincident with this proposition there came a new order from Claudius Aquaviva, the General of the Society of Jesus, who was keenly interested in the missions. While fully appreciating the success and the heroic labors of the fathers, he did not consider the methods thus far pursued altogether in harmony with the Order's principles of unified action, nor with its policy of stable foundations. The "wandering missionaries" or "flying missionaries" as they were variously called, were henceforth to concentrate their forces. Father Diego de Torres Bello who had had seven years of experience among the Incas of Peru, became the first provincial of the newly created province of Paraguay, and vigorously assumed the tremendous responsibility. With his coming in 1607, a new era had dawned for Paraguay.

As might be expected, the plan provoked a storm of animosity against the Jesuits among the colonists. Free and independent natives, with equal rights under Spanish law, would not serve their mercenary interests, and so the fathers were no longer welcome. In fact, the new order of things led to repeated expulsions of the members of the Order from their colonies. Even a part of the clergy, looking on the encomienda system as a righteous institution, and who had themselves lived on its fruits, opposed the Jesuits. The Jesuits, however, had a powerful ally in

29 A. N. Schuster, Paraguay, Land, Volk, Geschichte, Wirtschaftsleben, Kolonisation, Stuttgart, 1929, 177.
30 Catholic Encyclopedia, XII, 689.
Philip III of Spain, who very energetically espoused the cause of the oppressed Indians, and who not only sanctioned the plans of the Jesuits, but furthered them effectively by a number of royal decrees and appropriations from the public treasury, and placed them on a firm legal basis.

It is doubtful whether any enterprise in all mission history has called forth so much sincere admiration on one hand, and so much malicious criticism on the other as have the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay. But noble and fair-minded men, however widely divergent their interests and religious views, have extolled them as a glorious contribution to Christian civilization. Buffon, the famous French naturalist, said of them:

"It was the benignity, the genuine, self-sacrificing charity and the virtuous lives of the Jesuit missionaries which impressed the barbarous natives, which overcame their distrust, and calmed their savage natures.... Christianity can claim no greater honor than that of having civilized these tribes, of having laid the foundations of a state with no other weapons than those of personal virtue." 31

Chateaubriand contemplates the happiness enjoyed by the Christian natives and the innocence of their lives, then sadly comments on the devastation of all that was so beautiful, peaceful, and sacred.

"After perusing these accounts, one might wish to cross the seas to find in the huts of these natives a haven of peace and refuge from this land of revolution and unrest; perhaps too, a quiet, shaded resting place under the palms of their

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31 "Die Anfänge der Missionen von Paraguay," Die Katholischen Missionen, XX, 1892, 1, 6.
churchyards. But alas! Even primeval jungles and vast oceans cannot save men from bitter sorrow..." 32

32 Ibid., 6.
Reductions of the Plata Area

A Guarani and Corumá Missions
B Chiquito Missions
C Alipone and Ilocos Missions
CHAPTER V

SPHERES OF GERMAN JESUIT ACTIVITY

(1)

German Jesuits can claim no share in founding the numerous seventeenth century reductions in Paraguay. The few whose names are known, beginning with Father Andreas Agricola (1616) down to the illustrious Father Sepp who arrived in the last decade of the century, labored in the already existing reductions or in the colleges. Much as he valued his Spanish and Italian pioneer workers, Father Torres, the first provincial of Paraguay (1607), had requested the aid of other nationalities as well. He hoped thereby not only to secure additional men for the missions, but also to profit by their wisdom and ingenuity in training the natives. ¹ As has been shown, however, the Spanish crown policy refused to admit non-Spaniards to her colonies; so the arrival of the German fathers was delayed almost a century. When Father Sepp and his companion Father Böhm (1691) proved their worth in so extraordinary a manner, the call for aid from the German province became more urgent. Each succeeding

¹ "Die Reductionen von Paraguay," Die Katholischen Missionen, XXII, 1894, 6, 126.
decade brought an increasing number of these self-sacrificing missionaries to the shores of Paraguay as well as to those of other Spanish possessions. Some of their names have become deservedly famous: those of Kino, Baegert, Glandorff, and Consag of California and Mexico can be matched by Martin Dobrizhoffer, Florian Baucke, Joseph Brigniel, Martin Schmid, Bernhard Nussdorfer, and a host of others in Paraguay.

Viewing the extent of the reductions as a whole at the beginning of the eighteenth century, we find twenty-two Guarani villages on the Parana and Uruguay, numbering in all some 90,000 souls. To the northwest, the Chiquito Missions, founded in 1692, eventually came to embrace eleven reductions, while the connecting link between the two was known as the Tarumá where three reductions were permanently established between 1746 and 1760. Scattered throughout this entire area were German Jesuits. But far greater difficulties than in any other of these missions were encountered among the many-tongued "mounted tribes" of the Gran Chaco. Upon the urgent request of the Spanish authorities, the Jesuits attempted foundations even among these fierce warrior tribes, and fifteen reductions came into existence between 1735 and 1767.

As time went on, the apostolic zeal of the German fathers could no longer be constrained within the limits of existing stations. They longed to save even the most isolated and the most barbarous Indian tribes. The conversion of the Abipones and Mocobios was accomplished largely, and in some instances solely by their labors. A catalog of 1738, reporting on
the status of the reductions along the Paraná and the right bank of the Uruguay, mentions thirty missionaries, thirteen of whom were Germans. Six of these were acting as superiors. In 1748 the entire province of Paraguay (Tucumán and Buenos Aires included) numbered 369 members. Of the forty-three Germans (28 priests and 15 brothers), all but two were at the time working in the reductions. ² The great need for brothers is emphasized in many letters written by the missionaries. They served as architects, carpenters, book-binders, sculptors, sacristans, tailors, apothecaries, watchmakers, and in numerous other capacities. Most of the forty-eight German brothers who served in Paraguay, however, seem to have been retained in the cities and in the colleges, as a study of Father Huonder's catalog indicates. ³ Other significant facts revealed in this official list report two shipwrecks, one occurring in 1716, the other in 1744. Eight German fathers perished on these occasions; and several others died after brief careers of service in the New World.

Apart from these exceptions, we have some remarkable records of endurance. Father Brigniel, after eleven years of ceaseless labor among the Guarani, became rector of the college in Corrientes, only to be returned as superior to the difficult Abipone reductions. His activity in Paraguay covered a period of thirty-nine years. Father Dobrizhoffer's

² Ibid., 126.
³ Huonder, op. cit., Part II, 139-151.
record shows eighteen years in the wild Gran Chaco, and Father Joseph Klein persevered twenty years in the same region. Father Johann Mesner labored thirty-one years among the Chiquitos, and died on the heights of the Andes while being deported to Peru. Others, like Father Strobel (Eztrobel), were constantly on the move from one turbulent station to another for twenty and thirty years. But the crown for length of service seems to belong to Father Martin Schmid who spent forty-one years in the Chiquito Missions. He came to Paraguay in 1728, suffered deportation, and died in 1772 in his native Switzerland. Figures such as these speak volumes when one reads what the missionaries evidently considered matter-of-fact accounts. There was in the best-regulated reduction the daily grind of hard work, and privations were accepted as a matter of course. Added to this were the constant strain of suspense and vigilance in dealing with the fickle nature of the converted Indians and the treachery of unfriendly tribes. Other visitations were the inevitable results of the southern climate, such as insect plagues and frequently recurring epidemics during which the fathers, like good Samaritans, risked their lives. But most trying of all were the awful loneliness which the missionaries frequently endured for months in a distant outpost, and the discouraging necessity of having to begin over and over again. Though these hardships were well known to the fathers in Paraguay, all without exception, longed to serve in the reductions. Father Pfitzer, Father Orosz, and others expressed infinite regrets on being
obliged to teach philosophy and theology at Córdoba while the mission fields lay waiting. Father Orosz who came to Paraguay in 1726 held various positions of honor, such as director of the seminary at Montserrat and master of novices; but he is repeatedly referred to as "teutscher Missionarius," a title which he loved better than any other. 4

Fortunately, there is extant a very considerable amount of literature to acquaint us with the labors and experiences of the German Jesuits in Paraguay. Besides the voluminous correspondence of the missionaries themselves, we have three classic monographs: the Reisbeschreibung of Father Sepp, the detailed account of Father Florian Baucke, and Father Dobrizhoffer's three-volume History of the Abipones. 5 With these authentic records as guides, it will not be difficult to obtain some idea of the period which this paper proposes to discuss. They furnish singularly interesting material and combine to give a very complete picture of eighteenth century life in Paraguay. We hear of the long and tedious voyages of the missionaries, of their impressions of Spanish achievements

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4 Ibid., 147.

5 Few of the letters were known and published until after Father Joseph Stoecklein, a Bavarian Jesuit, collected, translated, and published them in a fairly regular order for the general public. This collection, begun in 1726, is known as Der Neue Welt-Bott. It is a magnificent accomplishment, the German counterpart of our Jesuit Relations and of the French Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. Unsurpassed by any other work of its kind, it is still considered one of the most valuable sources of mission history, especially of its golden age.
Guarani and Carumá Missions

Guarani Towns
1. S. Miguel
2. S. Borja
3. S. Lorenzo
4. S. Juan
5. S. Cisio
6. S. Nicolás
7. S. Angel

Carumá Missions
8. S. Joachim
9. S. Estanislao
10. Belen
in the New World, of the life, language, and customs of countless Indian tribes, of geographical and climatic peculiarities. Above all, we are given a fair, authentic and intelligent estimate of the reductions and of the political wranglings which harassed even the peaceful settlements along the Plata. Last, but not least, we gain, what the writers most probably never intended, an admirable insight into the self-sacrificing lives of these valiant soldiers of Christ.

(2)

Father Anthony Sepp von Reinegg has been called "one of the most eminent and conspicuous figures in the annals of missionary history." His Reisbeschreibung is one of the most charming and enlightening travel reports of the seventeenth century and is well deserving of particular notice. According to the subject matter contained, the English version has been divided into five sections which discuss respectively the voyage—

6 Carl Pflatzweg, Lebensbilder deutscher Jesuiten in auswärtigen Missionen, Paderborn, 1882, 155. Father Sepp was born at Kaltern in the Tyrol in 1655 as the son of a noble family. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1674, and embarked for Paraguay in 1689. He possessed a remarkable talent for organization and was a master in every art and craft. His death occurred in the reduction San José in 1733, and he is said to have been instrumental in effecting several miraculous cures.

7 The original letters are found in Welt-Bott, I, no. 48; and the English translation constitutes Part IV in A Collection of Voyages and Travels ... published by H. C. Awnsham and John Churchill, London, 1704.
to South America and the sufferings which it entailed; the diary from Yapeyu; a voyage of two hundred miles up the Uruguay from Buenos Aires, performed by Father Sepp in May, 1691; the difficulties of the mission dedicated to the Three Wise Men of the East; and lastly there is a description of the "cantons" or reductions, to which is appended an order of the day such as it was observed in the strenuous life of Father Sepp. A few observations, however brief, gleaned from this account indicate by way of comparison how much progress was made by the missionaries who succeeded him and whose writings cover the first thirty or forty years of the eighteenth century.

There were forty-four missionaries who sailed with Father Sepp, all members of the Society of Jesus, but they represented the most varied tongues and climes. Father Sepp enumerates Spaniards, Italians, Netherlanders, Sicilians, Sardinians, Genoese, Romans, Bohemians, Austrians, and himself a Tyrolese with his faithful friend Anthony Böhm (Behme), a Bavarian. A warmer welcome could not have been accorded them than that offered by the Spanish Jesuits and their provincial Father Gregory de Oresco. After a sojourn of one month at Buenos Aires, their work began, the younger men continuing their studies, while the others were sent to reinforce the missionaries on the Parana and the Uruguay. They were escorted up the river by three hundred Christian Indians. It was a delightful trip up the silvery stream, and Father Sepp was filled with admiration on seeing the luxuriant vegetation. With the aid of Father
Böhm, he erected a cross on a small elevation, hoping and praying that there might soon be a church to take its place. One year later, in 1692, Father Böhm led a group of newly converted Indians to the same spot and called the settlement San Joachim.

After a journey of four weeks up the Uruguay, the missionaries reached their destination, a Christian reduction dedicated to the Three Holy Kings at Yapeyu. Their reception might have done honor to a king. A sort of native militia, some one thousand strong, accompanied by the fathers, escorted them to the church while bells were rung and the 116th psalm was sung. On the following day, the feast of Pentecost, Father Sepp offered the Holy Sacrifice for the first time in his new abode, and implored God's blessing upon his labors. Each reduction was cared for by two fathers, assisted sometimes by a lay brother. At Father Sepp's time, there existed twenty-six of these reductions, each of which harbored from three thousand to seven thousand Indians. Like St. Paul, the missionaries were "all to all." They were not only the spiritual fathers of their people, but also the directors of choirs and bands, architects and gardeners, cooks and craftsmen. Father Sepp significantly remarks in one of his letters: "The missionary must serve too as physician and infirmary, but God help him, if he himself falls ill!" 

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8 This important settlement was situated on the west bank of the Uruguay, perhaps some three hundred miles south of Asunción.

9 Welt-Bott, I, 2, no. 48, 54.
missionary was deeply impressed at Yapeyu by the attitude of sick and dying Indians. He seems positively to envy their peaceful frame of mind in the face of death. He calls their meekness, patience, and confidence truly admirable; and he pauses to inform us as to the cause of such composure:

"The father of a family knows that the missionary will provide for the needs of his widow and his children. No recollection of debts can disturb him, for he has no debts.... There are no anxieties concerning a last will and testament, for he has nothing to bequeath. Lastly, there are no animosities, no jealousies because there are no private possessions." 10

We have several references to Father Sepp in the letters of later missionaries, all of which give eloquent testimony to the great veneration and esteem with which he was universally regarded. Father Betschon, another German Jesuit, writes in 1719: 11

"On August 7th Father Anthony Sepp came sailing down the river to visit us, he who is known as the great founder of the missions, a true apostle of Paraguay. He greeted us in German, but in a very uncertain and halting manner, not having spoken his mother tongue for twenty-seven years." 12

From Buenos Aires we have a letter written by Father Karl Rechberg. 13

It bears the date 1725 and contains this reference:

10 Ibid., 54.
11 Father Anton Betschon (Pechon) was one of the most popular missionaries of the two decades between 1717 and 1738. He had been professor of rhetoric in Lucerne; came to Paraguay in 1716, was appointed superior at Yapeyu in 1730, and superior in the Chiquito Mission in 1735. He died in 1738.
12 Walt-Bott, I, 7, no.: 169, 62.
13 Came to Paraguay in 1716; was rector of the college at Tarija and procurator of the missions; died at college of Santa Fe in 1746.
"The venerable old missionary, Father Anthony Sepp, who has for many years been head of the mission of Santa Cruz is still cheerful and comparatively active." 14

Finally, we have Father Francis Magg writing as late as May 3rd 1730 from the reduction of Santa Cruz: 15

"I consider it a special grace to have been assigned to the reduction of Santa Cruz in Paraguay, because here I shall be able to acquire some genuine principles of the apostolic life under the guidance of our zealous, pious, and aged Father Sepp. You would scarcely believe me were I to tell you all that this great man has done for the glory of God and the salvation of the Indians. He has built in this reduction a magnificent church, the beauty of which is equal to any in our province, Munich excepted. In order to prevent the attacks of hostile Indians, he has had the entire settlement surrounded by trenches and a stone wall. Huts of straw have disappeared, and homes of stone have taken their places. He has taught the Indians the blessings of labor, industry, and economy. Moreover, by his own counsel, he has caused agriculture to flourish. Savages have been tamed and converted into exemplary Christians. To follow in the footsteps of this illustrious man, to imitate the splendor of his virtuous life is the ambition and the longing of my life." 16

This was the evaluation of Father Sepp's life and labor as it was viewed by one who was privileged to witness the glorious sunset of his life. Truly, it was a precious seed which had been sown by this pioneer of German Jesuits in Paraguay.

14 Welt-Bott, II, 9, no. 232, 28.

15 Father Magg was the young assistant to Father Sepp at Santa Cruz. He had come to Paraguay in 1729, but his career was limited to eight years of mission life. He died at the early age of forty-one in 1737.

16 Welt-Bott, IV, 29, no. 558, 44.
Fifty-seven years after the arrival of Father Sepp, Paraguay was privileged to welcome another German Jesuit destined to play an exceptional part in the development of the reductions. Father Florian Baucke (Paucke) was the typical German missionary of his time. He was eminently practical, a clever craftsman, and a gifted musician; moreover, he possessed an unusual degree of tact in handling the natives, and a seemingly indestructible sense of humor. Unlike Father Sepp, he was not privileged to close his career in the missions, but died in Bohemia in 1780. The story of his travels and of the missions St. Xavier and St. Peter was compiled after the expulsion, partly from memory, partly from incomplete notes rescued from confiscation. 17

When Father Baucke was escorted to his first mission by a delegation of Christian Indians, St. Xavier, situated some thirty miles northwest of Santa Fe, was five years old. But the settlement, founded by Father Francisco Burges Novarro in 1743, had already experienced all the adversities of the older missions: Indian raids, a destructive fire, and

17 The manuscript, covering over a thousand pages, was presented by the author to Father Placidus Assem, prior of a Cistercian monastery in Zwettl, but no publisher would accept it at the time. Father Johann Frast, O. Cist., succeeded in publishing a revised edition in 1829, and there have followed two later editions by A. Kobler, S. J. and A. Bringmann, S. J. in 1870 and 1908 respectively.
a devastating flood. The new padre came upon the scene when the work of reconstruction was in progress. He was soon to learn why Father Burges had whispered on bidding him welcome: "Father, be brave and be contented!"

Among the outstanding qualities displayed by Father Baucke at St. Xavier and later at St. Peter were his inventive power to overcome economic difficulties and his ability to devise profitable occupations for the natives. If they were disinclined to agricultural pursuits, he found them admirably adapted for some trade. There were forges, tanneries, mills, carpenter shops, and brick yards at St. Xavier. Indolence among the women of the reduction was another perplexing problem. Very tactfully, he induced them to turn to weaving and wool dyeing, the seven hundred sheep being quite sufficient to provide materials for all. Within three months, the missionary had exchanged seventy-three fine blankets for forty-eight hundredweights of tea and fifteen hundredweights of tobacco and sugar. The subsequent distribution of these products among the workers soon induced idlers to join. In time, a factory was built to house the new project of rug and blanket making, and an experienced Indian woman who had learned various arts while a Spanish captive, was engaged to teach the girls. Encouraged by continued success, Father Baucke turned to other undertakings. The organ which he constructed with the aid of his Indians was much admired in Santa Fe and might have sold for eight hundred dollars. Happy and contented Christian communities thus began to flourish where once the Indians had roamed about in aimless
savagery, and the blessings of sanctified labor redounded not only to the welfare of the natives themselves, but to the Spanish colonial system as well. 18

Father Baucke had frequently been encouraged by his provincial to establish other reductions among the Mocobios. But eighteen years elapsed before his own great desire to penetrate more deeply into the Gran Chaco was realized. The Spaniards had long objected to his departure, since St. Xavier served as a bulwark to Santa Fe; then too, the Indians had threatened to secede and follow their leader into the wilderness. Eventually a delegation of pious and trustworthy Indians volunteered to prepare the way, provided their beloved padre remain at St. Xavier, out of danger. Armed with a white banner, bearing on one side the image of the Mother of Sorrows and on the other that of St. Francis Xavier, they set out with gifts to invite the neighboring chiefs to call at the Christian reduction. All but one returned, bringing with them three caciques who

18 The detailed organization of the reductions and the common life under the direction of the missionaries has been well described by numerous authors, and needs no repetition here. Excellent accounts in German are given in Die Katholischen Missionen, "Der wirtschaftliche Betrieb in den Reductionen von Paraguay," (1897), 155-159; 203-207; 261-267. Ibid., "Die Reductionen von Paraguay," (1894), 150-152; 198-203; 254-259; 271-277.

Among the best known accounts in English are Huonder, Anton, S. J., "Reductions," Catholic Encyclopedia, XII, 688-699.

Cunningham Graham, A Vanished Arcadia, London, 1924.
were willing to meet the missionary. Given the choice of joining St. Xavier or of founding their own colony, they chose the latter. After various difficulties with the Spanish authorities, a desirable site was secured and work began. Elebogdin, the converted cacique, was delighted. The new settlement, to be called St. Peter, was located on a wooded elevation which was cleared of four thousand trees. A fresh, well-stocked stream played at its feet, while fertile fields lay on every side. For hundreds of miles beyond there extended vast areas of woodland. Father Baucke thus describes the solemn dedication of the new reduction St. Peter, founded by himself in 1763:

"The mounted Spaniards and Indians assembled on the square to both sides of the church. The commandant stood at the church, I at his right and Elebogdin at his left. Taking the hand of each, he stepped forward and said: 'I, Francisco Antonio de Vera y de Muxica, lawfully delegated by the crown, do surrender to you, Florian Baucke and to Elebogdin here present, in the name of His Majesty, this territory for your own, in the Name of the Most Holy Trinity.' ... We thus owned an area of two miles to the south and four miles to the north; and to the east and west as much as we might need, in such manner that no stranger might settle within these boundaries contrary to our wishes." 19

The new mission prospered immensely. Fields and orchards were cultivated, and fruit trees of every variety were donated by the nurseries of St. Xavier. Already in the first year, twenty-five hundredweights of cotton were produced at St. Peter; and Father Baucke had "begged" seven

The Abipone Reductions

1. S. Xavier
2. S. Pedro
3. Concepción
4. S. Belonmpo
5. S. Carlos and the Rosario
6. S. Fernando

† Bishoprics
hundred head of cattle, fifty-two horses, and more than two hundred sheep from the Spaniards for the new reduction. The founder remained at St. Peter for two years, assisted by Father Antonio de Bustillos, while St. Xavier was cared for by Father Wittermayer until his return. In 1765, Father Baucke was visited by still another cacique who desired a Christian village for his people; but his hopes were never realized. Storm clouds were gathering fast, and the golden age of Paraguay was soon to be but a memory.

(Fig.

Foremost in the ranks of German Jesuits in Paraguay we find Father Martin Dobrizhoffer, justly famous not only for his remarkable History of the Abipones, but also for his outstanding heroism in the Gran Chaco, where he is said to have labored with a faith sufficient to "move the Cordilleras of the Andes." Nothing outside of the author's own account can convey any idea of what the missionaries endured among these

Born in 1718 at Graz, Father Dobrizhoffer came to Paraguay in 1748, was deported in 1767, and spent many years thereafter in Vienna where he stood in high favor with Maria Theresa. His history of the missions was written in Latin and read to the Empress. In the following year, Dr. Kreil of the University of Pesth translated the work into German. But modifications and mistranslations make the German less authoritative than the Latin version. There appears to be no unabridged copy of the German edition in this country, but the Latin and an inferior English edition of 1822 are available at Newberry Library, Chicago. The author died in 1791.
savages for over twenty years. He passes lightly and modestly over his own almost incredible experiences, but stresses the heroism of his associates.

"Above all admiration, and almost beyond belief, are the examples of magnanimity which the men of our Order, employed in training the ferocious natives of Paraguay, have left to posterity." 21

If other writers fail to emphasize the reductions of the Mocobios and Abipones, it is simply because of their having been the last to come into existence (1743-1763), and of their having been still in the stages of early development when the Jesuits were expelled. The missionaries who literally fought their entrance into this dreaded region are doubly worthy of admiration. The inhabitants of the Chaco had ever been the terror of the surrounding country. Not only the citizens of Santa Fe and Corrientes, but also the peaceful Guarani reductions were the objects of their depredation, pillage, and slaughter. Father Burges had blazed a trail in founding St. Xavier; and St. Xavier was likewise the first station of Father Dobrizhoffer. At intervals he labored among the Guarani, but it was among the Abipones, where life called for most sacrifices and privations, where personal dangers were most in evidence that he was happiest. Nor were these sentiments inspired by youthful bravado; they were the result of a strong and lively faith, worthy of a true soldier

of Christ. Thus he writes of one occasion when his mission at the Rosario was attacked by hostile Indians:

"All of the Spaniards being departed with the governor, I was left entirely in the hands of the Abipones and of the hostile savages who infested the neighborhood; yet, depending on the Almighty alone, I never felt myself more secure." 22

The history of the Christian Abipones centers about four reductions: San Geronimo, founded in 1748; Concepción and San Fernando in 1750; and the Rosario, the thorniest of them all, not far from Asunción, in 1753. Like the Guarani, the inhabitants of these reductions were made immediate subjects of the crown. San Geronimo was the scene of Father Dobrizhoffer's activity for two years. He was assistant to Father Brigniel who, after eleven years among the Guarani, guided the fortunes of San Geronimo for twelve years. To quote Father Dobrizhoffer:

"I ever beheld in him the utmost industry and a good nature, united with equal sanctity of life. He seems created purposely to suit the tempers of the Abipones who fly a supercilious person, and are won by easy manners." 23

The author evidently considers it no digression to enlarge upon the accomplishments of his worthy co-laborer. What he reports of this distinguished and lovable man may prove sufficiently interesting to bear repetition here. Besides, it may serve to show how many-sided were the interests of the German Jesuits. One of Father Brigniel's most difficult

22 Ibid., III, 316.
23 Ibid., III, 133.
tasks, though he was an accomplished linguist, was the mastery of the Abipone language: the compilation of a grammar and of a dictionary. The work involved long and patient interrogation of the natives, a procedure which not infrequently led to indescribable confusion and contradiction. We are not surprised to learn that when there was question of horses, weapons, and jaguars, "an Abipone's eloquence resembled an impetuous waterfall, while abstract notions caused him to be silent as an idol." 24

The missionary was obliged to create a new vocabulary of his own in which to express the creed and the prayers of the Church. Another circumstance proved particularly annoying in the matter of compiling a permanent vocabulary. Any word which resembled in sound the name of some person, was immediately discarded upon the death of that individual. Upon old women who prided themselves with magic accomplishments devolved the duty of substituting new words. These terms were unquestioningly accepted even by the most aristocratic Abipone, and spread with remarkable speed to far distant tribes. The situation seemed hopeless to one trying to keep up with a dictionary.

Another problem of great magnitude was attempted by Father Brigniel. He assembled all the tribal chiefs of the Abipones to a council at San Geronimo for the purpose of inducing them to make a general, all-embracing

24 Walter von Hauff, *Auf verlorenem Posten bei den Abiponen*, Leipzig, 1928, 64. This is an abridged edition of the German history.
and permanent peace with the Spaniards. There was much difference of opinion among the caciques, but the treaty was finally agreed upon. Loyal chiefs, such as Yehoalay, religiously adhered to the pact, but incurred as a matter of course the hatred of the other Indian leaders. Tribal warfare was thus added to the already numerous troubles of the reduction, and for twenty years the progress, sometimes the very life of San Geronimo was seriously menaced. Father Dobrizhoffer himself was often in danger because of the personal hostility of his Indians. When he was transferred from one reduction to another, both the old flock and the new laid claim to his exclusive favor, and demanded his co-operation in the punishment of offending neighbors. Concepcion was perhaps the most sorely tried in this respect. The settlement was moved no less than fourteen times until it found a permanent, peaceful existence fifty miles south of Santiago del Estero. What labor and infinite patience were exacted of the fathers by these frequent transfers of cattle, supplies, and equipment can scarcely be fancied. Some quotations of Father Dobrizhoffer in reference to Concepcion speak for themselves. Concerning his arrival he says:

"Father Sanchez came out to greet me, and rushed into my embrace. His figure, apparel, and general appearance inspired me first with terror, then with pity.... The affliction of his soul appeared on his countenance. He said: 'Were I a captive in Algiers amongst the Moors, my life would be more tolerable than amongst these savages by whom you see me surrounded.' "

25 Dobrizhoffer, op. cit., III, 224.
This insidious welcome truly presaged the meager spiritual returns which were to be reaped at Concepcion. One must necessarily agree when the always uncomplaining missionary finally admits:

"We were called miracles of patience and obedience by all 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. We were deserted in a vast wilderness, delivered to savages, exposed to sun, rain, and wind, to serpents, and what was most dangerous, to tigers." 26

Of a very different nature were the problems to be solved in the reduction of St. Ferdinand. This mission had been founded in view of having a colony of Christian Abipones to serve as a defense for Corrientes. Surrounded on all sides by huge palm woods, its pools were devoid of fresh water; and the land swarmed with leeches, crocodiles, and poisonous snakes. The swamp infested neighborhood invited fever and disease. A succession of missionaries faced the task of guiding this colony with their accustomed bravery. But all who came full of health and vigor succumbed one by one, and were soon recalled. At last Father Joseph Klein, a Bohemian, though often ill, proved equal to the burden and sustained it to the end. Though the Spaniards derived so much advantage from the peace and friendship with the Indians, they did little or nothing toward preserving the reductions. The whole burden for support rested on the missionaries. Father Klein, in order to provide for his colony, finally suc-

26 Ibid., III, 272.
ceeded in acquiring subsidies from several Guarani towns, and maintained a lucrative estate across the Paraná. St. Ferdinand also witnessed the labors of Father Dobrizhoffer; and here, for the first time, we detect a note of weariness in the narrative. Even his robust health and buoyant spirits were not immune to the constant strain of life among the savages. Poor food, the maddening annoyance of gnats, sleepless nights, fever and exhaustion exacted their toll. Physically broken, but sad and tearful, he was obliged to leave his beloved Abipones, and only the hope of returning to them when restored to health mitigated his grief of parting from them.

Several years of service in the Guarani towns followed, whereupon the indefatigable missionary was called once more to found the fourth and last reduction for the Abipones at Timbo. The name in Guarani signifies a certain tree, but the settlement was called San Carlos and the Rosario to honor the king and Our Lady. It was inaptly named, however, since it proved the most unsuccessful and the most turbulent colony of all. Life at the Rosario proved almost beyond endurance. Continual revolts, Indian hostility to San Geronimo, epidemics, and treacherous personal assaults on the part of his new flock caused Father Dobrizhoffer to seek advice from the Jesuits at Asuncion. He was urged to abandon the ungrateful village; but he decided not to abide by their counsel, since flight seemed to him a blot on his own reputation as well as upon his
German fatherland. 27 Similar sentiments are once more expressed toward the end of his career at this last station, when all but a few women and children had deserted him for fear of the Tobas. He was at the time alone among hostile savages with no colony of Christians within thirty leagues. He says:

"I was resolved to defend the post with my last drop of blood, for I did not wish the Spaniards to accuse me of cowardice nor to have them find me wanting in the proverbial German courage." 28

When, at long last, substitutes were provided in the person of the veteran Father Brigniel and an assistant, Father Geronimo Rajon, they could not conceive how Father Dobrizhoffer had been able to remain for two years in so perilous a situation. The previously mentioned attack of six hundred savages had indeed come very near proving fatal. When the blood-stained arrow which had shattered his arm was shown at Asuncion, members of the Society believed him dead and proceeded to offer Masses for the repose of his soul. Though death had failed to claim the shepherd, the sheep were soon to be dispersed. It was the beginning of the end for the Christian Abipones.

27 Hauff, *op. cit.*, 119.

This Condominium Real Estate Purchase and Sale Contract ("Contract") is made by and between [Buyer] and [Seller](collectively, "Parties"), with respect to the purchase and sale of the real estate and improvements located at [Address] (the "Property").

The purchase price for the Property is $[Amount] ("Purchase Price").

The Parties acknowledge and agree that [Buyer] shall deposit $[Amount] ("Initial Earnest Money") in the amount of $[Amount], in the form of [method of deposit]. ("Initial Earnest Date"). The Initial Earnest Money shall be returned and this Contract shall be of no force or effect if this Contract is not accepted by Seller on or before the First Commitment Date. The Initial Earnest Money shall be increased to [Amount] ("Final Earnest Money") within [number] business days after the expiration of the Attorney Approval Period (as established in [Paragraph 7 below]) (the Initial and Final Earnest Money are together referred to as the "Earnest Money").

The Parties acknowledge and agree that [Buyer] shall pay for private mortgage insurance as required by the lending institution. If a FHA or VA loan is to be obtained, Rider 8, Rider 9, or the HUD Rider shall be attached to this Contract. (1) If Buyer is unable to obtain the required commitment by the First Commitment Date, Buyer shall notify Seller in writing on or before that date. Thereafter, Seller may, within 30 business days from the First Commitment Date ("Second Commitment Date"), secure the required commitment for Buyer upon the same terms, and may close the sale by 30 business days. The Required Commitment may be given by Seller or a third party. Buyer shall furnish all requested information, sign customary documents relating to the application and securing of the Required Commitment, and pay any application fee as required. Seller should select the Required Commitment as required by Buyer. This Contract shall be null and void as of the First Earnest Date, and the Earnest Money shall be returned to [Buyer].

If Buyer makes any payment in any other manner, the Parties shall execute all necessary documents with respect to the Earnest Money in form and content mutually agreed upon between the Parties and (ii) except as otherwise agreed, Buyer shall pay all expenses with respect to the Earnest Money.

This Contract is contingent upon [Buyer] securing a mortgage at an interest rate not to exceed [rate] per year, amortized over [number] years, payable monthly, loan fee not to exceed [percentage], plus and credit report fee, if any ("Required Commitment")

If the mortgage secured by the Required Commitment has a balloon payment due no sooner than [number] years, Seller shall pay for private mortgage insurance as required by the lending institution. If a FHA or VA loan is to be obtained, Rider 8, Rider 9, or the HUD Rider shall be attached to this Contract.

[Buyer] agrees to surrender possession of the Property on or before the Closing Date (as defined in Paragraph 7 below). If possession is not transferred on or prior to the Closing Date, then, [Buyer] shall pay to [Seller] at Closing $[Amount] per day ("Use/Occupancy Payments") for use and occupancy of the Property for each day after the Closing Date through and including the date Seller plans to deliver possession to [Buyer]. If Seller delivers possession of the Property to [Buyer] prior to the Possession Date, [Buyer] shall refund the portion of any payments which extend beyond the date possession is actually surrendered. Additionally, [Buyer] shall deposit with [Escrowee] a sum of [percentage]% of the Purchase Price ("Escrow Escrow") to guarantee possession on or before the Possession Date, which sum shall be held from the escrow funds at Closing on [Seller]'s form of receipt. If [Buyer] does not surrender the Property to [Seller], [Buyer] shall pay to [Seller], in addition to all Use/Occupancy Payments, the sum of [percentage]% of the original amount of the Possession Escrow per day up to and including the day possession is surrendered to [Buyer] plus any unpaid Use/Occupancy Payments up to and including the date possession is surrendered, these amounts to be obtained, Rider 8, Rider 9, or the HUD Rider shall be attached to this Contract. (1) If Buyer is unable to obtain the required commitment by the First Commitment Date, Buyer shall notify Seller in writing on or before that date. Thereafter, Seller may, within 30 business days from the First Commitment Date ("Second Commitment Date"), secure the required commitment for Buyer upon the same terms, and may close the sale by 30 business days. The Required Commitment may be given by Seller or a third party. Buyer shall furnish all requested information, sign customary documents relating to the application and securing of the Required Commitment, and pay any application fee as required. Seller should select the Required Commitment as required by Buyer. This Contract shall be null and void as of the First Earnest Date, and the Earnest Money shall be returned to [Buyer].

If Buyer makes any payment in any other manner, the Parties shall execute all necessary documents with respect to the Earnest Money in form and content mutually agreed upon between the Parties and (ii) except as otherwise agreed, Buyer shall pay all expenses with respect to the Earnest Money.

If Buyer does not provide any notice to the First Commitment Date, [Buyer] shall be deemed to have waived this contingency and this Contract shall remain in full force and effect.

[Buyer] agrees to surrender possession of the Property on or before the Closing Date (as defined in Paragraph 7 below). If possession is not transferred on or prior to the Closing Date, then, Seller shall pay to [Buyer] at Closing $[Amount] per day ("Use/Occupancy Payments") for use and occupancy of the Property for each day after the Closing Date through and including the date Seller plans to deliver possession to [Buyer]. If Seller delivers possession of the Property to [Buyer] prior to the Possession Date, [Buyer] shall refund the portion of any payments which extend beyond the date possession is actually surrendered. Additionally, Seller shall deposit with [Escrowee] a sum of [percentage]% of the Purchase Price ("Possession Escrow") to guarantee possession on or before the Possession Date, which sum shall be held from the escrow funds at Closing on [Buyer]'s form of receipt. If Seller does not surrender the Property on the Possession Date, Seller shall pay to [Buyer], in addition to all Use/Occupancy Payments, the sum of [percentage]% of the original amount of the Possession Escrow per day up to and including the day possession is surrendered to [Buyer] plus any unpaid Use/Occupancy Payments up to and including the date possession is surrendered, these amounts to be obtained, Rider 8, Rider 9, or the HUD Rider shall be attached to this Contract. (1) If Buyer is unable to obtain the required commitment by the First Commitment Date, Buyer shall notify Seller in writing on or before that date. Thereafter, Seller may, within 30 business days from the First Commitment Date ("Second Commitment Date"), secure the required commitment for Buyer upon the same terms, and may close the sale by 30 business days. The Required Commitment may be given by Seller or a third party. Buyer shall furnish all requested information, sign customary documents relating to the application and securing of the Required Commitment, and pay any application fee as required. Seller should select the Required Commitment as required by Buyer. This Contract shall be null and void as of the First Earnest Date, and the Earnest Money shall be returned to [Buyer].

If Buyer makes any payment in any other manner, the Parties shall execute all necessary documents with respect to the Earnest Money in form and content mutually agreed upon between the Parties and (ii) except as otherwise agreed, Buyer shall pay all expenses with respect to the Earnest Money.
Only a few of his many accomplishments can here be enumerated. Through him the Chiquitos learned the arts of weaving, painting, and carving. He built their first organs and cast their first bells, and he was their official clockmaker. The missionaries generally carried no watches, but Father Schmid designed clocks to strike simultaneously in all the missions; accuracy was assured by means of sun dials. Surpassing all this, however, was his work as an architect. His initiative and genius caused the first imposing churches to be substituted for crude, temporary places of worship. A letter to his brother, a Capuchin, written in 1744, gives a detailed description of the new churches and the gilded altars at St. Raphael, St. Xavier, Immaculate Conception, and San Juan, and discusses further plans for St. Michael and St. Ignatius.

The Chiquito Missions were connected by a system of roads, and many of the towns were exceedingly prosperous. St. Ignatius was the largest and possessed one of the most stately churches. In its vicinity the Jesuits had built three artificial lakes. One of the most beautifully located of the reductions was St. Raphael, and its industrial life ranked high. Even in the days following the expulsion of the padres, this town continued to be a thriving center in consequence of their initiative and forethought. D'Orbigny says: "I was particularly impressed at St. Raphael on seeing the splendid workshops and the products which they showed, such as furniture, metal work, and woven materials. I have seen nothing to surpass them, even in the civilized cities of Bolivia." 31

31 Cf. Garsch, op. cit., 80.
Each of the towns, in fact, had its own peculiar boast. San José, destined one day to be the capital of the entire mission province, had a majestic church, a college, and other buildings of stone patterned on Moorish designs. San Juan owed its wealth to the cattle industry. As Bach reports, forty thousand head of cattle were sold to the Portuguese towns from the estancias after the expulsion of the Jesuits. 32

Thus we may see how profoundly interested writers have been in the land of the Chiquitos. The many-sided activities of these reductions may explain to some extent why Father Schmid's first personal letters were written only fourteen years after his arrival in the New World. His dynamic energy continued until the last. But more admirable still than his lifelong devotion to the Indians is the magnificent spirit of faith revealed in his last letters. God seemed to have given so much only that the surrender might be more perfect and more complete; and the aged missionary was not found wanting in generosity. With heroic resignation he sacrificed the work and the success of a lifetime, receiving in return the precious consolation expressed in a letter to his brother: "At last we are true companions (socii) of Jesus!" 33

32 Ibid., 81.
33 Father Martin Schmid to his brother Francis Schmid, O. Cap., October 5, 1767, Die Katholischen Missionen, 1876, 140.
CHAPTER VI

MATERIAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONTRIBUTIONS

OF GERMAN JESUITS

Books can be written on the Jesuits as explorers, geographers, cartographers, ethnologists, botanists, astronomers, linguists, Americanistes, historians, agriculturalists, importers of European crops and domestic animals, founders of schools, colleges and universities, as architects, as musicians, as medical men, or as business managers. 1 To review but one single sphere of their activity in Hispanic America in all its splendid details would require the efforts of a generation of scholars. In Paraguay as in California, moreover, their accomplishments reveal traits peculiar to individual groups of missionaries. Though Spaniards and Germans, for instance, worked side by side in perfect harmony, it is nevertheless possible to distinguish many typically German features of organization in those reductions where missionaries from northern Europe predominated.

In the transplantation of Christian culture to Western America these North Europeans played a distinctive part. Zealous missionaries, they were especially conspicuous as teachers of material thrift and a well-ordered life. 2

A wise and practical appreciation of social and economic improvement has always been a necessary complement to successful missionary zeal, particularly in the case of converting barbarous tribes. The Indian missionary had to provide for material needs which the natives could no longer procure apart from their wild, roving lives. More than that, it was a question of proving his ability to substitute something better than the things which the Indian had sacrificed. The wild folk, though fascinated, long remained shy and suspicious. When the whim took them, they would fling off the new and still doubtful garment of civilization and would take themselves back to the depths of their forests. These relapses had to be prevented at all costs, and thus the fathers made themselves common laborers, clearing forests, draining swamps, and building roads that they might win the good will and the souls of the natives. 3 Men of culture and refinement, scions of noble families, forgot their former stations and their professorships to study the soil and what each region might yield most profitably. Father Francis Serdahely is famous for having introduced the culture of cotton, tobacco, and yerba in Yapeyu, whereas it had been generally held that cattle raising was the only industry adapted to that southern climate. 4 Experiments were made in raising flax, hemp,

3 See Garsch, op. cit., 105-129 for an excellent description of the self-sacrificing methods employed by the padres.

4 Francis Serdahely (Szerdaheljic), a Hungarian from the Austrian province, came to Paraguay in 1734 and labored in Yapeyu.
and rice. Indigenous plants and medicinal herbs were carefully studied and improved. Father Baucke tells, for instance, of the mandubi, the seeds of which produced a fine oil, or when roasted served as a substitute for coffee. "One's taste must be delicate indeed not to be deceived by it." 5 Wheat was raised nowhere in Paraguay, except in the reductions. According to Father Dobrizhoffer, many native Spaniards had never tasted wheat bread. The soil was not particularly adapted to its cultivation, and the Spaniards lacked patience to plant and prepare it.

The accounts of Fathers Sepp and Baucke are filled with interesting details in reference to gardening and fruit culture. Father Sepp made it a habit to carry seeds and slips with him on his travels to the various missions. Frequently too, they were deposited by the missionaries along the way. Thus Father Baucke relates:

"Often upon returning to these places, I found things blooming and thriving.... This will explain how on the islands of the Paraná or on the banks of smaller rivers near Córdoba, one might find peach trees, whereas not another tree of its kind could be found all the way from Buenos Aires to Córdoba." 6

Every college as well as every reduction possessed its own garden, "the only luxury of the padres." These gardens served as experiment stations. It was the missionaries who introduced the semi-tropical fruits of southern Europe into the reductions. Remnants of neglected orange groves in

5 Baucke, op. cit., ed. Kobler, 177.
6 Ibid., 207.
the heart of Paraguayan jungles still bear witness to the sites where once the reductions flourished. To the missionary indeed is due a large share of the credit not only for the direction but also for the improvement of Hispanic American agriculture during the long colonial period.

(2)

Another important sphere of activity apparently neglected in the colonies of the Spaniards and Portuguese was the science and practice of medicine. Here too, the German missionaries and their brothers assistant proved exceptionally valuable. We have a long list of names representing German pharmacists: five in Chile, seven in Paraguay, others in Peru and Mexico, not to mention an even greater number in the missions of Asia. At first, these new "medicine men" were regarded with some suspicion, but prejudice was soon overcome when the remarkable effects of their treatment were observed. Brother Heinrich Peschke who served as apothecary and infirmarian in Córdoba for twenty-two years has left an interesting letter telling us of his experiences. The Indians and common Spaniards seem to have cared little for medical advice, preferring to use their own tried remedies; but his services were much in demand in the college. Many of the herbs of Paraguay possessed extraordinary healing powers, though some of them had to be sought sixty miles distant.

During the devastating plague of 1700, this brother accompanied the

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7 Welt-Bott, III, 506, 99.
fathers on their long and tedious journeys. Praiseworthy mention is made of other German missionaries in their capacity as medical men.

Brother Joseph Klausner writes:

"Last year (1718) the plague took a terrible toll for three hundred miles about.... The victims in this city (Córdoba) would have been far more numerous but for the medical aid of our German fathers...." 8

Father Magg refers to another epidemic which occurred at a later date:

"Father Sigismund Aperger, whose name is famous in these parts, has won renown and esteem because of his skill in the art of healing. A Spanish father was heard to say: 'Were it not for this German, half of our province of Paraguay would have perished.... None have died in our colleges, except those who failed to trust him....' This healer of bodies is no less a healer of souls." 9

The pharmacies erected in Chile by Brother Joseph Zeittler were in fact the only ones which existed in that country; and the brothers were retained in Chile four years after the expulsion of the other Jesuits "in order that the capital might not be robbed of so necessary an institution." 10

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8 Ibid., 168, 60
9 Ibid., IV, 29, no. 558, 45.
10 Huonder, op. cit., 272.
From the very first, one thing was clear to the missionaries. The senses of the poor natives had to be impressed before their souls stood any chance of being reached. Therefore, the churches once built, the first aim of the Jesuits was to inspire the converts with a profound respect for the sacred buildings and all that pertained to them. The altars were magnificently furnished, and the walls embellished with elaborate paintings and carvings. The feasts of the Church were celebrated with much ostentation and pageantry, all of which never failed to attract the neophytes. Music had been introduced into the reductions as early as 1623 by Father Johann Vaes, S. J. from Tournay. Early records call him "a new Orpheus who won the hearts of the savages by his sweet strains." But little more is heard of this art until the arrival of the German Jesuits, many of whom possessed an outstanding talent for music. We learn from a letter of Father Strobel, dated June 15, 1729:

"The Paraguayans owe their success in this (music) and in other accomplishments not to the Spaniards nor to the Indians, but to the Germans ... in particular to R. P. Antonio Sepp from the Upper German province. He introduced the first harps, trumpets, trombones, cornets, clarinets, and organs, and has thereby merited undying praise."


12 Welt-Bott, III, no. 510, 130.
Father Sepp who had enjoyed a careful training in Augsburg by the episcopal choir master was quick to note the musical inclination of the natives, and wisely utilized these natural gifts to win their souls for greater things. Father Brigniel and Father Baucke continued the musical training of the Guarani. The latter succeeded in organizing a twenty piece orchestra which contributed in an admirable manner to the celebration of the feast of St. Ignatius at Santa Fe, and was later invited to perform at the capital in Buenos Aires. Father Martin Schmid had been appointed to the Chiquito Missions primarily because of his musical ability. He organized the first boys' choir and later sent these boys as teachers to other reductions. As Father Peramas informs us, even the Spanish padres from Upper Peru sent their Indians to be trained by him. 13

Music and dancing were the means by which the missionaries sought to divert the vivacious Indian nature into more noble, religious channels. Indian boys performed at processions and on festive occasions, while their elders stood in admiration. Father Joseph Cardiel, S. J., the "head dancing master of the reductions", is said to have taught them seventy different steps and dance figures, but the most perfect religious decorum was always maintained. Costumes and stage scenery were carefully

13 Die Katholischen Missionen, 1876, 114-117, reproduces a letter from Father Schmid to Father Joseph Schumacher in Lucerne in which he tells at great length of his work in training the Indian boys in instrumental music and sacred dancing according to Spanish custom.
preserved in the house of the missionary. A favorite theme was the dramatic representation of the conflict between the good and the bad angels. The pantomime was enacted with rhythmic movements accompanied by music, trumpets, and songs. Again, the subject might be the fight between the Saracens and the Christians. Eventually, even the medieval miracle plays were attempted. One of the most elaborate demonstrations of the earlier period was the first centenary celebration of the Society of Jesus in 1640. The processions of the passion and at Eastertide were eloquent demonstrations of simple faith, the memory of which lived on fifty years after the close of the golden age.

(4)

The literary treasures bequeathed to us by the missionaries have unfortunately been too long disregarded or undervalued. They are not restricted, as was commonly held, to information of a religious nature. Neither are they dull chronicles, for the missionaries never lost sight of their opportunity to enrich the savants of their time with valuable knowledge of every kind. The religious houses of Europe were veritable clearing houses for information on the latest discoveries in astronomy, geography, ethnology, and the natural sciences. During the century and

14 See the delightful descriptions of these centenary pageants held at Concepción and Itapura by Anton Huonder, S. J., "Zur Geschichte des Missionstheaters," Die Katholischen Missionen, XLIV, 1915-1916, 130.
a half during which German Jesuits came to Paraguay, they contributed a very considerable amount of literature to this priceless heritage, mostly in the form of letters which are still extant, due to the zeal and foresight of Father Joseph Stoecklein, S. J.

Though Father Stoecklein was not himself a missionary in the literal sense of the term, he is deserving of more than ordinary praise for his devotion to the cause of missionary endeavor. Since thousands of letters passed through his hands, few men possessed a wider knowledge of every mission field in the world. His work on the Welt-Bott began when, as a convalescent, he began to read the Lettres édifiantes et curieuses of the French Jesuits as a form of relaxation. His interest in the missions aroused to greater intensity, ceased only at his death. His primary object in translating the Lettres édifiantes was to make the French letters accessible to German readers; but immediately, German Jesuits sent him Latin letters for translation and publication. From these he selected the best and most interesting, re-arranging, re-editing, and writing prefaces and explanations. Father Retz, the Provincial of Bohemia and later General of the Society of Jesus, ordered all letters from the missions to be forwarded to the editor of the Welt-Bott. Then

too, Father Stoecklein was himself in communication with many of the missionaries and encouraged them to persevere in their correspondence. An item of particular interest in connection with the present discussion is the great number of letters actually written by German missionaries. Out of 523 contained in the first four volumes, 232, or nearly half were originally penned in their language, exclusive of the author's own chapters. Upon the death of Father Stoecklein, which occurred in 1733, the Welt-Bott passed into the hands of various editors who generally pursued his methods; and the material increased because missionaries became steadily more numerous. The dissolution of the Society of Jesus was, of course, the deathblow to the Welt-Bott. 16

Aside from the frequently quoted Fathers Sepp, Baucke, and Dobrizhoffer, the German Jesuits in Paraguay contributed less copiously to scientific literature than did German missionaries sent to Asia. The reason for this fact needs little explanation. A display of science and learning was the magic key which admitted Oriental missionaries to the cultured courts of eastern monarchs, whereas erudition would have been utterly fruitless as a means of approach to untutored savages. Besides, 16

16 In 1873, just one hundred years after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, Die Katholischen Missionen appeared, edited by Jesuits of the German province. Though the scope of the new publication is broader and necessarily changed to suit modern times, it aims to continue the ideals of its venerable predecessor. Unfortunately, it has now been forced to discontinue publication.
the earlier missionaries found little time for the exercise of scholarly pursuits, owing to the stress of pioneer labors; but a gradual change may be noted in the last decade of their activity in Paraguay. The single example of Father Brigniel, the "grand old man of the missions," may serve to add proof to Father Campbell's contention against a ridiculous charge: "It has been said that the Jesuits had a way of keeping their brilliant members before the public eye while sending their inferior men to the missions to be eaten by the savages." 17 Unfortunately, we have no personal letters to portray the personality of this illustrious veteran, but we are not ignorant of his broad and versatile mind. He is described as a highly gifted musician, a thorough mathematician, and a master of the German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Guarani languages. All these brilliant talents were wisely utilized, not only in his position as rector of the college in Corrientes, but also in the missions; and one wonders how he found time to compile a dictionary of the Abipone language, a grammar, a catechism, and a book of sermons in that language.

The German Jesuit historians of Paraguay are represented by Fathers Thaddeus Henis and Bernhard Nussdorfer. The former accompanied Father Baucke to Paraguay in 1748 and was the author of a History of the War of the Seven Reductions, that great conflict which occurred in 1754. The work was written in Latin, and was not published until 1846. Father

Nussdorfer was one of the most conspicuous of all the German Jesuits in Paraguay. He evidently deemed it necessary to conceal his identity when he wrote under the pseudonym of Juan del Campo y Cambroneras. One of his relaciones is a review of the damages inflicted upon the Guarani reductions by the Portuguese and their allies. Another monograph reports on the dissensions which broke out in the seven doctrinas along the Uruguay and the Paraná after the unfortunate boundary treaty between Spain and Portugal. Most important of all, however, is his apologetic treatise in defense of the Jesuit missions in reply to a vicious libel on the part of the Portuguese who attacked the "Jesuit Republic of Paraguay." Referring once more to Fathers Sepp, Baucke, and Dobrizhoffer, one might classify them as geographers, cartographers, ethnologists, and historians alike. Their scientific findings have been judged exceedingly accurate, comprehensive, and well presented. They prove above all, that the intellectual powers of the missionaries were not stunted by years of contact with ignorant savages. Father Dobrizhoffer's History of the Abipones, an Equestrian People of Paraguay, is without doubt the most

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18 There is some difference of opinion regarding the date of his coming to Paraguay. Huonder gives 1717, Sommervogel 1730. He labored in the reductions of St. Nicolás and St. Aloysius; acted as superior of Santa Cruz, was rector of the college in Santa Fe, was twice superior of the Paraná missions, and finally provincial of Paraguay from 1743-1747.

valuable of the three works here discussed. The three volumes fill over
1400 pages and cover every phase of interest in Paraguay. It would be
difficult to find another book containing so complete and so lively an
account of the South American tribes. The first volume, presenting a
history and description of Paraguay, is a veritable textbook of zoology
and botany. Volume two discusses the Abipones themselves, and has been
honored as an authority on ethnography and the Chaco languages, while volume three acquaints us with the personal experiences of the au-
 thor and the vicissitudes and successes of the Abipone missions. Some
reliable and detailed statistics add greatly to the historical value of
the account. The German narrative is probably the most accurate reflection of the author's personality. Since the translation appeared in the
same year as the Latin original, it would seem likely for the translator
to have enjoyed the personal acquaintance of Father Dobrizhoffer himself.
A delightful sense of humor and a constant optimism break through, even in the darkest, most discouraging situations. Readers unfamiliar with south-German Gemütlichkeit and its quaint expressions will hardly appre-
ciate the full charm and simplicity of the author's narrative.

20 Father Dobrizhoffer was one of the numerous missionaries who contrib-
uted information to the first meteorological society, the "Palatina," founded by Father Johann Hemmer in 1780. Its scope was not restrict-
ed to the study of meteors, for it accepted papers on ethnology,
linguistics, etc. Cf. Campbell, op. cit., 840.
In the transition of European civilization to the American continent, the mission has unquestionably been the greatest educational and civilizing agency. If the influence of the missionary has not been relatively so permanent in the United States, it has been strikingly so in the countries of Hispanic America.

The educational means of this transit of civilization was religious instruction, industrial training, at least rudimentary teaching in the arts and sciences, and the whole organization of community life as educational influence.

Judged in the light of this statement, every Jesuit missionary remained an educator, whether he occupied a chair of philosophy, or whether he served the material needs of a poor, ignorant Abipone. By way of concluding this very cursory survey of German Jesuit contributions to the golden age of Paraguay, however, the names of some prominent leaders in the seminaries and colleges should not be overlooked. Some have already been alluded to in connection with their services in the reductions, but Fathers Orosz, Pfitzer, and Plantisch were exclusively engaged in the higher education of young Spaniards and in the Jesuit seminaries and novitiates.

Various letters written by these fathers give eloquent testimony of the mutual love and esteem which existed between the students.

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22 Ladislaus Orosz came to Paraguay in 1727, taught philosophy and theology at Córdoba; planned a mission in Patagonia; served as assistant provincial for four years, as rector of the college in Córdoba, and as
and their professors. Honorable positions, however, and highly intellectual pursuits were evidently not in keeping with their personal desires, as we gather from a letter of Father Orosz, dated November 17, 1730:

"As for myself, I am here at the principal college of Córdoba in Tucumán, where, I must admit to my disgrace, I am condemned to teach philosophy (no doubt a visitation of God to atone for my sins.) Was it necessary for me who desired to obtain the martyr's crown, to preach the gospel to the heathen, and to follow in the footsteps of the apostles, to expose myself thus to a thousand dangers of the sea, only that I might proclaim Aristotle rather than Christ? I presume Your Reverence will laugh; but I can only weep.... Alas! how I am humiliated to bear the glorious title of missionary, whereas I am in no sense an apostle but only a philosopher." 23

The contributions of German Jesuits to the golden age of Paraguay might be indefinitely enlarged upon, but what has been indicated may suffice to show the very significant part which they played in the development of this, one of the most important mission fields of Hispanic America.

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22 master of novices for nine years. He was deported in 1767, and died in 1773, several days after the suppression of the Society of Jesus. He is the author of seven letters.

Kaspar Pflitzer (Bficer, Phycer, Fitcer) was born in Swabia and came to Paraguay while still a novice; he became rector of the seminary in Montserrat and was likewise deported in 1767.

Nicholas Plantisch came to Paraguay in 1750, was professor of philosophy and theology at Córdoba, though he always longed for the missions. He was deported in 1767 and died in 1777.

23 Welt-Bott, no. 511, 132.
CHAPTER VII

CALUMNY, EXPULSION AND EXILE

(1)

On December 28, 1743 Philip V issued his famous Cédula Grande. It was the fruit of a "very minute and serious investigation" designed to silence once and for all times the charges which had long been leveled against the Jesuits in Paraguay. ¹ A special commissioner was chosen to interview each respective mission superior; two ministers were to communicate with the procurator general to regulate the royal tribute; the bishop of Buenos Aires was delegated to investigate the general conduct of affairs in the reductions at the time of his visitation; and all documents of the past century pertaining to the reductions were carefully reviewed and analyzed. After eight years of labor, the cédula outlined and confirmed the entire system of the Jesuits in twelve points. No changes whatsoever were recommended. As a tribute of thanks, a copy of the cédula was sent by the king to Father Retz, the General of the Society of Jesus, and two documents of special recognition were received by the Provincial of Paraguay. The first of these stated:

¹ For a full discussion of La Cédula Grande de 1743 see Chapter XIV, Hernandez, op. cit., I, 445.
"I am most desirous of expressing to you my gratitude for the zeal wherewith you are keeping these Indians not only in godliness and submission to my royal authority, but also in material comfort and orderly civil society. The calumnies which have been spread abroad and brought to my attention under cover of zeal, but in reality with the greatest malice, have now been eradicated." 2

Though nothing was materially altered in this approved constitution, the charges against the Jesuits continued more violently than ever. Only a few years after the publication of the Cédula Grande, the reductions received a blow far heavier and more damaging than any which had preceded it.

(2)

There existed between Spain and Portugal a serious dispute of long standing which the two countries hoped to adjust by the boundary treaty (Tratado de Límites) of 1750. 3 By the terms of the Tratado, Spain was henceforth to control the opulent colony of San Sacramento in exchange for the seven prosperous reductions on the east bank of the Uruguay. 4 Some thirty thousand Guarani were ordered to vacate the new "Portuguese" territory and to occupy the west bank of the Uruguay. The transaction

2 Ibid., I, 496.
3 See a detailed account of the treaty in Chapter XV, Astrain, op. cit., VII, 536-689.
4 San Sacramento was a Portuguese colony opposite Buenos Aires. It was the hotbed of Spanish smugglers who used this port to evade the long and costly land route to Portobelo, the only one permitted to Spanish traders in consequence of a monopoly granted to Sevilla in 1503 and transferred to Cádiz in 1717.
was most unfair to Spain, and King Ferdinand had no conception of its disastrous economic consequences. The seven reductions owned the best yerba forests and the most extensive estancias apart from those of Yapeyu.

But the project was maneuvered by the Spanish queen Dona Barbara de Braganza who was more loyal to her native Portugal than to Spain. Aiding her were Keene, the English ambassador to Lisbon who sought a trade advantage by the alliance with Portugal, and Pombal, the wily Portuguese minister. Both Keene and Pombal were actuated by personal motives as well; both were freemasons, and longed to strike a blow at their arch enemies: the Jesuits. Viceroy, the royal Audiencia of Charcas, governors and bishops sent unanimous protests of the most emphatic nature to the Spanish cabinet; and the Jesuits earnestly pleaded for at least a three-year reprieve in which the transfer of the reductions might be effected. It was all to no avail. The treaty was concluded. Ignatius Visconti, the General of the Society of Jesus, issued a strict command to the members of the Order to yield to the inevitable and to persuade the exiled Indians to do likewise.

"No more cruel situation of moral anguish has ever been created for a body of good men than that in which the Paraguay missionaries found themselves — especially when the written word of the envoy of their religious superior in Europe urged them into what seemed co-operation with cruelty, injustice, and folly." 5

Even Southey calls this expatriation of the Indians "one of the most tyrannical commands ever issued in the recklessness of unfeeling power." 6

The aged Father Nussdorfer, superior of the missions, went on the mournful errand of explaining the situation to the Indians and of soliciting, if possible, their consent to the royal scheme. He found the prevailing sentiment one of bewilderment and slowness of comprehension. The Indians simply refused to believe that such injustice had been enjoined upon them by the Catholic King. "Indignation," said Father Dobrizhoffer, "was the predominating sentiment among them." In time, all the savage instincts of the Indians awoke, and self-preservation goaded them into armed resistance. For the first time, they forgot their reverence for the fathers; for the first time they refused obedience to their commands. Some of the missionaries left the reductions, hoping their devoted charges would follow them, but they were captured and threatened with death should they attempt flight again. Father Cardiel, superior of San Nicolás says: "We suffered much in consequence of their resistance." 7 Why this reversal of feeling toward their beloved padres? The gradual estrangement from the fathers must be ascribed to vile insinuations and malicious lies on the part of some Spaniards of a "low order." According to their statements, the royal order was the result of Jesuit machinations.

7 Fassbinder, op. cit., 139.
The Jesuits were themselves said to have sold the thirty-two Guarani towns to Portugal out of thirst for gold. Possessed with this abominable suspicion, the natives grew steadily more deaf to the kindly admonitions of their greatest benefactors. The War of the Seven Reductions was the result.  

(3)  

During the year 1754, the Indians harassed the enemy by skirmishes and won many victories. They would ultimately have triumphed had they had a leader, but lacking unity and leadership, they were defeated in February, 1756. Those who did not submit fled into the forests, where some of them continued their guerilla warfare. Others emigrated and found refuge in the reductions beyond the Parana. By 1762, when Charles III annulled the unfortunate treaty, acknowledging thereby the mistake which had been made, we find some three thousand families back in their old homes, endeavoring to restore the prosperity and the quiet happiness of the ruined reductions.

This War of the Seven Reductions was made to serve as one of the principal points of accusation advanced by the enemies of the Jesuits when the suppression was in the plotting. Just what part was played by them, and to what extent they were said to have incited the Indians to

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8 These reductions were S. Angel, S. Nicolas, S. Luis, S. Lorenzo, S. Miguel, S. Juan, and S. Borja.
armed rebellion was long a matter of controversy. Unfortunately, the attitude of Father Luis Altamirano who arrived in Paraguay as the representative of both the general and the king, greatly complicated matters for the members of his Order. He came with hazy and biased opinions regarding the Paraguayan crisis, and treated as rebels his own brethren who advised him to proceed with caution and moderation. A flood of defamatory pamphlets, falsified documents, and ridiculous fables were poured out by an unscrupulous press controlled by Pombal, and broadcast in every language and country of Europe. Most damaging of all was the famous Relação abbreviada, published anonymously in 1757. It accused the fathers of "violating every law, both natural and positive, divine and human, ecclesiastical and civil."  

"Under the pious cloak of spreading the gospel they founded a sovereign state in Paraguay. Contrary to the rule of their Order, they possessed independent parishes; they refused obedience to their bishops; they held the Indians in the most abject slavery ever known to man; from their commercial transactions they derived fabulous wealth."  

9 "A Brief Account of the Republic which the Jesuits have established in the Spanish and Portuguese dominions in the New World, and of the War which they have carried on against the armies of the two Crowns; all extracted from the Register of the Commissaries and Plenipotentiaries, and from other documents." Pombal actually spent 70,000 crowns to print and spread the work of which he himself was generally credited with being the author. Of. Campbell, op. cit., 454.  
10 Fassbinder, op. cit., 140.  
11 Ibid., 140.
A long chain of "evidence" was finally completed, with the result that on January 29, 1767 a proposal was laid before his majesty to expel the Society of Jesus from Spain and her dominions.

They had been as a body irreproachable for two hundred years, and reflected more glory, and won more territory for Spain than had ever been gained by its armies. They were men of holy lives, often of great distinction in every branch of learning; some of them belonged to the noblest families of the realm; and yet they were all to be thrown out in the world at a moment's notice, though not a judge on the bench, not a priest or a bishop, not even the Pope had been appraised of the cause of it....

The complete expulsion was to take place with summary finality on a single day, April 2, 1767. A statement would be issued throughout Europe by which the world would be informed:

"... first, that for the necessary preservation of peace, and for other equally just and necessary reasons, the Jesuits are expelled from the king's dominions, and all their goods confiscated; secondly, that the motive will forever remain buried in the royal heart; thirdly, that all other religious congregations in Spain are most estimable and are not to be molested...." 13

Clement XIII was overwhelmed with grief when he read the king's decree and wrote him at great length:

12 Campbell, op. cit., 513.
The Society of Jesus was suppressed in Portugal in 1759; in France in 1763, in Spain in 1767; and finally by the Pope in 1773.

13 Ibid., 513-514.
"Of all the blows I have received during the nine unhappy years of my pontificate the worst is that of which your majesty informs me in your last letter, telling me of your resolution to expel from your dominions the religious of the Society of Jesus. So you too, do this, my son, ... The very religious, the very pious King of Spain, Charles III, is going to give the support of his arm, that powerful arm which God has given him to increase his own honor and that of God and the Church, to destroy to its very foundation, an order so useful and so dear to the Church, an order which owes its origin and its splendor to those saintly heroes whom God has deigned to choose in the Spanish nation to extend His greater glory throughout the world. It is you who are going to deprive your kingdom and your people of all the help and all the spiritual blessings which the religious of that society have heaped on it by their preaching, their missions, their catechisms, the administration of the sacraments, the education of youth in letters and piety, the worship of God, and the honor of the Church...."

How Charles could resist this appeal, which is among the most admirable and eloquent state papers ever given to the world, is incomprehensible. Banished from his thoughts, he would banish the Jesuits also from the dominions of Spain. He would follow Portugal and consign them to ships and send them off, without consulting the pleasure of the Pontiff-prince of Rome.

It did not matter to him what benefactors these Jesuit Fathers and the Jesuit Fathers that had gone before them for many generations, had been to his kingdom, far more than all his other subjects. What if for two hundred years and more they had led his people along the ways of justice and truth? What if they had enriched the minds of his young people and their fathers before them with the best in education, making them the beneficiaries of

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Ibid., 515-516.
their unselfish labor and indefatigable study? Even in material things — to say nothing of the thousands of halls of learning and beautiful churches that gave grace and honor to every Spanish city — as missionaries in foreign lands, had not the Jesuits traced the course of many unknown rivers and been the first to penetrate pathless jungles, to open up new fields for Spanish commerce and expansion? But none of these things they had done for Spain availed them. The King of Spain would brand them as criminals and cast them forth from his country. 

Father Ricci, the General of the Jesuits wrote fruitlessly:

"With the extinction of the Jesuits of Spain, there will be removed from the people a mechanism of culture which it will take ages to replace. In mission lands, it will throw back numberless multitudes of converts into their former savage life in the forests; it will cause them to revert to idolatry, as the letters of the Propaganda already reveal of Portuguese America." 16

The date on which the infamous decree was to be executed in the colonies varied. In Mexico City the fatal day was June 25, in New Granada, the modern Colombia, the order was not carried out until July, and in Paraguay the actual expulsion took place in September. 17

16 Ibid., 56-57.
17 O'Neill, op. cit., 261. This date for Paraguay refers, no doubt, to the Jesuits expelled from the colleges. Many of those in the reductions were retained until 1768, when substitutes could be procured for them. "Although the decree of expulsion was intimated to all the fathers in 1767, notwithstanding, those who acted as pastors of the Guarani were retained another year." See Hernandez, op. cit., II, Suppl., no. 146. Father Baucke's own report gives May 15, 1768 as the date of his departure. See Florian Baucke, Bringmann edition, 135. Father Schmid left the Chiquito Missions in December, 1767. Die Katholischen Missionen, 1876, 140.
The great tragedy was enacted in much the same manner, and with the same ruthless injustice, wherever Jesuits were to be found on Spanish territory. Probably the most accurate and vivid description of their eviction from Paraguay is to be found in the diary of Father Peramás, a professor in the famous college of Córdoba at the time of the expulsion. Córdoba was the center of the Jesuit province of Paraguay, and possessed besides its university, a novitiate house, a college, a seminary for the nobility (Montserrat), a retreat house, and several neighboring estates. Very logically, therefore, it was the place where most of the 234 Jesuits from the Paraguayan region assembled before being transported to Buenos Aires. From there the deportation took place under the direction of Bucareli, the governor of La Plata. The fine library of the college at Córdoba was ransacked and dispersed, and many priceless manuscripts were lost, including some records of exploration in South America and notes on Indian tribes subsequently extinct. Nothing seems to have been preserved, except matter which the ravagers thought might prove incriminating to the Jesuits, it being a well-known practice "to judge and condemn a man and then search for evidence against him." 18

The German Jesuits constituted a comparatively small minority in Paraguay. Their history would be incomplete, however, without some ref-

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18 O'Neill, op. cit., 248.
ference to the end of their activity there. Some of them were, as previously mentioned, members of the community at Cordoba in 1767. The diary of Father Peramás, covering the events as they occurred day by day from July 12, to the date of departure, is therefore an authentic record of what befell all the members of the community, the German fathers included. Hence, the briefest possible survey of the lengthy diary may not be inconsistent with the interests pursued in this paper. 19

July 12, 1767. The summons of the king came at 3 a.m., rousing all the inmates of the house and ordering them to assemble in the refectory to hear the king’s decree. A roll call was held, novices being free to leave. Every inducement was offered to such as wished to go into hiding or to escape, but all such proposals were rejected with indignation. Several fathers who chanced to be absent on mission tours returned in order not to be separated from their brethren, and even now, there were such as requested admission into the Society. Similar scenes were enacted at Montserrat and elsewhere. Eventually, all were crowded into the college refectory: 133 men into a room measuring thirty-two ells by seven and a half, and containing at the same time thirteen tables and stationary benches.

besides mattresses for all. The doors were barred, and a thorough but very disappointing search was made for concealed treasures in every house and country estate.

**July 20**, reports the nocturnal departure for Buenos Aires, 130 in all: 37 priests, 52 scholastics, 30 brothers, and 11 novices.

**July 22**, found them actually nine miles farther advanced. The clumsy, creaking wagons had broken down several times.

**July 25**, Father Orosz was permitted to offer the Holy Sacrifice, the first since the catastrophe.

**July 26**, a Sunday, but there was no Mass.

**July 31**, the feast of St. Ignatius, but all entreaties for Mass and Communion were refused.

**August 1**, the alarm of an Indian raid was spread. The winter was severe, and the travelers suffered much from the cold. Food rations were scant. The bishop forbade all intercourse between his clergy and the exiled Jesuits under strict ecclesiastical penalties. Private citizens occasionally ventured to express their sympathy for the padres, but drastic punishments always followed.

**August 13**, arrival at Buenos Aires. Governor Bucareli ordered a circuitous entrance into the city by night to avoid any possible demonstrations. The vigíl of the Assumption enjoined a fast which was of necessity rigorously observed.

**August 18**, the mouth of the Plata was reached. The fathers, now number-
ing 151, were hustled aboard the ships, where they were obliged to live in unbelievably cramped quarters for five months. Still, they thanked God for having spared them the necessity of making the long land route under heavy rains. At least their mattresses and their clothes were dry.

August 31, twenty Jesuits arrived from Montevideo: five priests, fourteen scholastics, and one brother. They had just arrived from Europe on the Fernando after an exhausting and stormy voyage of 192 days, only to learn that they were not wanted as missionaries in Hispanic America. The entire party had consisted of forty, twenty of whom were destined for Paraguay and twenty for Chile. They were not permitted to land at Montevideo; their baggage was confiscated; and they were taken to Buenos Aires under military escort.

September 19, arrival of sixteen Jesuits from Santa Fe and thirteen from Corrientes.

September 28, anchor was finally lifted, but unfavorable winds still detained the missionaries until October 12, when the padres sailed out into the open sea; and the land where the sons of Ignatius had labored so successfully for 180 years vanished forever from their sight.
The dissolution of the reductions and the expulsion of the missionaries was but an episode in the tremendous war against the Jesuit Order. As early as 1768, the Bourbon courts let it be known that they would make a formal demand for the suppression of the Society throughout Christendom. Pombal, Choiseul, and Aranda, the trio of free-thinking ministers of Portugal, France, and Spain, were the leaders, and their combined efforts resulted in the dissolution of the Order by papal decree in 1773.

The destruction of the Society of Jesus was truly a "mystery of iniquity." The phrase was uttered by Pius VI in 1780 and it is the best possible summary of the great catastrophe. 20

History records the progress of the iniquitous act which aimed to destroy the Church through the annihilation of the Society of Jesus. We have "historians" who accuse the Jesuits of plotting to assassinate a king, of usurping royal power, of being mercenary, greedy for gold—branding them, in short, as the instigators and the champions of every intrigue. These calumnies have been ably refuted many times, most effectively perhaps by Father Bernhard Duhr in his well-known Jesuiten Fabeln. 21

Some of the most unreasonable accusations are those which have attempted

20 O'Neill, op. cit., 238.

21 Bernhard Duhr, S. J., Jesuiten Fabeln, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1899.
to tarnish the glorious record of the Jesuit missionaries of Paraguay.

One of the most telling tributes to the honesty of the missionaries is from the pen of Dom Pedro Faxardo, bishop of Buenos Aires, who wrote the king of Spain in 1721:

"I venture to say: were the Jesuits less virtuous, they would possess fewer enemies. I have frequently visited their missions and can assure your majesty that I have nowhere found greater order nor more perfect integrity anywhere than among these religious men who appropriate nothing to themselves which rightfully belongs to their converts, be it for their clothing or for their maintenance." 23

22 Father Dobrizhoffer gives the origin of one famous fable, that of "Nicolas I, King of Paraguay" who was said to have been appointed by the Jesuits to represent authority in their "Jesuit Republic." Historia de Abiponibus, Viennae, I, 26.

"The origin of the fable seems to have been connected with the word Mburubicha which meant king, cacique or captain. It was also the name given to the leader of a group of workers. Spaniards from Asunción who heard the Indians call their leader Mburubicha, and who were ignorant of that meaning of the word, concluded that this leader was the King of the Indians." Cf. Duhr, op. cit., 224.

This agrees with what is reported by Father Baucke, Kobler edition, 1870, 46.

"The so-called King Nicolas I was an Indian. Though he belonged to the family of a cacique, he worked with pick and spade; his name was Nicolas; and this was the terrible one of whom such monstrous things were told, whom all Europe admired, and whom the Spaniards feared."

23 Charlevoix, II, 94.
Little more need here be said of the stupendous tragedy which befell Paraguay. All memory of its life and stir has been erased from modern minds. Vanishing outlines of ruined edifices lie hidden away for the most part in the rank, tropical vegetation of the land, mute traces of a "Vanished Arcadia," as Cunninghame Graham aptly called his book on the Golden Age of Paraguay. The calamity was equaled, if not surpassed, by the cruel fate of the exiled missionaries. The account of their banishment and all its consequent anguish is one of the saddest and most harrowing stories ever told; and of all the expulsos, the Spanish padres seem to have endured most. After untold vicissitudes, trials, and hardships they arrived in Spain only to find themselves made prisoners in the land of their birth.

Providence was kinder to the German fathers, once they had survived the rigors and perils of the voyage. They were generally permitted to embark on Flemish sloops and were taken to Ostend, from where they returned to the Fatherland by way of Bruges and Ghent. We are fortunate in possessing Father Baucke's own report from the time he bade farewell to his Indians at St. Xavier and St. Peter to the day of his arrival in

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24 A graphic account of their treatment and their sufferings has been written by Peter M. Dunne, S. J., "The Expulsion of the Jesuits from New Spain, 1767," *Mid-America*, XIX, (January, 1937), 3-30.
Germany. 25 With his usual sincerity, touched with humor, he acknowledges every manifestation of kindness and good will shown to the missionaries; but with the same candor, he exposes the indignities to which they were subjected. They left Buenos Aires like a band of criminals on April 1, 1768. A terrific storm came very near saving the Esmeralda her trip across the sea. The accommodations, if such they might be called, were vermin infested and altogether inadequate to lodge 170 Jesuits. Many who were desperately ill were crowded into the same miserable quarters; but after some time, the captain very humanely provided isolated places for the latter in order to prevent contagion. Two of the fathers died at sea. 26

Four months later, the Esmeralda arrived at Cádiz, where, "accompanied by several thousand people, we staggered to the house of the missionaries" to await the arrival of others who were still detained at sea. Their new quarters were airy and spacious, and the weary travelers were treated with every mark of decency and respect under the supervision of a kindly Irishman named Marquis Ferry. Here, once more, Father Baucke's

25 Florian Baucke, Bringmann edition, 118-140.
26 Still, Father Baucke calls this journey more fortunate than the one which had immediately preceded it, during which half of the thirty-two Jesuit passengers had died. "Upon our arrival in Puerto de Santa María, where most of the American missionaries assembled, we learned that over five hundred Jesuits had died at sea." Florian Baucke, Kobler edition, 686.
love for music served as a pleasant diversion for the rest. But the future was growing more uncertain; distressing signs were appearing on the horizon, and the fathers longed to leave Spain. The king had previously been requested to permit their return to Germany over the Netherlands rather than by way of Italy. Of the German fathers, eighteen set sail for Holland on March 19, 1769, the rest preferring the Mediterranean waters for fear of the rough North Sea passage. The Lutheran captain was courteous, and the Marquis Ferry presented each of the Jesuits with seventy-five doppias in the name of his majesty. 27 From Ostend Father Baucke proceeded to Bruges and reached Eger on May 13, where he was to await further orders from the provincial. The writer concludes:

"Would we Jesuits now be let in peace? Our fate is known to all the world."

Of a very different nature was the return of the aged Father Schmid to his native Switzerland. He had written to his brother, the Capuchin Father Francis on October 5, 1767:

"... the old and sickly fathers who are unable to travel will be allowed to remain in the missions or reductions. I am one of the old fathers, since I am seventy-three, so I shall remain." 29

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27 The doppia was a gold coin of the old Italian State, varying in intrinsic value from $2.72 to $7.25.
28 Florian Baucke, Bringmann edition, 140.
29 Die Katholischen Missionen, 1876, 139.
But this consolation of remaining in the reductions was denied the aged missionary whom toil and years had broken. The simple, pathetic tale is told in part by Father Schmid himself in a letter to his nephew Francis X. Schmid, S. J. upon his arrival in Augsburg in 1770:

"It is well known to you, no doubt, what fate has been meted out to us. But we are content, knowing that the better and greater part of the world will say of us what was said of the apostles: 'They went from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproaches for the Name of Jesus.'" 30

Briefly, the itinerary of the Chiquito missionaries was this. Departing in December, 1767, they crossed the Andes in Peru on muleback, reaching the Pacific after five months on May 30, where they embarked at once for Panama. They arrived late in August and remained a month in Panama before proceeding to Portobelo. Only on January 2, 1769, after the murderous climate had claimed eleven of the missionaries, did they set sail for Carthagena and Havana. Cadiz was finally reached on May 24, and the travelers were dispersed among various religious houses where they were compelled to remain for a whole year longer. Father Schmid was eventually conveyed to Italy; and the last lap of his long journey led over Bologna, Mantua and Trieste to Innsbruck. By December, 1770, he was at last in Augsburg where he was received with open arms by the provincial, Father Maximus Mangold. The joyful news of his arrival

30 Ibid., 140.
brought letters from his native Switzerland. One from the Council of Lucerne desired the provincial's permission for a visit on the part of their distinguished citizen. In the spring of 1771 accordingly, Father Schmid departed once more to take up his permanent abode in the college of Lucerne where he closed his eventful career in constant, prayerful memory of his beloved Chiquitos. One last affliction was spared this brave soldier of Christ; he did not live to see the suppression of the Society of Jesus, for he died on March 10, 1772.

Some of the exiled fathers joined the ranks of active workers in the German colleges until the suppression. After 1773, most of them, like Father Dobrizhoffer, were assimilated into the secular clergy. Maria Theresa ever manifested a maternal interest in their welfare, and the Empress was grieved beyond measure when the decree of suppression reached the Upper German province. She wrote her intimate friend, the Countess Enzenberg in Tyrol on October 16, 1773: "As for the Jesuits, I am inconsolable and in despair. All my life I have loved and esteemed them, nor have I ever experienced anything but edification in my dealings with them." 31 She supervised the payment of their yearly pensions and provided parishes for their future ministry. Moreover, she was instrumental in freeing several Jesuit missionaries from Portuguese prisons and from captivity in Spain, among them Father Bernard Middendorf in

31 J. B. von Weiss, Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte, Graz, 1899, VII, 84.
The great esteem, love, and veneration with which the exiled Jesuits were regarded in their former spheres of activity would seem to require little comment. What the Indians felt, and what they suffered when the padres were torn from their midst has been described by practically every writer on the subject. Most of them, we are told, showed great signs of grief: some fled wildly to the forests from which they had been rescued, not wishing to remain in the reductions without the padres; some wailed and lamented; others still, had to be restrained from taking violent measures against the Spaniards. Only the assurance of the missionaries, promising to return, kept many of them in the reductions where they silently endured, hoped — and waited. But one of the noblest and most touching tributes of gratitude and affection was voiced by the seminar­ians of Montserrat in their farewell letter to Father Pfitzer (Phycer), the German rector of the seminary at Córdoba:

"The Alumni of the Seminary in Montserrat to Father Kaspar Phycer, Rector, greeting and benediction: ... How we long to visit you to express our love and gratitude. But all ways of reaching you have been barred to us.... So we can only beg you to assure your companions in suffering, our kind fathers, that our grateful remembrance of their benefits will never die, nor will the grief caused by your sad fate ever be effaced from our hearts. Should children not weep when deprived of their fathers? ... Farewell, and may

32 Peter M. Dunne, S. J., Mid-America, XIX, 27.
happiness be with you, if happiness is anywhere still to be found. Farewell, our fathers, teachers, and protectors. Where will you go without us? Or rather, where shall we go without you? ... Would that our hearts might be severed from our bodies that they might follow you to the ends of the earth! ... Farewell, kindest of all fathers! God keep you and your Society as a pillar of the Church. May He lead you back for the welfare and salvation of this province and this city. Farewell! 14th July, 1767." 33

33 Die Katholischen Missionen, XXVIII, 1899-1900, 34.
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One of the best sources extant for seventeenth and eighteenth century travel and missionary activity. Six huge volumes contain some eight hundred letters of missionaries from the East and West Indies, China and Japan. Many were written from Paraguay, particularly by the German fathers and brothers. Der Neue Welt-Bott is the German counterpart of the French Lettres édifi­antes et curieuses and of our own Jesuit Relations.

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Extremely biased and unfair to all non-German enterprises.

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Stresses economic rather than religious importance of the reductions.


The author is no friend of the Jesuits and their activity.


A biography covering the period of the expulsion and suppression. Useful in preparing this paper insofar as the work reflects the heroism, resignation, and courage of the exiles, as also the political and public opinions of the time.


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Rev. William E. Shiels, S.J., Ph.D.  October 11, 1939