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The most vulnerable people in the world are those who lack immunity to the diseases of civilisation and whose vast forests are no longer large enough to provide a hiding place from stronger and more acquisitive cultures which are exploring and exploiting their depths. They are the forest-dwelling tribes of Latin America, most of whom dwell in the Amazon basin, some of whom have not yet been seen by the white man.

On 8 August 1972, a mission sponsored by the Aborigines Protection Society, and aided by the Brazilian Government, began a two-month investigation into the situation of these Indian tribes. For the first time since the Society was founded in 1837 it accepted governmental aid, judging the case to be exceptional in its urgency, in the need for international study of its findings and in the fact that without the cooperation of the Brazilian Government and, in particular, its air force, it would have been financially and physically impossible to make an adequate inquiry. It is to be hoped that the report contained in this volume will help to spread within Latin America and far beyond an urgent and active concern for the survival and well-being of all aboriginal peoples.

The leader of the mission was Dr Edwin Brooks, Senior Lecturer in Geography, University of Liverpool, Member of Parliament for Bebington 1966-70, and first President of the Conservation Society, 1967. The other members of the mission were René Fuerst, ethnologist, who spent nine years doing research on the Amerindians of Brazil, 1961-69; John Hemming, who spent most of 1971 in Brazil on a Miranda Scholarship visiting 22 tribes in preparation for a history of relations with Brazilian Indians, and was a member of the Iriri Expedition in 1961; and Francis Huxley, social anthropologist, whose interest in Brazil dates from 1950.

Cover photograph Yanomami Indians arriving at Catrimani (Roraima Territory).
Indians of the Kayapó-Xikrin tribe dancing at Bacajá (Pará State). This village is administered by the Government agency Fundação Nacional do Índio or FUNAI, and it lies in close proximity to the section of the Transamazonica Highway opened in September 1972. The motley clothing, with its combination of traditional head-dress and manufactured oddments, undermines the dignity of the chief and the pride of the dancers. The very word "culture" at the same time implies a certain "ethnocide" of tribal man.

Tribes of the Amazon Basin in Brazil 1972

Report for the Aborigines Protection Society
by Edwin Brooks, René Fuerst, John Hemming and Francis Huxley

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Aborigines Protection Society

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The Society and its Task

Throughout history and throughout the world, aboriginal and other tribal peoples have suffered dispossession, massacre and enslavement at the hands of invaders more sophisticated than they. For each one killed nine have died from new diseases, against which they lacked immunity. Those who have survived to be assimilated have generally done so in a state of dependent poverty and degradation, their culture broken and their hope destroyed.

Modern technology has brought these peoples' remaining habitats within the reach of those who would exploit their wealth. This exploitation has never yet been done without destroying the precious link between tribal man and the land to which he belongs.

The APS is studying ways in which indigenous societies with their primitive economies can be encouraged to evolve and to integrate into national economies in ways that result neither in the collapse of traditional social forms nor in the destruction of the societies themselves. Then, with the help of like-minded organisations, it has to persuade the governments of more than thirty countries that it is in their interests — not only at the bar of posterity but also for more immediate reasons — to assure the future well-being of the survivors and their children.

The APS, founded in 1837, merged in 1909 with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, founded 1839. The present joint Society shares the aims of both its predecessors in seeking to assure the well-being of aboriginal peoples and to eradicate all forms of slavery and forced labour.

Slavery persists today in five forms defined in the U.N. Supplementary Convention on Slavery, 1956, namely chattel slavery, serfdom, debt bondage, pseudo-adoption and servile forms of marriage. These probably embrace tens of millions in forty countries. Even chattel slavery, which is forbidden by law in every country, has not yet been universally eradicated in practice. Together with the other more common forms of slavery, it survives because hunger and ignorance can be exploited. The cure depends ultimately on the removal of these conditions, prerequisites being population control, political stability and fair prices for raw materials to permit economic and thus social development. But success depends no less on the education of public opinion to secure enforcement of laws where these exist. The Society's function is to educate public opinion to this end.

The Society is in consultative relationship with the U.N. Economic and Social Council, is registered as a charity in the United Kingdom and is the only organisation in the world working specifically to end slavery. It is financed by the voluntary subscriptions, donations and bequests of its members.

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Foreword

by Sir Douglas Glover, T.D.

To enquire into questions of the human rights of allegedly oppressed or deprived minorities is an unpopular activity: for an organization to proclaim it as its raison d'être is calculated to make the work difficult, dangerous and expensive. Such research is not undertaken by the United Nations, nor do its member states do so either for publication or out of altruism. It is a job left to non-governmental organizations and, since governments are the only agencies having the authority to restore the human rights denied, the non-governmental organizations must use wisely the evidence they glean, balancing their use of publicity against discreet diplomacy.

The most vulnerable minorities in the world are those which lack immunity to the diseases of civilization, and whose vast forests are no longer large enough to provide a hiding place from stronger and more acquisitive cultures which are exploring and exploiting their depths. These are the forest-dwelling tribes of Latin America, most of whom dwell in the Amazon basin, some of whom have not yet been seen by the white man.

The history of the white man's contact with the indigenous peoples of South America has yet to be written. So terrible is the record of the past that it is surely an act of astonishing faith in its own achievement that the Government of any South American country should invite the Aborigines Protection Society, incorporated as it is in the Anti-Slavery Society, to make its own inquiry.

It is therefore with admiration and gratitude that I acknowledge on behalf of the Aborigines Protection Society
the generosity of the Brazilian Government in making this mission of inquiry financially possible and in agreeing to and fulfilling all of the conditions on which we accepted the invitation. These conditions were that the Society’s nominees for the Mission should be accepted, that they should be enabled to go wherever they might wish and meet whom they wished to meet and that their report should be objective and independent and would be published after the Brazilian Government had received copies of it, regardless of the findings.

Some may be tempted to say that no report of a mission, whose travel and accommodation was paid for by a government, can carry the weight of one that is financially independent. Indeed it is for this reason that since this Society was founded in 1837 it has never before received governmental aid. The report shows that we rightly judged this case to be exceptional — exceptional in its urgency, in the need for international study of its findings and in the fact that without the co-operation of the Brazilian Government and in particular its Air Force, it would have been not only financially but also physically impossible for any mission to make a comparable inquiry.

The Report which follows, though sponsored and approved by my Committee, is the work of the Leader and Members of the Mission. Reading the Report you will notice that the future well-being of the Indians must depend on many factors: their title to their land and its effective protection; Government policy regarding integration and the manner of its implementation; FUNAI, its status and terms of reference, financing and the Renda Indigena, its staff and career structure, recruiting and training, transport and equipment; the Indians’ health and medical service; on the Christian missions and on international co-operation in formulating and implementing policy on Indian affairs. You will note that our Mission has refrained from making recommendations. This, we believe, is because modestly they know that it would be presumptuous to prescribe specific advice on the strength of a two months’ tour over an area as large as Europe. Their findings are in some cases clear enough, in others discernible between the lines. On one factor only do I give the Society’s views. I do so because it is of supreme importance, because it is of universal application and because it is of increasing public concern and at last is beginning to gain governmental recognition in those countries where tribal peoples have been deprived of it. I refer, of course, to land.

We believe that unqualified, permanent and inviolable ownership of land is a fundamental necessity to the survival of the culture and therefore to the self-respect, the hope and the morale of indigenous peoples, whether in Brazil or elsewhere. Such ownership is guaranteed to the Indians by the Brazilian Constitution. That guarantee, however, appears to have been weakened by the more recent draft Indian Statute. Enforcement falls far short of both documents. The reasons for this failure appear to be:

(a) difficulties of administration, supervision and law enforcement in so vast a country, whose terrain and distances impede communication;
(b) the cupidity of individuals and groups whose resources and ruthlessness enable them to acquire for themselves in 1972 lands the title of which was guaranteed to Indians as recently as 1970;
(c) the lack of an effective system of mapping, demarcation and policing of Reserves;
(d) the apparent lack of logical criteria for determining what shall be Indian land.

We recognize that circumstances may dictate that, whether in its own or in a greater interest, a tribe shall be moved from its traditional land. There are recent examples, however, of tribes having been moved for other reasons with unfortunate results.

The Society’s purpose is neither to publicize for effect what is sensational nor to whitewash what should be exposed. It is to record facts and responsible opinions so that progress may be made in the defence of human rights.

I, as Chairman of the Aborigines Protection Society, feel that the Brooks Report will prove to be a landmark in that progress.
Acknowledgements

In the body of the Report, Dr Brooks and his colleagues have paid their tributes to many people in Brazil who helped the Mission in its work. After endorsing these tributes myself I add, on the Aborigines Protection Society's behalf, my own thanks especially to His Excellency Senhor Sérgio Corrêa da Costa, Brazilian Ambassador to the Court of St. James, for the time, thought and care he has personally given both in England and in Brazil to ensure that the Mission was enabled to complete its investigation as thoroughly as possible, and to Senhor Marcos de Azambuja who as the Embassy's First Secretary was responsible for co-ordinating the planning of the Mission.

I and my Committee gratefully acknowledge the Society's debt to Dr Edwin Brooks, the Leader of the Mission, and to his colleagues, René Fuerst, John Hemming and Francis Huxley who gave freely of their time and brought to their task the distinction of specialized knowledge and experience which such an opportunity demanded. The main burden of writing the Report fell naturally upon the Leader of the Mission, who, with time against him and the rival claims of his University to meet, has written a document which my Committee is justly proud to sponsor. I gratefully acknowledge also the work of Alan Hodgkiss, Joan Treasure and Sandra Pearce of the Department of Geography, University of Liverpool, in the drawing of the maps and of their colleagues in the massive clerical task of producing the draft report.

I thank also John Alexander-Sinclair, Chairman of a Sub-Committee and its members appointed in 1971, who have handled matters concerning this Mission. He in particular has devoted to it a great deal of time and thought, not least in the tedious final task of editing.

DOUGLAS GLOVER

1 Background and Objectives

The background to this Report is the threat of the extinction of the Indian peoples and cultures of Brazil. During the past ten years a steady stream of allegations about their treatment has appeared, many of them as well authenticated as they were horrifying. The most authoritative of such exposures had come from the Brazilian Government itself in 1967, when a detailed account was published of the corruption which had infected the Service for the Protection of the Indian (the SPI). The picture painted of a sordid complicity in greed, cruelty and murder left no doubt of the gravity of the situation.

In all fairness it must be said that such open revelation of atrocities suggested that official help was on the way. Furthermore, those outside critics who were quick to allege genocide against the Brazilian authorities might at least have given credit to those in the Government who were willing to wash such dirty and blood-stained linen in public. Nevertheless it was hardly surprising that the world reaction was one of revulsion and indignation. A tragic epilogue seemed about to end a centuries-old story of racial brutality by invading "civilizados", with the final vestiges of aboriginal life succumbing to an advancing tide of Amazonian colonisers. As the new roads plunged ever further into the forests and savannas of the deep interior, so Brazil seemed destined to repeat the viciousness of an earlier Frontier in the Old West.

Among the outside organisations which expressed concern were the International Red Cross and the Primitive People's Fund. In the summer of 1970 the former despatched a...
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Medical Mission to Brazil which spent three months travelling widely in the interior. Although the basic purpose of this investigation was to check on the health and medical position of the Indians, the eventual report found itself straying (hardly surprisingly) into discussion of the wider social and environmental problems which affect the well-being of the indigenous population. However, its basic terms of reference precluded any systematic treatment of these problems—such as land, education, employment and relations with the Fundação Nacional do Indio (FUNAI) which had replaced the discredited SPI.

Following the completion of the Red Cross Mission, the Brazilian Government invited the chairman of the Executive of the Primitive People’s Fund, Mr Robin Hanbury-Tenison, together with his wife, to make a similar visit. This time the focus was upon the non-medical aspects of the situation and especially the possibilities of co-ordinating international aid to the Indians. Following ten weeks of extensive travel in January—March 1971, a report was published which summarised conditions in eight areas of Brazil: Xingu, Bananal, Southern Mato Grosso, Northern Mato Grosso, Aripuanã, Southern Pará and Northern Goiás, Tumucumaque and Roraima. Specific proposals were made for improving these conditions, ranging from a plea for an extension of the Xingu National Park to the advocacy of improved outlets for the sale of artifacts. More generally, the report concluded that “unless greatly increased aid, including international financial and technical assistance and advice, is brought to bear on the problem, few if any of the still uncontacted and recently contacted Indians of Brazil will survive the next ten years”.

The Hanbury-Tenison report was an impressive pioneering study, with its methodical and accurate recording of detail and its discerning identification of the basic problems involved. In essence, the question is whether the Indian is going to be thrown peremptorily into the melting pot (where he seems likely to swirl only horizontally, at the bottom); or whether he is going to be recognised as a distinct, precious but fragile ingredient which needs time and patience to mature. More precisely, is Brazil willing and able to give the Indian the space and the time he needs to bridge the gap of geography and history which divides him from his fellow countrymen in São Paulo, Rio or Brasília? As Hanbury-Tenison says, “it is essential that adequate new reserves should be created” around the Indians whose homeland is being penetrated by the road-builders, the farmers and the international mining companies. Yet this is easier said than done in a country of bounding economic growth, where the “conquest of the Amazon” is seen as the symbol of a new national resurgence and political consolidation.

And even if the determination is present to create such reserves for the Indians, the question of his ultimate fate remains unanswered. We may agree with Hanbury-Tenison that Indians should be given the chance of “adapting at their own speed to the modern world while at the same time preserving their pride, culture and skills”; but can we be sure that slow integration, and the protracted (albeit benevolent) paternalism which this seems to require, is not denying them the skills and attitudes urgently needed to withstand the inevitable pressures of the expanding internal frontier of Brazil? Is the Indian Reserve doomed to become a ghetto of the under-privileged? Or, can it be at best only a temporary sanctuary where “savages” are kept out of mischief and (more-or-less) slowly tamed in preparation for their release into civilisation?

The Hanbury-Tenison report, in provoking these wider questions, was to prove of great help to the members of the Aborigines Protection Society Mission which visited Brazil during August and September 1972. At the same time, by providing detailed descriptions of the circumstances at various FUNAI posts and Indian villages which were in their turn visited by the APS team, it was possible to check on what action, if any, had been taken in response to the Hanbury-Tenison recommendations. A similar check could also be carried out in those places previously visited in 1970 by the Red Cross doctors and in this case the task was facilitated by the presence of Mr René Fuerst, an experienced Swiss ethnologist who had earlier accompanied the Medical Mission as an adviser.

However, although these two investigations preceded the APS mission, the invitation to the Anti-Slavery Society for
Tribes of the Amazon Basin 1972

the Protection of Human Rights stemmed from earlier initiatives. It was in 1909, the year in which the two present Societies merged, that their successor, the present Society, then known as the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, had established in South America its reputation for impartiality in exposing the atrocities against Amerindians on the rubber plantations of a British-owned company on the Peruvian bank of the Putumayo River not far from the western frontier of Brazil. Its name was thus not unfamiliar when in 1964, in response to a UN questionnaire on slavery, the Society commended the work of Mr Jesco von Puttkamer in helping sixty Kayabi Indians to escape from rubber planters on the Rio São Manuel. In March 1969 the Society’s representative had made an oral statement to the UN Commission on Human Rights, drawing the Commission’s attention to the findings of the Figueiredo Report and sounding a warning that the indigenous peoples of many Latin American countries face a threat of treatment similar to that described by Jader de Figueiredo. In the autumn of 1969, Sir Douglas Glover, Chairman of the Anti-Slavery Society, had made known his members’ continuing concern for the future well-being of the surviving Indian tribes. Following his approach there were discussions with H.E. The Brazilian Ambassador (Sr. Sérgio Corrêa da Costa) and the First Secretary (Sr. Marcos de Azambuja) which culminated in the invitation from Itamaraty* in 1970. However, due to the illness and unavailability of members of the proposed Mission, its departure was delayed until the summer of 1972. The four man team which then set out consisted of Dr Edwin Brooks, René Fuerst, John Hemming and Francis Huxley. They were described in a press release of 13th June 1972, which is reproduced as Appendix 2.

It will be observed that the Mission was sent under the auspices of the Aborigines Protection Society (APS) a body which had been incorporated in the Anti-Slavery Society in 1909. A brief note on the history of the APS which has kindly been submitted by Dr H.C. Swaisland is reproduced as Appendix 2.

*Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

It was clearly more appropriate that the Mission should visit the Indians of Brazil in the name of the Aborigines Protection Society than in that of the Society in which it is now incorporated, whose name stems from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society founded in 1839.

As the press release made clear, the Brazilian Government placed no obstacles in the way of the Mission, either in terms of its composition or its route. On the contrary, suggestions were made for an even more extended itinerary including a visit to Indian areas in the south of the country (Santa Catarina, Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul) and the north-east (Pernambuco). Time alone prevented acceptance of this offer, and instead the Mission decided to concentrate upon the Amazon region (Amazonas, Rondônia, Roraima, Pará, and Mato Grosso). In this huge and still imperfectly explored drainage basin live the more isolated and primitive Indian tribes. Here, with the road engineers, the mineral prospectors and the farming colonists, were likely to be found the most severe problems of land, property and acculturation. Here too, if anywhere, evidence of atrocities was likely to be found and it seemed probable that Amazonia would be the best test of government intentions and policy towards Indians and their protection.

The eventual route followed can be seen on Map 1, and further details are given in Appendix 3. Altogether some 17,000 km were flown within Brazil, involving well over 50 separate take-offs, and in addition to the Brazilian Air Force (FAB) planes which were unstintingly placed at the disposal of the Mission, a variety of additional transport ranging from jeeps and motor launches to helicopters and air taxis was also made generously available upon request. Particular thanks however are due to FAB, which provided a DC47 from Brasilia to Tabatinga, and thereafter supplied no less than five consecutive Catalinas to Boa Vista, Altamira, Marabá, Belém and Posto Leonardo in turn. The organisation of these flights was impeccable, and the courtesy, patience and helpfulness of each successive aircrew are beyond praise. It is invidious to mention any one name among so many, but special thanks are due to Major-Brigadeiro do Ar João Camarão Teles Ribeiro who as Commander of the First Air Zone based in
Belém was responsible for the organisation of the bulk of the flights. In this context, special mention should be made too of the assistance given by the Governors of the Territories of Rondônia and Roraima, who arranged air taxis to the isolated tribes of the Suruí (at Sete de Setembro) and the Yanomami (at Catrimani, Toótotobi and Surucucu). In addition, INCRA (the government body handling agricultural colonisation along the new highways) loaned helicopters to lift the Mission into the most inaccessible areas of all - to the very recently contacted Asuriní and Parakaná tribes in the state of Pará. As for less exotic means of transport, the Army Command at Tabatinga provided a high speed motor launch, permitting a visit to the Tikuna at Belém Solimões; and the Army Command at Vilhena was similarly helpful in supplying a jeep for several days which permitted visits to various Nambikwara groups on the borders of Rondônia and Mato Grosso.

The purpose of making this (far from exhaustive) catalogue of acts of helpfulness is not simply to permit a timely expression of gratitude. It is also pertinent to the Mission’s assessment of official Brazilian policies towards the Indian. Had requests to visit particular areas been met with excuses, or seemingly fallen on deaf ears, then there would have been grounds for suspecting that things were being hidden or hushed up. It would of course be too naive to deduce that all was well, simply because there was no such frustration of the Mission’s wishes. In such a vast country and with so little time available in any one place, it would have been manifestly impossible to conduct exhaustive checks at each post or village. Nevertheless it must be stated as a matter of fact that the route followed, both in broad terms and in detailed day-to-day adjustments, was that proposed by the Mission and that no effort nor expense was spared to ensure that our requests were met. Even where, as at Kraho, this meant landing on an airstrip which was grossly sub-standard (and very nearly wrecked the Catalina on take-off), there was no hint of any reluctance to reach the places specified.

From Itamaraty too, which had issued the original invitation, came nothing but willing co-operation and at the risk once more of singling out a particular name, we were
very conscious of the invaluable help given by H.E. Sr. Corrêa da Costa who was on leave in Brazil during our stay. He accompanied us from Rio to Brasília following our arrival, and went to great trouble to ensure that everything, particularly travel, went well. Finally in this context, although our investigations have led us to make a Report which is distinctly critical of certain aspects of Brazilian Indian policy, we must record that the great majority of FUNAI workers we encountered both on the Indian posts and in the city Delegacias, showed us courtesy and readiness to answer our questions. The President of FUNAI, General Bandeira de Mello, spent three hours describing his organisation’s work before we set out from Brasília and was equally generous with his time when we met him in Rio at the conclusion of the Mission.

This seems a good moment to clarify the basic aims of the Mission for, important as the travel arrangements proved to be, they were clearly but a means to an end. We begin however with a disclaimer, for this Report makes no pretence at being a definitive academic study of Brazilian aborigines. Apart from the demands of scholarship, such a study would require far more time and far more rigorous research than the members of the Mission were able to devote to this task. Although the leader could fairly claim that his three colleagues all had substantial field experience of various tribes, and that this might make their observations more discerning than some, the Report is simply a documented account of what was seen and heard during a series of rapid visits to some twenty-seven tribes.

Nevertheless, it was decided from the outset that certain lines of enquiry needed to be pursued systematically. In particular, the role of FUNAI deserved investigation, with the possibility of comparing its performance in different parts of the country. Furthermore, its actual day-to-day practice required to be tested against its published statements of policy and procedures. Last but not least, there was need to compare Indian conditions in areas where FUNAI was active with those in which the bulk of the responsibility was shouldered by various Christian missions.

The maps include a general route map, with insets showing the major Indian tribal groupings (after E. Galvão) and some of the major highways now penetrating Amazonia. Maps 2 and 3 are based on originals copied in Manaus and Belém respectively, supplemented by other data gained in the field.

Further details of the work of FUNAI had been sought in writing towards the close of the Mission, particularly to clarify the areas and boundaries of Reserves, but this material was not forthcoming until the beginning of December when it was used, among other things, to construct Map 5.

Finally, a word on spelling. There is an understandable lack of consistency in phonetically rendering Indian names and in some cases, such as the Kreen-Akarore, where the tribe itself has hardly been contacted at all (and presumably calls itself something quite different), we have discovered at least half a dozen versions. The spelling in this Report is based on the recommendations of René Fuerst, and as far as possible attempts to follow the most common usage, simplified wherever possible.

This Report has been drawn up on the basis of the following plan:

One of the members of the Mission, John Hemming, was given the task of completing a standard questionnaire at each Posto Indigena. This questionnaire, which was used in Portuguese, is here included in translation as Appendix 4. It was normally answered by the encarregado (FUNAI official, in charge). In some cases where the encarregado was absent or for some reason unobtainable, it proved possible to enlist the help of someone else (e.g. his wife) to complete the form. Apart from ensuring that a comparable stock of basic data was obtained, the questionnaire gave the Mission a more professional air and probably encouraged the interviewees to answer fully and accurately. In addition to this regular procedure, each of us kept a detailed daily record and the present Report is based upon the notes and materials submitted to the leader Edwin Brooks who thereupon assembled these into a formal sequence. The basically chronological Chapter 2 draws heavily upon John Hemming’s notes and questionnaire replies, while Chapter 3 was largely drafted by Francis Huxley. Throughout the Mission the specialist technical experience of René Fuerst was invaluable.
Background and Objectives

Map 2 — FUNAI administrative patterns and religious missions

Map 3 — Tribal population of Pará and Amapá, July 1972
but unfortunately illness at the close prevented him submitting the formal paper he had intended on specific problems of individual tribes. However, it proved possible to deal with most of these, notably the extremely unsatisfactory delimitation of the Yanomami Park, by pooling the material of the other members.

Before concluding this introductory chapter I should like, on behalf of my colleagues, to pay my tribute to the immense effort which has been put into the launching of the Mission by the Society's Secretary, Colonel J.R.P. Montgomery. Both he and the Assistant Secretary, Mrs Maureen Alexander-Sinclair have in addition to continuing the ordinary work of this Society devoted themselves to the arduous work of seeing this Report through its final stages and our gratitude is immeasurable.

2 Diary of Events

As stated earlier, this chapter owes much to the systematic queries made by John Hemming at each place visited and for reasons of logic and simplicity it follows a chronological sequence. The geography of the Mission will also be clarified by reference to Map 1. Inevitably however the diary technique risks some repetition of the problems common to various areas and tribes, and the final chapter of the Report is designed to pull the various strands together under major topical headings.

A further difficulty arises in deciding at what point to begin the story. In one sense it began with Cabral in 1500 but given the objectives and limits of length to which we are working, we had perforce to begin in 1972. However, before embarking on the narrative of travel, we can usefully summarise two meetings which each, in very different ways, served to outline the themes which constantly recurred during the journey proper. The first of these was the 3rd Study Meeting on the Pastoral Indígena promoted by the National Council of Bishops of Brazil (CNBB) and held in Brasília, before our arrival, between the 21st and 24th of April 1972. The second meeting was also held in Brasília, on August 4th, when the President of FUNAI, General Bandeira do Mello, spoke at length to the Mission about his organisation's aims and achievements.

The CNBB meeting examined the various processes of integration and acculturation to which the Indian is subjected, and in particular sought to clarify the means and ends of evangelisation. Integration, it stressed, was "a reciprocal
process in which the ‘whites’ should also be educated to receive Indian groups who are being incorporated into the Brazilian national community’. “We do not accept”, it added, “any form of rapid and intense integration, as has been announced at the high levels of Government. We are convinced that it should be harmonious, slow, gradual; in short, charitable and Christian leaving the indigenous population all freedom on whether to accept the values and elements of our civilisation”. Accepting that acculturation (unlike assimilation) should enable the Indian to preserve his cultural characteristics, the evangelical aim was defined in terms of perfecting rather than destroying cultures. Primitive religion should be seen as the “seeds of the Word”, with the Missionary’s objective not that of breaking culture, but of bringing Christ.

These and similar sentiments expressed at the meeting seem wholly praiseworthy to us. We would agree that as *civilizados* we have more technology than the Indians, but possibly no more “culture”! We also welcome the greater sense of humility and anthropological perspective, which was evident throughout, and endorse the plea for Indian tribes to be treated as potentially self-sufficient “nations” rather than as permanent minors or orphans under tutelage. Excessive protection, or condescending paternalism, by denying them hope of growing to maturity as a community, seems designed to make Indians ashamed rather than proud of their cultural distinctiveness.

Comments on this tutelage had been excited by the so-called Statute of the Indian, the draft law on which had originally been issued in 1970. Following early criticisms an amended version was prepared by FUNAI, dated the 29th March 1971. However, the meeting remained severely critical of the key section dealing with land ownership, flatly arguing that “the Indian is the first owner of the land and has a right to it”, and that “before any protection, acculturation, integration or catechism, his indisputable right over the land he occupies must be defended”. It pointed out that “Article 22 of the draft Statute affirms that ‘the lands occupied by Indians belong to the Union’. This contradicts the thinking of the Federal Constitution of 17th October, 1969, Article

198”.

In view of the central importance which our Mission attaches to land title, we are glad to quote the insistence of the meeting “that the Brazilian Catholic Church takes a firm and public stand on the indisputable right of total and exclusive ownership that the Indian communities had, have and will have of the lands they occupy. This possession cannot remain subject to the whim of any other outside interest”.

The land in question was naturally to the fore in the discussions with the President of FUNAI on August 4th. Before meeting General do Mello, we had studied a summary of his report to the Minister of the Interior, General José Costa Cavalcanti, which had been submitted in early May 1972. This made ambitious forecasts of the area to be designated as Indian Parks and Reserves in the following eighteen months. From 3,720,000 hectares (14,400 sq. m) it was to rise to 6,570,000 (25,400 sq. m) by the end of 1973. To complete this operation in marking out, FUNAI was asking for 6½ m cruzeiros (well over £400,000). Furthermore, in order to improve administrative efficiency in Acre and Santa Catarina, which were currently controlled from neighbouring states, the President wanted new regional offices (delegacias regionais) in each.

In our meeting the President stated that the legal registration of Indian lands had commenced during his tenure of office. Detailed descriptions of the areas as defined were published in the Official Gazette, while markers were placed on the ground at kilometre intervals. However, maps were not made generally available, and subsequently we found this cartographical deficiency a severe handicap in evaluating FUNAI’s registration policy.

At the time of our meeting, FUNAI had 140 Posts, 10 Reserves and 4 Parks. Whereas a Park is designed for more than one tribal group (e.g. Tumucumaque where the main Tirio group co-exists with Kaxuyana, Ewarhoyana and Aparai Indians), a Reserve contains only one – although (as with the Xavante) the whole of the tribal group need not necessarily be contained within one Reserve.

Much of our discussion centred on the security of tenure
Map 4 – Ministry of Transport road map

Map 5 – The Amazon basin showing existing and proposed parks and reserves
given to the Indians by such registration, particularly in view of the recent slicing of the Xingu Park by the BR 80 (Federal Highway) and the consequent loss of the northern zone beyond the highway. A seemingly authoritative Brazilian Ministry of Transport map published as recently as 1970 had in fact shown BR 80 going even further to the south, through Diauarum (see Map 4), although we were able to confirm later that this was wrong. But with so much imprecision about the alignment of principal highways, such as the projected BR 242 which the same Ministry map has running east-west across Xingu through Posto Leonardo itself, we are still far from clear about the power of FUNAI to safeguard its demarcated Indian lands — and as will be seen later, this anxiety was sharpened by a fortuitous experience in Tumucumaque.

The President next turned to medical work undertaken by FUNAI. Budgetary allocations had increased substantially by some 40% (from Cr. 1.5m to 2.1m = £107,000 to £150,000) between 1971 and 1972. Ten mobile health teams (equipes volantes) were based in the Delegacias and we were informed that “there is at least one visit per month per post”. It was also claimed that there was a nurse in “almost all” the posts. Later however we were given statistics which qualified this latter claim; FUNAI has only 66 attendant nurses on the posts, with some 10 more specialist nurses, 10 doctors and 10 dentists available on call. In addition, 337 first aid kits (so-called farmacia padrao, each costing at least Cr. 1,000 (= £70) were despatched to the posts in 1971. In the first half of 1972 alone, the President informed us, 591 had already been sent out.

Our later experience, we may say at this stage, did not bear out the claim of a monthly visit per post by the mobile teams. With only one aircraft currently in service it would have been hard to maintain such a schedule. With rapid mobility so obviously vital in dealing with medical emergencies, it is to be hoped that the recent purchase of two British-made Islander aircraft will ease the problem; but as the President himself said, FUNAI would probably “need at least six medical teams in Amazonas alone”. We were also informed that one of the planes was being equipped for medical use.

The particular health problems of the Indian arose in the past because of his vulnerability to imported diseases — measles, chicken pox, whooping cough, influenza, malaria and T.B. to name a few of the more lethal. We were therefore particularly interested to hear of the inoculation and vaccination programme of FUNAI, which in the previous year resulted in some 27,000 shots against these various ailments. Whether as the President claimed “any Indian can be cured of T.B. in 90 days” is correct, the results of this preventive health programme seem undeniable and — if the population figures are to be believed — dramatic and encouraging. The Indians receiving assistance from FUNAI were said to have increased from some 70,000 in 1970 to 77,800 in 1972, which would imply a rate of increase of the order of 5% per annum.

From the information later given by FUNAI we understand that it is claimed there are some 180,000 Indians living in Brazil. We have no means of verifying these various figures, which seem to imply rather surprisingly that there are over 100,000 Brazilian Indians beyond the care of FUNAI. However, to anticipate briefly our findings, we were to discover some evidence that a marked increase in the Indian population in Amazonia has recently occurred and that this is primarily due to the impact of the medical activities of both FUNAI and the Christian missions.

After land and health our discussion turned to education. The President freely admitted that the 144 schools run by FUNAI were “not enough”, and it was clear to us that the great majority of the 15,000 scholars in attendance (at least intermittently) were to be found in the more developed south and north-east parts of Brazil. The 115 teachers were helped by Indian monitors and the emphasis was not surprisingly on literacy and fluency in Portuguese, into which the monitor could translate from the local tongue. Bilingual education was being developed with the help of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which is a missionary group specialising in the translation of the Gospels into Indian languages (see below, August 18th and Chapter 3). We were told that primary textbooks were currently being produced in 20
Indian languages but none is in use in the areas we visited. Again, without wishing to deny the real progress which is being made in some parts of the country, we have to report that some of the claims made at this initial meeting were contradicted in the event. For example, we were told that “all Canela and Guajajara Posts have schools”; yet our later visit to Maranhão showed that the school built at Canela in 1971 has never functioned so far and houses only bats, while the plan to develop bilingual schools in the Guajajara villages has not yet started.

At the time of our meeting with the President we were still unacquainted with the role of the Christian missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, in the education of Indians. In fact, throughout virtually the whole of Brazil north of the Solimões-Amazon, aboriginal education is overwhelmingly in their hands (and entirely so at the eight successive places we visited – Belém Solimões, Iauareté, São Gabriel da Cachoeira, Tupurucuara, Catrimani, Toototobi, Surucucu and Tirios). This begs some important questions about the future balance of responsibility in areas which FUNAI has yet to penetrate effectively and will be discussed in further detail below and again in Chapter 3. But it was clear that in the existing areas of overlapping responsibilities, such as the Nambikuara Reserve around Camararé, FUNAI has been ready to take stern action with those missionaries (apparently all Protestant) who have failed to respect tribal customs and traditional structures. We ourselves were to find the missionaries evicted from Camararé, after well merited criticism by the Red Cross team in 1970, and in all the President has expelled six Protestant missionaries.

His right to exercise such power is undisputed, and at least in the case of Camararé fully justified. But there is need to clarify FUNAI’s own policy vis-à-vis the missionaries, particularly among newly contacted tribes. The President was adamant with us that the Indian must have freedom of choice in religion and that it would be “ten, twenty or thirty years before a missionary would be admitted to a newly contacted tribe”. Yet we were to find the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) missionaries at Sete de Setembro, on the flanks of the Aripuanã Park where the very recently contacted Suruí Indians are to be found; while among the Yamomami or the Tirio, say, in the far north, the contact itself – plus the ten or a dozen years of subsequent “pacification” has been the exclusive responsibility of the missionaries in conjunction with FAB.

The final theme discussed by the President was that of community development. Many of the processes he described, such as the agricultural training of Indians and the provision of sanitation, a pure water supply and family houses, have presumably occurred mainly in the south of Brazil, since they were little in evidence in the more remote and primitive places we visited. But, in the course of his elaboration of community strategy, he touched upon some of the more controversial issues implicit in any discussion of aims. In particular he vigorously denied that FUNAI’s policy was so-called rapid integration, and asserted that any stories to the contrary were deliberate journalistic slanders. “The regions of Brazil develop”, he said, “and the Indians develop as separate communities within them.” Pressed to give a time scale for the slow process of eventual integration, he agreed that “the ultimate future of the Brazilian Indian is fusion into the melting-pot of Brazilian society”, but that this fusion might extend over many decades into the future. So far no tribe had wished to leave the tutelage of FUNAI, and even now “no tribe is ready for the final stage of complete integration”.

If such stress upon a leisurely and patient acculturation reflects a willingness to protect the Indian from the gathering pressures upon his lands and way of life, then it deserves whole-hearted welcome. Yet protection (however benign) is only the negative side of the coin, and even the slowest of integration must require positive action – what the President termed “step-by-step assistance”. Some steps however, particularly those towards the monetary and profit-seeking economy, seem to lead to a slippery slope and we are still dubious about the purpose of the Renda Indígena as described to us by the President. As we understand it (and any failings on our part are shared by at least some of the encarregados we questioned), FUNAI purchases produce from the Indians – at a price which in practice is well below
market valuation — and disposes of any surplus (above, say, the needs of replanting) at a profit. The yield from the Renda is then divided, in the President's words, "10% for FUNAI, 45% for continuing the project and 45% returned in benefits to the Indian group that produced it". In practice we found some very different versions of the procedure for settling prices (see for example what we were told on 8th September 1972 at Mãe Maria by the Gavião). We are particularly concerned at the possibility that some of the income generated by the Indian group is "taxed", as it were, to support FUNAI centrally and to support projects elsewhere. It is one thing to encourage Indians to pay, via their labour, for what they obtain, but it seems dangerous for an Indian protection service to have a financial stake in the profitability of its charges' output. Moreover, if the profit from one Indian group is diverted to subsidise another, the accumulation of capital by the former is retarded and the incentive to become more efficient might be weakened. In the absence of published financial details of the Renda Indigena we find it impossible to evaluate the matter properly, but we hope that this expression of disquiet will encourage disclosure of the details and an informed debate about the whole financial structure of FUNAI.

The President's interview, which was conducted in English throughout, gave us a very valuable insight into FUNAI's perception of its role and we are also grateful to Professor Ney Land who devoted most of the afternoon of August 4th to answering our general queries. One of the four qualified anthropologists on FUNAI's staff, the Professor was shortly after appointed to head the Museu do Indio in Rio, where we were again to meet him with the President on 29th September. On the morning of 7th August we attended the opening session of the VII Congresso Indigenista Inter-americano in Brasilia, at which the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of the Interior made speeches attacking the unfair and slanderous accusations which they claimed were flung at Brazil's Indian policy by outside critics. General Costa Cavalcanti, as the Minister responsible for FUNAI itself, went on to stress many of the points earlier made to us by General Bandeira de Mello, notably the need for slow integration, respect for the traditions and values of the Indians and demarcation and secure legal status for their lands.

Following these various authoritative statements of Government intent, it remained only to hold a Press Conference at Itamaraty later that same day, at which we spent a couple of hours answering shrewd and uninhibited questions from some score of journalists. We hope that we convinced them that our Mission was in no sense a conducted tour, but it was understandable that some of them felt a Government financed expedition was suspect from the start. On Indian matters at least, the Brazilian press does not seem unduly inhibited in voicing its suspicions.

During our stay in Brasilia the flight arrangements for the Mission were finalised and on the morning of the 8th we set off in the DC 47 which was to take us as far as Tabatinga. For convenience hereafter, the narrative is based on our daily experiences and is in diary form.

8th August - To Santa Isabel, Bananal
This is the HQ of the Parque Indigena do Araguaia, which covers some 2 m hectares of the "Island" of Bananal lying between two channels of the R. Araguaia. In addition, there are some 9,200 hectares reserved for the Tapirape Indians on the west of the main Araguaia. The Park was formed on the 2nd January, 1972 by Decree Law 69,263 of 22nd September, 1971.

The land is vajão, or treeless campo liable to flooding, and carries a large number of cattle. In addition to 3,000 zebu-mestizo cattle owned by FUNAI, some 200,000 head are allowed to graze at a cost varying from Cr. 5 (35p) for an animal staying over two months to Cr. 1 (7p) when it is only in transit. We were informed that the total income from this livestock is approximately Cr. 750,000 (£53,570) for the grazing rights, plus another Cr. 300,000 (£215,000) for the 300 FUNAI cattle slaughtered each year. This would mean an annual income altogether of roughly £75,000. Further earnings come from the sale of handicrafts Cr. 30,000 (£2,140) but the attempt so far to grow rice on a large scale has been a disastrous failure. The staff employed is about 80, including 12 cowhands and 15 rice workers; 10
work at the timber mill and workshop which appear to have been set up to train the Indians who are predominantly Karajá with some Tapirape.

Our questionnaires were completed for Santa Isabel itself and also for the villages of Fontoura and Macauba nearby (although lack of time and a boat prevented us visiting either of these). We also visited the Hospital do Indio (one of only two run by FUNAI in the whole of the interior) and were given a detailed assessment of its efficiency by a newly arrived resident doctor.

In 1971 Robin Hanbury-Tenison (henceforth described as RHT) had visited both Santa Isabel and Fontoura and had drawn up a very critical summary of conditions. He commented on the constant exposure of the Indians to an incoming tide of settlers (we ourselves were told that some 5–6,000 civilizados now live on the Island), and described the Karajá as “in a thoroughly depressed state” and “in danger of losing their tribal skills and pride”. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had also warned of the proximity of the growing town of São Felix on the opposite bank of the Araguaia, which had led the Brazilian Government to announce that plans were being studied to move the Indians to a better site. RHT said that he had heard nothing to suggest that action was likely and neither did we. On the contrary, the planned construction in situ of over 60 houses for the Indians (a brickworks had already been completed in 1972) suggests that no such move will take place.

Although there were signs of improvement since the RHT visit, with 10 Indians being trained in the workshop and another 5 in the sawmill near the village, in at least one important respect our reaction to conditions was even more critical than his. He had described the Hospital do Indio as “modern . . . clean and fairly well equipped . . .”. We, on the contrary, were left in no doubt that conditions were most unsatisfactory. The building itself had been invaded by bats, rats, cockroaches, mosquitoes and termites, and the ceilings, doors and walls were rotted. The ceiling above the operating table was steadily flaking away and it was impossible, we were told, to maintain sterile conditions. Although the Hospital had apparently been well equipped originally, the new doctor had found an almost total lack of pharmaceuticals – only a few outdated drugs and free samples. Operating instruments were insufficient and an adenoids operation had recently been performed using a piece of wire. The only food served appeared to be beans and rice and all cooking was done in two pots, one of which lacked a lid.

In fairness, a new isolation wing is now being added to the Hospital and we were told that the intention is to install the entire Hospital in the new wing and then repair the old part. Also, the ENA Plano de Saúde (1972) of FUNAI mentions that new surgical instruments are to be supplied and that a Unit for assistance in deliveries is to be installed (at present there is no midwife). The dental equipment at the Hospital, including as it does a modern chair and drills etc., came in for relatively little criticism and the woman dentist was generally satisfied. The Karajás’ teeth were particularly bad (probably the worst of any Indians we visited, but the explanation lies probably in some local dietary deficiency. We feel nevertheless that this Hospital, which in theory is supposed to serve a large area of central Brazil, needs a drastic injection of effort, and it is disappointing that after the previous visits of the ICRC and RHT, it has obviously deteriorated. Indians, we were told, were reluctant to come to the Hospital and prefer to remain in their own houses until acutely ill – and during our visit there were indeed only four patients, two malarial, two gynaecological, from the local village.

Turning to other matters, we discovered that at all three posts the encarregados were comparatively recent recruits to FUNAI. A single man of 24 at Macauba had completed a two-month pilot course of indigenismo before his appointment to the new Posto Indigena (PI) in January 1972. At Fontoura the encarregado was older at 36, and married, with three children, but he had worked for only one year with FUNAI after completing his introductory course. Finally, at Santa Isabel itself, the encarregado was 31, married but childless, and after working in business administration had joined FUNAI only eighteen months earlier. We were to find this comparative youthfulness and lack of field experience characteristic of most of the posts we visited later and it
obviously reflects the weeding-out of discredited former SPI employees and their replacement by a new intake of (at least formally) better educated and uncompromised workers. If only half the accusations made against the SPI were true, such replacement would have been more than justified, and we naturally welcome the recruitment of fresh and (often) idealistic young men. However, it is bound to mean that in these early years of FUNAI its representatives in the field will have less experience — and perhaps less local “pull” — than many with whom they come into contact. At Fontoura for example, there has been a Seventh Day Adventist Mission (Missão Cristã Evangelista) since 1934. It made a distinctly unfavourable impression on RHT, and it is good to know that FUNAI has now established a permanent post there. But with the Mission firmly entrenched it may prove difficult for the young encarregado to change attitudes, and in such cases support and encouragement from the Delegacia Regional and from Brasília itself, is obviously vital. This indeed raises a much wider question of the liaison between the centre and the perimeter of FUNAI and we refer to it several times below.

During the afternoon of the 8th we spent some four hours wandering in the Karajá village of Santa Isabel. Our general impression was not as unfavourable as RHT’s, perhaps because our visit was more informal and we avoided the impression of an official guided tour. Unlike RHT we did not find the Indians “sullen and silent”, and the children, as indeed so often the case during our Mission, were particularly lively and cheerful. Artifacts, particularly clay figurines, were still being produced in large numbers and other good signs were dustbins for refuse, electric lighting and activity down on the river bank where a group of men were gathering stones for building. On the other hand the numerous dogs, some of them lame and apparently paralysed, gave us the same uneasiness about hygiene as the ICRC team frequently expressed on this score. The Indians’ teeth, as already said, were extremely poor, but we noticed that the driver of the local jeep had a complete set of dentures. The controversial innovation of the Indian police, known as GRINs*, (the *See Glossary

9th August – To Pimentel Barbosa on the Rio das Mortes
This was the first of three Xavante groups whom we encountered in east central Mato Grosso. The tribe had once had a deserved reputation for fierceness, and an early
attraction team* led by Pimentel Barbosa had been killed near the Das Mortes. In 1946 however, the sertanista, Francisco Meirelles had made the first peaceful contact with them, and a post (then named São Domingos) had been established near the scene of the massacre, where it remained until 1971. Chief Apoena, who had made that first contact with Meirelles, is still alive, but to find him we had to fly a further 45 km west of the river towards the Serra do Roncador. For in 1971 a farmer acquired the land alongside the river where the post lay and in a deal apparently made by the encarregado the Xavante were moved to a new site where a Reserve of some 150,000 hectares was said to be projected for them. As part of the quid pro quo the farmer had undertaken to build a road up to the Serra, and to construct various buildings there, including a school and a house for the encarregado. The total cost, we understand, will be Cr. 200,000 (= £14,285). Indeed, on our short flight to the Serra the DC 47 carried a load of wood for the new school. A new infirmary or small clinic/hospital is also being built but neither the teacher nor the nurse had arrived so far.

Agriculture had begun with corn, mandioc, sugar cane and bananas being grown. Also rice was under cultivation and 300 sacks worth Cr. 15,000 (= £1,070) had been sold, the proceeds having been spent on the post and not transmitted to the Renda. Although the land (predominantly campo studded with termite hills) appeared inferior in fertility and water supply to the Das Mortes site, the village seemed to be in reasonable condition. Conical huts, some twenty in all, were laid out in the traditional crescent pattern enclosing the “men’s house”. The Xavante have great charm and dignity and gave every indication of self-confidence and pride in their cultural roots. The nearest settlement is 38 km from the new village, which should ease the friction of contact; but pressures to conform will doubtless grow, and we noticed that the men – who wear their hair shoulder length – seemed pleased to find that at least some civilized (i.e. the APS Mission) were distinctly hirsute.

Given that the Reserve is defined satisfactorily (see section 10th August below on São Marcos) and that the Brazilians who presently have title deeds to land within the proposed Reserve can be bought out or otherwise excluded, there is some hope for this group. Although hygiene remains primitive and as recently as 1969 a measles epidemic affected 126 people and killed 9, the population seems to be rising fairly quickly overall. In the previous six months 8 babies had been born, which for a village totalling 220 means an annual birth rate of over 7%. Once the infirmary is finished (and as we saw it is well under way) and inoculation against the killer diseases is completed, growth in numbers might prove to be as rapid as in São Marcos, and indeed put strains upon the carrying capacity of the land. This makes it all the more essential that the definition of the Reserve be adequate, particularly for a tribe like the Xavante who are by tradition hunters and will not easily be reconciled to the more sedentary pursuits of agriculture.

10th August – To Salesian Mission of São Marcos

The present mission was founded here on the 25th April 1958, but the history of the Salesians locally goes back to the early years of the 20th century. With such a long time span it is perhaps inevitable that questions of land title are complex and vexed, but it seems that in the 1940’s when Dr João Ponce was Governor of Mato Grosso, the State Government annulled all previous decrees including those which had defined the Indian lands of the mission. This had the effect of encouraging farmers to enter the region and after their contact in 1946 the Xavante were driven from their homes north of Rio das Mortes. One group sought refuge with the Salesians at nearby Sangradouro, a mission catering for the Bororo. Another group was later airlifted by FAB from land that is now cattle ranches. Shortly afterwards the present group came to São Marcos, but the land question has remained a bone of contention to the present day. We were informed that in 1969 some 10,000 hectares of poor land had been ceded to the mission, but this was in 1971 ceded to FUNAI. Meanwhile, in April 1969 the Minister of the Interior had visited São Marcos and, as reported in the press, had guaranteed that Xavante land would be protected.

During our stay we were left in no doubt of the strong
feelings of the Xavante that the time had come to honour this promise. On the evening of the 10th we were asked to attend a meeting of the village Council, and after lengthy discussion in which the three chiefs and some of the younger men participated, we undertook to make their views known to the Minister upon our return to Brasília. The two letters which were thereupon written by their spokesmen, together with the accompanying correspondence between ourselves and the Minister’s office, are reproduced in Appendix 6, and to judge from the official reply the situation seems to have eased. Nevertheless, from the picture we gained of farmers having already become strongly entrenched in the lands round about the mission, it will be interesting to see how adequate Indian territory can be secured for the Indians. Three farms alone — those of Octacílio José dos Santos, Manuel Gomes and Marciso do Bije — occupy 11,000 hectares claimed by the mission, and the younger Indians we met were bitter at the discrepancy between such large holdings by a handful of civilizados and the almost siegelike situation in which the rapidly growing Xavante group has had to exist at São Marcos.

Indeed the numbers are growing at an extraordinary speed, probably more rapidly than anywhere else we visited. This despite a measles epidemic in 1966 when about 70 died and a continuing disregard by the Indians for such hygienic innovations as the toilets bequeathed by Projecto Rondon recently. The detailed statistics, as submitted to FUNAI, for March 1972 are included in Appendix 5 (Table 1), and show that nearly half the population is under ten years old. Even accepting that the Indians’ concept of number and year is often hazy — and this vagueness must make suspect some of the demographic details we obtained — it is probable that far less error creeps into the recording of children’s ages than of their parents’. The broad evidence in any case was plain to the eye at São Marcos and the figure of 58 children born in the previous year seemed no exaggeration. Interestingly this would represent an annual increase of well over 7%, which is similar to the position at the Serra do Roncador. We do not have comparable figures for the death rate, and therefore cannot calculate the net natural increase, but with such a youthful demographic structure and a large number of children moving up into the fertile age ranges (14 and above) a rapid growth in total numbers seems probable in the next 5–10 years.

The Xavante at São Marcos impressed in other ways too. They had an air of vitality and enthusiasm, and the physical condition of the men and boys was excellent. Recently, in a highly publicised football match, they had beaten the Karajá 1 – 0 (not surprisingly in view of the five football pitches at São Marcos) and, to judge from the militancy and vigorous sense of Indian identity we met, the Salesians have succeeded in keeping the Xavante’s pride and dignity. The educational programme is extensive, although so far confined to primary level only. Six classes, three each for boys and girls are held, with the older children taught reading and writing in both Portuguese and Xavante. The sexes are taught separately and in boarding accommodation near the village; this practice has been criticised for splitting parents and children, but is defended as a means of improving educational opportunities and being in accordance with Xavante tradition. In addition to the academic subjects taught practical skills are encouraged in agriculture, metalworking, carpentry, brickmaking and, for the girls, cooking and sewing.

Alongside the mission there are extensive plantations of bananas, rice, beans and mandioc. Also each family has its own plot for gardening and in general is self-sufficient in foodstuffs. Payment for artifacts, or for work carried out for the mission, is in vouchers. Goods can be obtained in the special shop run by the monks. Such an arrangement is capable of abuse, but the use of the special vouchers exchangeable only in the protected Indian Reserve has its defenders. It gives the Indian a dawning concept of exchange values in the wider world but guards him against those outside who would willingly fleece him of freely convertible money.

Before retiring that night we were serenaded by an orchestra of men and boys whose musical vigour could well serve as a warning to farmers trying to encroach on Xavante lands. The following day we were awakened early by a nearby and no less enthusiastic choir rendering alleluias. We
only hope that these formidable Indians should not feel it necessary one day to raise the roof in less melodious ways.

**11th August – Arrived Marechal Rondon**

This was the third and last of the Xavante groups visited, and involved a brief stay of some three hours en route to Cuiabá the same day. The encarregado and the Capitão were both absent at diamond workings nearby, which according to the Delegado (Col. Olavo Duarte Mendes) at the 5th Delegação Regional D.R. in Cuiabá had been included within the Reserve already measured and demarcated (and about to be confirmed) for the Indians of this area. Formerly known as Batovi, the PI serves two villages, the more populous of which was some 10 km away where the plantations of mandioc, beans, rice and mango trees are found. Our information here came from the encarregado’s wife, an able young woman with three children. Her husband was another of the young appointees to FUNAI, aged only 26 and with three years’ service, including the indigenismo course to his credit. Across the nearby river lay the American evangelical mission which has been there for many years but FUNAI has intervened and the missionaries have apparently withdrawn to their base in Paraíso to the north-west.

Our general impression of this Xavante group was less favourable than in either of the two previous sites. Instead of the traditional close half moon of conical huts, here the houses were built of clay bricks in a looser formation in a seemingly haphazard fashion over the open savanna. The hair was worn quite short by the males, which also hinted at a greater disruption of traditional customs and we were told that the Indians are generally depressed at the lack of game in the neighbourhood and wish to return to the Upper Culuene whence they came twenty years earlier. The land there is now, however, occupied by farms and any large scale return seems unlikely despite the Delegado’s later comments in Cuiabá (see below).

Many of the villagers were away working in the plantations or for diamonds and it was difficult to assess health conditions. Although an epidemic of measles had killed between 40 and 50 back in 1957 and whooping cough epidemics have since killed more children, the villagers have now been inoculated against both of these diseases and also diphtheria. New houses being planned will include lavatories and it is hoped to install electric light and water. We had a glimpse when we left of the medical problems posed by any emergency in such a station as this where the doctor and the dentists come but once a year. A small boy with suspected polio was flown out in our DC 47 and brought to the Santa Casa hospital in Cuiabá where FUNAI arranges for certain categories of sick Indians to be treated. Had a plane not been available his prospects would have been distinctly bleak and the experience vividly brought home the need for a properly equipped “flying doctor” service to reach both Indians and non-Indians on remote FUNAI outposts.

As for education, the encarregado’s wife — who took a three-month teaching course in Brasília (as well as a three-month nursing course) — complained of the inadequate schoolroom space. With 98 pupils (15 of them girls), and only 16 small desks, she found it necessary to squeeze three children in per desk, and even this meant doubling up the classes in order to cope. She was impressed nevertheless with the intelligence of the Xavante and clearly distressed over the inadequate facilities; even notebooks and chalk had to be purchased out of her own pocket.

**11th August – To Cuiabá**

The evening of our arrival at Cuiabá, the seat of the 5th Delegacia Regional of FUNAI, was spent interviewing Colonel Olavo Duarte Mendes. Like the great majority of the senior officers of FUNAI, his background was military and more specifically Army (only one of the 9 Delegados is of civilian background — João Fernandes Moreira at São Luiz). We mention these personal details only to make the point that in the future, as the newly recruited encarregados gain experience and seniority, the source of recruitment for the middle and senior levels of FUNAI administration may have to be reconsidered. In the wake of the SPI débacle it may well have been necessary to bring in figures of military stature and political weight, but it is to be hoped that the career structure of FUNAI will be designed to offer scope to
the able and ambitious field employees who can speak with personal experience of the Indians. Colonel Olavo explained that Cr. 150,000 (= £10,710) had been granted to him for the survey, demarcation and registration of Indian lands in his Delegacia, and stated that it costs around Cr. 1,150 per km (£82) and for survey and demarcation with concrete markers. He agreed that the Xavante at Marechal Rondon wished to return to the Culuene and he stated that FUNAI had a plan to purchase some of the unproductive (and in one case abandoned) farms to permit some return migration. He also stated that the President of FUNAI had finalised various decrees to define Xavante lands and the subsequent FUNAI Bulletin we received in Britain in November 1972 mentioned five new Xavante Reserves: Couto Magalhães, Pimentel Barbosa, Areões, Sangradouro and São Marcos. The general location of these new Reserves is shown on Map 4 and their detailed boundaries on Map 5.

12th August

This day, a Saturday, saw a rather bizarre incident which we mention for the light it may cast on the difficulties of transport to and from the FUNAI posts of the interior. A party of delegates to the recently concluded VIII Congreso Indigenista Interamericano in Brasília (whose opening we had attended on Monday), were due to arrive in Cuiabá en route to Paráiso, one of the oldest posts in the Mato Grosso, and Simões Lopes to the north of the city. John Hemming and Edwin Brooks accepted a FUNAI invitation to join the party, which was being led by the President, General Bandeira de Mello. They duly joined the delegates at Cuiabá airport and the party set out for the posts in two DC 47s. Unfortunately however, after some hours of searching, neither could be located and the planes returned to Cuiabá, much to the understandable disappointment of the Congress delegates who had opted for this particular post-conference excursion. The weather, it may be said, was excellent and visibility was certainly not at fault; the incident must speak for itself. Certainly it highlights the dangers of a sudden emergency on a post whose location is too imprecise to permit immediate contact by plane.

13th August – To Chacara Ambulatorio, Cuiabá

This is the second of FUNAI’s two hospitals designed specifically for the Indians and lies about 20 km outside Cuiabá. Bought by the former Delegado Hélio Bucker in April 1970, the chacara (country cottage), is, as we discovered, rather difficult to reach along rough country roads. It has neither radio nor telephone, but does have a car for communication. This isolation may however be an asset in some ways; it removes Indians from the temptations (and insults) of the city, gives them a feeling of being in a familiar environment beside the Cuiabá River and has obvious advantages for quarantine. The accommodation is rather cramped, an opportunity having been missed to buy a neighbouring property with better land for gardening: the general atmosphere is simple and unpretentious. There are three dormitories for patients, and the main house contains the surgery and dining room, kitchen and nurses’ home.

Undoubtedly much of the credit for the success of this infirmary, which impressed us as a friendly and reasonably efficient place, must go to Dona Cecilia, the dedicated Brazilian nurse. She forms part of the Cuiabá mobile health team (with a doctor and dentist) and is much loved by Indians all over the Delegacia. She said that the team sometimes makes 3 or 4 journeys a month, but at other times does not travel for long periods (there were no plans for travel in the immediate future). Helping her at the infirmary were three assistant nurses (Umutina, Bakairi and Kayabi girls), two more were currently in training, and five more were already out in the Indian villages. A nurse earns Cr. 300 a month (250 after deductions) or little more than £4 net a week.

The news about inoculations in the Delegacia was encouraging. With the assistance of SUSA (flying service for TB treatment) and the charitable Legião Brasileira de Assistencia* rapid progress seems to be taking place in protecting the Indians and especially the children. Polio

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*A charity that supplies vaccines.
inoculations were just being completed, and earlier the triple vaccine against whooping cough, tetanus and diphtheria had been given. In Dona Cecilia’s words, “almost all Indian children up to 15 years of age in the 5th Delegacia are now completely vaccinated.” Included in the programme is a campaign against one of the deadliest of all Indian diseases, measles. Here she contradicted the view of one of the São Marcos padres who had said that the measles vaccine was too potent for Indians; on the contrary, she stated firmly that “the Indians can stand this vaccination... they suffer only a little sickness and fever from it”. Given her wide experience in combating measles (even among the more isolated Nambikuara groups in the west of Mato Grosso) we found this optimism very heartening. The figures already quoted about the ravages of measles make it clear that the very future of some of the smaller Indian communities could well depend upon the efficacy of the vaccine.

Another item of encouraging news was that worms have greatly diminished in Simões Lopes (the elusive PI of the day before) since the installation of lavatories. We recognise that the use of toilets depends upon more than their simple availability in Indian villages (at São Marcos the Indians had justified their failure to use them on the grounds that they bred mosquitoes), but clearly every effort of investment and education is desirable to rid the Indians of the debilitating effects of endemic ailments caused by deplorable hygiene.

13th August - To Gomes Carneiro

Our morning at the infirmary in the presence of such selfless dedication was one of the more inspiring and humbling experiences of our Mission. The rest of the day - and most of the following night - was occupied with a return journey by taxi to the Bororo village and PI at Gomes Carneiro, some 210 km south-east of Cuiabá in the valley of the Rio São Lourenço. A difficult section of the road seriously slowed our progress, and we reached the village as darkness was falling. This limited our ability to assess the situation, and as the encarregado - a young man of only 20 - had only reached the post himself a fortnight earlier, he was handicapped in answering our detailed queries. There was, however, a missionary from SIL present who had spent five months in the village and we briefly met a Brazilian teacher who had spent the same amount of time there. We also had an opportunity to speak to the capitão and his wife, and observed a medicine man treating a sick woman probably suffering from food poisoning.

The Bororo were contacted at least as early as the 18th century and, despite the pressures and the periodic cruelties of the civilizados, the tribe has clung stubbornly to its culture throughout the succeeding two centuries. Nevertheless the strain of resistance has taken its toll, and both here and elsewhere (e.g., Barbosa Farias) alcohol has wreaked great damage. Even children were no longer desired and the tribe seemed to be heading for extinction due to a spiritual malaise. However, from what both the encarregado and the capitão told us, the efforts by Hélio Bucker in recent years to give the Bororo a renewed sense of pride in their traditional culture have been partially successful. The total population in Gomes Carneiro is still only 98 but babies are now being born again (5 or 6 in the previous year) and we saw plenty of little children about. Moreover the atmosphere seemed quite cheerful. Against this the village was swarming with dogs, there were no lavatories and one of the Indians said that they were “frightened of civilizados who cheat us”.

The most pressing problem seemed to be the encroachments of farmers in the surrounding areas. We were told that FUNAI proposes to demarcate the Indian land either in 1972 or 1973. Meanwhile there was “too much invasion” going on and the farmers’ road passes right through the post (itself only one km from the village) with no control over movement along it. Many of the Bororo seem to be working for these nearby farmers at a payment of Cr. 10 (£0.70) a day. This constant contact makes it difficult to control the use of cane spirits and even pure alcohol is apparently being drunk by some Indians. There is still little work for the Indians on the post itself but recently some 40 hectares were cleared for plantations on the order of FUNAI and it is intended to send the equivalent of 20% of the current year’s yield of rice, mandioc and bananas to the Renda. Some of the Indians also make a living of sorts from the sale of artifacts, flutes,
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feathers, bows and arrows etc.

The young encarregado seemed determined to protect the Indians from the farmers and we can but hope he will succeed. He said that FUNAI offered a good career, but that he entered primarily for Idealism and to serve the Indian. We were informed that his pay as an encarregado is Cr. 2,200 (≈ £157) a month which is more than seven times that paid to a nurse. Like other FUNAI employees we met, he was distinctly sceptical of the value of the Renda; in particular he observed that his relationship with his charges was not helped by requiring them to produce a surplus to send elsewhere. We would add that his relationship would also benefit from a less brash attitude to Indian rites - as when he led us unceremoniously into the hut where the medicine man was performing his exorcism.

14th August - To Vilhêna, Marco Rondon and Seringal do Faustinho

In the morning we flew to Vilhêna, which with its army and air force bases houses a total population of probably no more than 300. Situated half way along the road opened in 1958, between Cuiabá and Porto Velho, it has something of a frontier flavour and as recently as 1971 there was an attack, allegedly by “Cintas Largas” Indians resulting in the death of a soldier. The BR 364 in this border area between Mato Grosso and Rondônia has penetrated - and often severed - the traditional lands of various tribes, in particular the Nambikuara, and for the following three days we visited various settlements of these people. The different groups showed some notable contrasts of acculturation but in general all the Nambikuara have found their lives much affected and dislocated by the highway.

We obtained an army jeep (which was generously made available through the whole of our stay at Vilhêna) and went north-west along the road to visit two small groups of the Nambikuara living right alongside the highway. The first we visited, the more distant from Vilhêna (120 km), lived in a small village of 6 caboclo* type houses (thatched with slat walls on stilts) in a clearing of roughly ½ sq. km situated alongside the Marco Rondon river, where fish seem abundant. The main problem seemed to be land. The clearing itself is apparently owned by INCRA* with the Indians possessing no title to any of it and moreover forbidden to expand by clearing more forest, all of which belongs to other owners. The group is only 25, and their plantations seemed satisfactory but proper rotation will require more land to be cleared. The five children of school age attend a local school by the roadside and the parents’ desire for such schooling makes them unwilling to move from this site. Integration with the caboclo community already settled at Marco Rondon is proceeding rapidly; apart from the children being taught together, two of the women are married to caboclos and although some typical Nambikuara baskets are still made, the culture seems to be disappearing fast.

The group settled at Marco Rondon in 1958, apparently to escape an unhealthy location where measles had been severe and for fear of other Indians, possibly the so-called Cintas Largas, although this name is rather loosely applied locally. Their health has been good since the move (only one woman has died in a decade) and morale seems high, with both houses and clothes clean. Teeth however are very bad, and they receive no medical or dental assistance from FUNAI; indeed, there seems to be no link whatsoever with either the 5th or the 8th Delegacias. Our conclusion generally was that this is an example, somewhat rare in our experience during the Mission, of a small Indian band which has chosen to live among Brazilian settlers and seems to be adjusting and assimilating successfully.

Sixty km short of Vilhêna on our return that afternoon, we stopped at Seringal do Faustinho where some 25 Nambikuara (Tauande) live in 4 houses surrounded by barbed wire. RHT in his visit in 1971, and the earlier ICRC team in 1970, had both commented most adversely on this place and had alleged that something closely resembling slavery was being practised by the local landowner. Although RHT could see no sign of any improvement, the Indians told us that

*See Glossary.
things now were much better. They were certainly under the impression that they at last owned their own clearings, following an agreement with the landowner Faustinho, but we are not sure how binding this was, nor what form it took.

He still owns the local store where he sells trade goods and medicines to the Indians in return for their labour. They appear to work half the year for him. The group seemed in a more run-down condition than those at Marco Rondon, and some of them were suffering from influenza. They recounted to us earlier hardships when they had lived in the forest, being decimated by measles and then attacked by “wild Tupis” with arrows and clubs. The general picture was of a melancholy little group which appears still to have no explicit protection or assistance from FUNAI despite urgent appeals in RHT’s report.

15th August — To Fifano, Capitão Pedro and Camararé

In the morning we set out south-east along the BR 364, and after 44 km turned south along a short but very rough track of 3 km to reach the small settlement of Fifano, where some 25 Nambikuaras (Mamainde) occupy 5 huts. These were very crude shacks, with roofs of part thatch and part old corrugated iron, on walls of boards or upright slats. A simple thatched school housed five little benches but, with the departure of the English SIL couple, to whom RHT referred warmly as the saviours of this group, it lay empty and forlorn. Once again there seemed to be no assistance from FUNAI and with land pressures from surrounding farmers unlikely to slacken, it might be necessary to consider moving the group to the Nambikuaras Reserve which has been designated on the northern side of the highway. This would certainly be no panacea, however, for the Reserve as we were to see later that day on our journey to Camararé looks distinctly poor land and Nambikuaras already there are likely to resent further intrusion upon its limited game and other resources. Yet short of help from FUNAI in situ, which has never materialised despite adverse reports from ICRC and RHT, even this desperate remedy might be preferable to leaving them in their present and seemingly hopeless situation.

Our next stop was close nearby at Capitão Pedro, reached by turning off the BR 364 48 km south-east of Vilhêna, and proceeding for 10 km along a good road leading to the Colonizadora Padronal settlement. This Company is registered in São Paulo. There were again about 25 Nambikuaras (Mamainde) in the village, but the six houses in a circle with their wattle walls and thatch were more similar to the typical tribal form than was the case at Fifano. Although the hygiene was primitive, the houses and the clothes were quite clean, and with good plantations (mainly mandioc) nearby the prognosis was slightly better than at the adjacent village. Nevertheless the underlying uncertainty over land, which RHT stressed in his sombre comments on this and the neighbouring Nambikuaras communities, is still acute. We were told that the nearby Padronal claims the land and would dearly like to be rid of the Indians but so far has made no direct move.

With FUNAI apparently unconcerned over these small Nambikuaras isolated groups, their future is hardly promising. The alternatives seem fourfold; first, to move them to the new Reserve, with all the dangers this would bring; second, to leave them where they are, but with more secure title to land; third, to encourage their rapid absorption into the caboclo society around them; and fourth, to let them die as RHT forecast would happen if FUNAI stayed aloof.

The remainder of this day was spent on a lengthy journey to Camararé, which is located north of the BR 364 roughly on the border between the Aripuanã Reserve to the west and the Nambikuaras Reserve to the east and south-east. The road to Camararé branches off the BR 364 105 km south-east of Vilhêna and then proceeds for 72 km northwards through first savanna and then forest. The village, which consists of 14 huts and has a population of roughly 80, is relatively distant from the main road. It takes 4 days’ normal walking and 2 days of “furious walking” to reach it. We passed several groups of Nambikuaras along the access road, hunting and gathering and our strong impression, particularly on the savanna, was of a poor and harsh environment unlikely to support large numbers of Indians pursuing their traditional economy. However, the village itself was well stocked with
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food (mandioc and game) which had been collected to celebrate a girl’s first menstruation. The Indians seemed cheerful and well fed. Their Capitão was intelligent and efficient and spoke excellent Portuguese. He knew both Hélio Bucker and Colonel Olavo. He was hoping for another visit from the mobile health team and Dona Cecilia whose last visit had been in 1971.

A remarkable feature of this village, previously commented upon adversely by the ICRC, was the conical church of corrugated iron built by the missionaries whose large house lay nearby. The extraordinary “wigwam” style of building and the marked discrepancy between the large mission house and the Indian huts suggested a crude insensitivity of approach. We gleaned from the Indians that the recent expulsion of the mission had been well received. They had found this particular church at best irrelevant but they still liked the SIL visitors who persevere in the study of their difficult language.

16th August – To Wasusu
Wasusu (or Galera) was the last of the Nambikuara settlements we visited. Leaving the BR 364 120 km south-east of Vilhéná, the road proceeds 21 km across savanna to a village founded only three months earlier, in May 1972, as part of a major re-settlement of Nambikuara who formerly lived to the south of the BR 364. The encarregado was Fritz Todtsdorf, who for over 30 years had been a Lutheran missionary (mostly among the Eripatsa) and had joined FUNAI in 1970. He was away during our visit but our queries were answered by Arnildo Widermann, his assistant, who also had a mission background.

This group was one of two moved over the road by Todtsdorf, but another six groups, totalling about 200 Indians, were still to be transplanted. These forced migrations are a violation of the Indians’ constitutional right to live on land they have always occupied. We had it confirmed that the land in the Reserve was poor, and inferior to that on the south of the highway but the latter had already been sold to farmers and to the settlement companies such as that near Capitão Pedro. Widermann felt that primitive Nambikuara groups such as that at Wasusu, all of whom were entirely naked, would be very vulnerable if left isolated among the farms and we would not dispute this. But it was plain that the Indians were sad about their change of home and when the Chief and many others had recently returned to the ancestral grounds to bury a dead girl, they had been deeply distressed to find the farmers already cutting down their forest homelands. This may not simply have been sentiment, for until the new plantations are prepared locally the Indians will continue to depend upon their old and now threatened ones.

The agricultural carrying capacity of the Reserve is clearly going to be a critical restraint upon the number of Nambikuara who can subsist within it and it remains to be seen how successfully the new rice fields and other plantations will cope with the migration influx. But increased food supply is not going to solve all the problems of friction which seem likely, however desirable it is as a source of income as well as subsistence for Indians who presently depend almost exclusively upon the sale of their artifacts through FUNAI. The population figures for Wasusu hint at one such difficulty, for there is a sex ratio of 2 – 1 in favour of females (29 to 14 in the total population of 43). We were informed that the group “used to be 25” and had then grown by stealing women from other groups. This poaching of women is not uncommon traditionally among many Indian tribes, but it hints at some of the difficulties which might result from the enforced close proximity of rival groups.

The Nambikuara Reserve illustrates so many of the dilemmas and uncertainties about Indian protection in Brazil: the risk that the Reserve when designated will prove to be limited to the less attractive and fertile land; the risk that by uprooting small Indian groups and throwing them into a mini-melting pot, they will lose their sense of identity and be thrust into conflict with other groups; the risk, too, that even when the boundaries are drawn around the Reserve, it will be transgressed by the outside world, either blatantly by seizing land or more insidiously by the corruption of alien values along the zone of contact.

We left the Nambikuara with a deep feeling of unease,
although this was due in some measure to our inability to find out precisely what was going awry. We could not for example discover any maps showing the boundaries of the Reserve and it was equally impossible to find out what criteria (e.g. land quality) had been used to define its bounds back in 1968. Moreover, it seems extremely difficult to get details of land ownership and projected settlements along the axis of the BR 364. Without these it is next to impossible to evaluate the likely pressures upon the Reserve in the coming years. We had hints of encroachment along the southern margins of the Reserve by caboclo families, e.g. at a settlement called Maderama 16 km from Vilhena where about 50 people are said to have occupied Reserve land on the north side of the highway. We could not discover the true extent of these nibblings, nor satisfactorily find out why nothing is apparently being done to evict these squatters from land to which they have no title. We recognise that these deficiencies of information may reflect our own limitations of time or acumen, but we can only say that such questions were put repeatedly to the local people, and that their uncertainty was generally no less than ours.

17th August — To Porto Velho
Following our arrival at the capital of the Territory of Rondônia on the evening of the 16th, we had an interview the following morning with the secretary of the Governor, General Luiz Felipe de Azevedo. This followed an earlier written request to the Governor himself (Colonel João Carlos Neto) for help in reaching the somewhat inaccessible FUNAI attraction post of Sete de Setembro in the Aripuanã Park, and we are most grateful for the generous assistance we were offered. An air taxi was placed at our disposal which enabled us to fly into Sete de Setembro the next day, returning to Porto Velho on the 19th.

Before turning to the details of the visit, however, some background information may be helpful. Our eagerness to visit Aripuanã was due to a spate of rumours and allegations of brutality towards the so-called Cintas Largas (literally "broad belts") who had come violently into contact with the outside world following the construction of the BR 364. The shooting, sadistic murder and dynamiting by rubber extractors of Cintas Largas in 1963 was the most serious and well substantiated crime recorded in the 1967 Figueiredo report and subsequent Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry. It therefore seemed vital for us to enter this sensitive region where contact was far from complete. However, General Bandeira de Mello had told us in Brasilia that FUNAI is opposed to casual visitors entering these areas where a wrong word or gesture might destroy months of patient effort and we see the force of this argument. In the event we were not allowed to visit the even more remote attraction post of Roosevelt, where in November 1971 a group of FUNAI workers (including a former journalist Posidonio) had been killed by Indians, nor that at Serra Morena, where at a contact post on the Aripuanã, some 40 minutes flight beyond Roosevelt, the first presents had been exchanged only a matter of days earlier. We have no quarrel with this policy of excluding visitors from such areas, but as our experience at Sete de Setembro was to show, FUNAI appears to be less than consistent in operating its official policy of insulating freshly contacted Indians from such people.

The first peaceful FUNAI contact had been made with the Cintas Largas in 1968/69 by Apoena Meirelles (son of Francisco and named after the Xavante chief we met on the Serra do Roncador). The remarkable story had been told in detail in the National Geographic Magazine in September 1971 by Jesco von Puttkamer, a renowned photographer of Brazilian Indians. The article entitled "Brazil protects its Cintas Largas", gave a favourable interpretation of Government policy and the marked difference with earlier horrific stories made us particularly keen to check the position at Sete de Setembro, where the first contact had actually been achieved.

As a further preliminary to our visit, we had a meeting with the FUNAI Delegado, Lieutenant Pozzato, who as Director of the Aripuanã Park for some years had gained considerable first hand experience of the Cintas Largas. He told us that there might be as many as 5–6,000 Indians in the Park and rather surprisingly, estimated that they occupied upwards of 80 separate settlements.
However, given the still unexplored nature of this wild country in the Aripuanã-Roosevelt headwaters, it is highly likely that Indian tribes exist which have yet to be contacted.

18th August – To Sete de Setembro
The air taxi flight to the Surui involved a short touch-down at Rondônia, which is situated on the BR 364 and seems likely to be the major growth point between Vilhéna and Porto Velho. Resuming our flight we struck out over the densely forested and gently rolling area to the north of the highway in search of Sete de Setembro. However, the small base with its adjacent airstrip proved too elusive at first, and we diverted to Posto Riozinho (south-east of Rondônia and also on the main road) to seek further details of the attraction post's whereabouts. This détour proved valuable in the event, for there were several Surui Indians at the post – including one young man entirely naked apart from his penis sheath, who met us at the airstrip on touch-down. Observing them down on the main road, with lorries roaring by, made us acutely aware of the risks facing these primitive people. The four wooden buildings at the post established here in 1969 were not screened from passing traffic. There was a vehicle pull-in a short distance away. It hardly seemed the best location for an Indian Protection Service to choose, yet we were informed that Lieutenant Pozzato intended to make Riozinho the headquarters of the Aripuanã Park.

Moreover, as we were soon to have confirmed in our discussions at Sete de Setembro – which we found eventually some 44 km away from Riozinho – the Aripuanã Park itself has apparently receded from its original 1968 boundary on the south, having been eroded by a powerful São Paulo property development company Gleba Itaporanga. Run by two brothers Melhorança, the company had established a settlement called Vila Espigão do Oeste at 11°31'23"S and 61°00'43"W. This was on the north side of the BR 364 and within the former limits of the Park. According to our information, the Company was allowed to remain and the southern boundary of Aripuanã was pulled back to the Riozinho River. The ceding of this huge slice of excellent land appeared to be the most recent example of surrender of Indian land to outside colonizers. We discovered it only by comparing various maps. It appeared to be as bad as the worst example of the practice that reached scandalous proportions in the last days of the SPI.

The company has since continued to bring in settlers (mainly from the southern states of Brazil), “giving” them plots of land and then selling them surveying and other services and controlling all trading in the settlement.

Apparently dissatisfied with this encroachment, someone then clandestinely set up markers deep in the forest, and not far from a major Surui village. The photographer Jesco von Puttkamer, whom we were very lucky to find at Sete de Setembro during our visit, told us he removed these markers, and we also discovered and had confirmed in a discussion the following day in Porto Velho with the Chief Public Prosecutor that the Melhorança brothers had been arrested for this and that legal proceedings were being considered. Unfortunately we have no further information than this and we were rather surprised that no-one in FUNAI told us about the incident – for if indeed our information is correct, as we have good cause to believe, FUNAI deserve to be congratulated for having shown some teeth. We are not aware of any subsequent developments in the case.

Upon reaching Sete de Setembro in due course, we were greeted on landing by a SIL missionary and his wife (Bill and Carolyn Bontkes). Furthermore, we were soon to meet two French doctors, one of them accompanied by his wife, who were not FUNAI employees but apparently conducting their own research. Mr Bontkes was currently running the radio and indeed it was he who relayed to us a message from the FUNAI contact base at Roosevelt saying that the APS Mission was not authorised to visit it. As said earlier, we have no quarrel with this prohibition but we found it somewhat incongruous to be told so by a missionary who – according to General Bandeira de Mello’s firm words to us in Brasília – had no right to be present in this contact area at all. Moreover, Mr Bontkes had been present there from the start, right back in 1968–69 when Apoena made his initial contact.

Only a fortnight before our arrival the encarregado (Euclides Barnado, aged 49) had died in tragic circumstances.
Suffering from a perforated ulcer and, with the radio at first out of action when an emergency plane needed to be summoned, he had died one night from loss of blood, with the French doctors having to look helplessly on. A harrowing experience, it brought home to all of us the potentially lethal risks which face those on FUNAI’s far frontier.

But there are other risks too and the President’s comments on the danger of sectarian missionaries rushing in to “convert” newly contacted Indians had seemed to us well justified. We understand that SIL (unlike some of the sects active elsewhere in Brazil) carries its proselytizing role lightly, and we were throughout impressed with the intellectual calibre of its workers. It specialists in the translation of Indian languages — the objective being to make the gospels accessible. With few others able or willing to devote their lives to such linguistics, it is not difficult to see why FUNAI appears to make an exception in their case. One SIL Missionary, we were told, is working on a language spoken now by only seven Indians. Yet all this begs the question of what criteria are used to identify those qualified to meet — and perhaps profoundly influence — the Indian emerging suddenly from his Primaev forest culture. The real issue is not why the occasional and, maybe, exceptionally qualified missionary is involved in the so-called “pacification” but why there are not many more scientifically qualified people, notably anthropologists, called upon and willing to help.

Turning to the work currently going on at Sete de Setembro, it basically follows the well-tried procedures of attraction and pacification whose first stages were described so graphically by Jesco in his 1971 article. In the beginning, gifts are left in the forest as a sign of friendship. Slowly, depending on how suspicious and fearful the Indians locally may be, the one-way traffic in gifts is replaced by a steadily more complex exchange, with gifts being left in return by the tribe. Such tentative probing may last for months or even years, but as suspicion wili, the day of face-to-face meeting comes nearer.

Yet, as with marriage, the moment of union is but the prelude to a long, complex and often strained relationship between the Indian and the civilized. At Sete de Setembro
discovered with many spent cartridge cases of heavy shot. These are believed to have been fired by men employed by a rubber company. This was the only evidence that anything similar had happened recently and everything we saw and heard refuted the charge that genocide or murder was being tolerated or connived at by FUNAI. Nevertheless, despite such straws in the wind as the arrest of the Melhorança brothers, we left Aripuanã with serious misgivings about the future of the Park. As with the Nambikwara Reserve nearby, land security and title seem far from clear, and it may well be that until a successful prosecution against land theft is brought, the more unscrupulous farmers will continue to ignore the writ of FUNAI and Brasília. In the meantime, Suruí Indians, with scarcely a word of Portuguese and scarcely a stitch of clothing, will remain exposed to the stares and sniggers of the civilizado in transit along the BR 364 and to the schemes and slyness of those who are settling its length.

20th August — To Tabatinga
This was the last flight in the DC 47, which brought us via Rio Branco in Acre to the Colombian border on the Upper Solimões at Tabatinga. During this flight we passed over the valleys of the Juruá and Purus, where some of the most brutal exploitation of Indians had taken place during the rubber boom, and where to this day there is a marked dearth of anthropological information about the subsequent history of the devastated tribes. We had hoped to visit at least one of these, at Dani (see Map 2 for location), but unfortunately an inability to obtain a suitable light aircraft both in Porto Velho and later in Tabatinga forced us to abandon the plan. We should make it clear that our failure to enter this important and relatively unknown Indian area was due to our failure despite several efforts locally to find a plane capable of landing at the various air-strips or on the rivers.

However, we were fortunate in being given the use of a fast motor launch by the Army Command at Tabatinga, and this enabled us to visit two Tikuna villages on the Solimões, at Posto Umariassu nearby on the 21st and the more distant Belém Solimões on the 23rd.

21st August — To Posto Umariassu
As Eduardo Galvão’s map (inset to Map 1) makes clear, the main Amazon-Solimões axis is largely empty of Indians, and only in the highest reaches of the Upper Solimões near the Colombian-Peruvian border is there any significant aboriginal tribe remaining. Inevitably however, the Tikuna Indians who moved here after the disappearance of the original Omaqua and other inhabitants have been profoundly influenced by the movement of traders and adventurers along the great river, and the ICRC Report had drawn attention to some highly unsatisfactory aspects of the present-day contact. In particular it had referred to tourists (on the so-called Green Hell Tours) being taken to the Tikuna village alongside Posto Umariassu (about 5 km down river from Tabatinga) to witness the ceremony of plucking the hair of the virgin (part of the moça nova rite). One of our first questions to the encarregado was on this, and we were very pleased to learn that the President of FUNAI had ordered these visits to stop. Despite pleas from the tour operator in Leticia (Colombia), and apparently too from the Brazilian consul there, this instruction has been carried out.

Contact between Tikuna and civilizado goes back to the 17th century, and most of the Indians can understand Portuguese. The Posto de Fronteira appears to date from the 1930’s, but the encarregado (at 23 typical of the young intake) had only arrived the year earlier. He could not tell us the precise boundaries of the Reserve (if such it even be technically), but said it had a 2,500 m frontage on the Solimões, with depths unknown. In view of his evidence of numerous settlers between the post and Tabatinga and his own admission that 5 settlers were actually within what he regarded as the Reserve area, this imprecision over boundaries — and over powers of expulsion of intruders — confirmed all our earlier suspicions about FUNAI’s land policy. His pleas for a clear definition or a map of the boundaries have so far gone unanswered.

Another disturbing feature was the quite pathetic shelf of drugs which served as the village’s medical supply. With a population of perhaps 1,500, and a lot of worms, anaemia and probably TB, we were surprised to find that only one
FUNAI first-aid kit had ever arrived (December 1971). It so happened, admittedly, that our visit to the village coincided with the arrival of an Army team which was vaccinating against smallpox, typhoid and tetanus, and we also learned that in 1971 Projeto Rondon had vaccinated against whooping cough. However, the lack of co-ordination between FUNAI and the Army was apparent in that the encarregado did not appear to know anything about the vaccination going on that day until we ourselves told him.

There were nevertheless some encouraging features to report. The population was growing, with 28 births and only 2 deaths the previous year (a rate of natural increase of rather less than 2%). The Indians were building numerous houses for themselves, a rice plantation had been started, and the encarregado was doing his best to get the Indians keen on sports such as football and volley-ball. Another welcome piece of news was the tribe’s recent rejection of alcohol (formerly a serious problem), but upon this hung a tale with rather less satisfactory features. It appears that in May 1972 a messianic leader or visionary named José da Cruz had arrived with an apocalyptic message from his “voices” in the forest. We were to hear the full story later in Belém Solimões, where he had had a similar impact on the Indians (and indeed upon the caboclos too), and his modified teaching of a Day of Judgement in 1975, when all those places not having his crosses would be flooded and subjected to 70 hours of darkness, had sparked off a puritanical enthusiasm all along the Upper Solimões. The new cult, with its vague promises of “a foreign man” who would come later, giving out gold, was obviously in a long tradition of millennial sects, but despite its favourable (short-term?) side effects it is unlikely to contribute much to any solution of the Indians’ problems on the Solimões.

23rd August – To Belém-Solimões
Following a day vainly spent seeking a plane in Leticia we set out for the Tikuna village of Belém-Solimões, about 90 km downstream from the Army base. This large village had recently seen its population of about 770 swell to over 1,000 as a result of José da Cruz’s teaching about the coming flood.

A new “church” to the prophet had been erected with a large cross surrounded by a palisade; open-sided with many pews its altar was ornamented with plastic flowers and inspirational messages. Da Cruz had stayed in Belém for six days the previous June, and many Indians had stayed up all night listening to him in the rain. Soon after, and presumably in consequence, a severe influenza epidemic had hit the village and 20 adults and children died. The Bishop of São Paulo de Olivença, who was there at the time, arranged for medicines to be brought in, but FUNAI did not intervene. Some of the Indians apparently refused to take the medicine because José da Cruz (although himself ostensibly a Catholic) had preached against the Capuchin mission which has served the village since its foundation about 30 years ago.

It soon became apparent that the mission, rather than FUNAI, was looking after the Indians locally. It had a large two-storey wooden schoolhouse, and recently had added some smart concrete-lattice classrooms, in which taught 5 female schoolteachers who impressed us with their high morale and sense of dedication to the Indians. There was no doctor or nurse however, and the small pharmacy in the mission was operated by the teachers. No doctor ever seemed to visit the village and nobody other than the mission had been giving medical help.

With no air-strip and no radio and with no regular boat service stopping at Belém, we sensed that these Tikuna are in practice much more isolated from the rest of Brazil than their situation on the Solimões might imply.

Until recently indeed, their experience had more than confirmed the indifference of the outside world towards their welfare. Half the village it seems, still belongs to a local “boss”, Jordão Aires de Almeida. His uncle had acquired the site of 840,000 sq. metres long before (a map purporting to prove his title was shown to us, dated 1900). Almeida owns the only shop, which sells trade goods, trinkets and patent medicines to the Indians at prices which they alleged to us were exorbitant. As he was away, his wife answered our questions, and among other things told us that the Indians had arrived on this site only four years earlier. This we simply did not believe, but it is hardly surprising that earlier events
are being deliberately forgotten. The teachers told us that the Indians had been used as virtual slaves and punished with metal shackles and chains to prevent them escaping at night. A naval corvette passing by in 1967 reported this to Tabatinga, and the Army arrested Almeida and his son and sent them to Manaus for trial. The son was also accused of molesting Indian girls over whom he was alleged to have exercised a form of droit de seigneur. Subsequently released, they are now free on good behaviour.

The only evidence we had of any intervention by FUNAI in recent years was the arrival of the encarregado from Umariassu shortly before our visit. He had been sent by the Army, on the request of the mission teachers, to help calm the divisive tensions created by da Cruz, and in this he succeeded. Another item of encouragement was the generally clean condition of the houses and clothes, and as far as we could ascertain there was enough space for plantations on the terra devoluta (legally owned land) behind the village to feed the Indians. Fish were in plentiful supply, to judge from the number hanging up to dry.

In summary then the general impression was of a marked improvement from the deplorable conditions of five or six years earlier, but with little having been done by the authorities to protect the Indians from the long-term insecurity and exploitation which still threaten them.

24th August – To Jauaretê and São Gabriel da Cachoeira (Uaupés)

Our stay on the Upper Solimões had already made us aware of the role of Christian missions, as distinct from FUNAI, in helping the Indians and the shift of responsibility became very marked during the days which followed our departure by Catalina for the northern frontier regions of the Rio Negro and the Rio Branco drainage. For the whole of the following week, with the exception of the FUNAI cattle station at São Marcos north of Boa Vista, our route lay in mission territory and we visited in turn the Salesians and the Consolata Orders (both Catholic), the New Tribes and the Unevangelised Fields Missions (both Protestant) and finally, at Tirios, the Franciscans (also Catholic). As well as speaking with the missionaries in the field, we met Dom Servilio Conti, the Bispo Prelado de Roraima in Boa Vista, and later in Manaus we contacted the Missão Novas Tribos do Brasil, from which we later received a very full and informative account of its work in Amazonas, Acre and Rondônia. In the later stages of our journey, we also met the Rev. Douglas McAlistair of the Unevangelised Fields Mission (in Belém), and Mr James Wilson of SIL (in Brasília). We were treated with great courtesy and frankness and much detailed information was provided. Although our comments on the work of some of the missions will prove critical, we wish to preface this section by recording our respect for men and women who have shown courage and fortitude in doing what they consider is right for the Indians of Brazil.

The first of the missions we reached was at Jauareté, where the Salesians serve a large area along the upper Uaupés and Papuri rivers. Located at the junction of the two rivers on the Colombian frontier, the mission was founded in 1930 and today provides one of the largest boarding schools for Indian children anywhere in Brazil. The total number of Indians within the area served amounts to over 4,600 and as Appendix 5 (Table 3) shows, these include both Tupi and Carib language groups and some 10 different tribes, of which the dominant group are the Tukano who seem to have imposed their language on most of the others. There were 316 pupils at the boarding school at the time of our visit, with an additional 437 being taught at 22 rural schools scattered throughout the frontier region. Mobral (the Brazilian adult literacy campaign) also teaches 240 Indian adults locally. At the main school, which children enter for boarding at the age of 10, there were 8 primary classes, 3 secondary, and a ginásio for further education was available at the down-river mission of Uaupés (see below). We were informed that parents are generally keen for their children to have this boarding education, and certainly we found the school well equipped with sports grounds, a carpentry shop, and looms where the girls (and women) make various handicrafts, including rugs, bags and basketry for sale. Fourteen padres and sisters teach in the school, while the rural schools are served by 7 Indian girl teachers (trained by
the Salesians and paid by the State of Amazonas) and by 25 primary assistant teachers (without diplomas, but paid by the municipality of Iauareté). Income for the school includes a payment of Cr. 700 (≈ £50) annually for each boarding pupil from SUDAM and Adveniat (a Catholic charity in Germany) sends money for community development.

The mission had an impressive central clinic run by the sisters, and a FAB doctor visits each fortnight. In addition to this free service, the Air Force also provide without charge a regular Catalina service for carrying cargo, passengers, medicine and so on. This liaison between Christian missions and FAB was later to be found throughout the whole of the northern frontier region served by the First Zona Aérea based on Belém and reflects the close personal interest taken in Indian welfare by its commanding officer Brigadier Camarão.

The process of acculturation had clearly gone far in Iauareté and the Salesians were quite explicit in defining their role as that of preparing the Indians for self-government. "At which time", said one of the padres, "we would be pleased to leave them to themselves." In many ways the position may lend itself to a successful outcome, as there are no immediate pressures from farmers in this remote area. Each village has its own land, which is Indian patrimony, and although the area is poor in game, farming and (more recently) animal husbandry are practised and food seems adequate. Infant mortality is very low and with large families of, commonly, 7 or 8 children the population is rising quickly by some 500 net in the past three years, or an annual rate of roughly 4%.

Although the houses we visited in the nearby village of Tariano Indians had relatively little furniture, we were told that in the area served by the mission there were 196 sewing machines, 104 radios, 34 gramophones and 42 outboard motors owned by Indians. We were later to meet one old frontiersman however, who had lived on the border since before the mission came and who deeply regretted the changes which were coming over the Indian way of life. He claimed that the tribes had lost their former pride and self-sufficiency and instead become humble and sheepish with an unreal, cloistered view of Christian civilisation.

It was not difficult to sympathise with his feelings as we stood in the shadow of the large wooden multi-coloured church which dominates the school and saw everywhere the grottoes, devotional pictures, messages, shrines and medallions of an intrusive culture.

From Iauareté we proceeded the same day to the Salesian mission at Uaupés, or São Gabriel da Cachoeira as the settlement is now generally known. On the Rio Negro some 30 km below the confluence with the Uaupés, this is the seat of the Salesian Bishop of Rio Negro, Dom Miguel Alagna. The air-strip was located 20 km away, and our subsequent road journey strikingly confirmed the great difficulty of land transportation in these steep and rocky hills of the north. As at Iauareté, FAB flies a regular service and provides medical help. The mission itself has no plane, although it has one launch and various outboard-motors.

The Salesians arrived in 1921 and a school was founded in the early years of the mission. In 1968 a ginásio was added, and this now has 110 pupils out of a total of 361. Although girls outnumber boys in the primary school by 5:3, well over half the ginásio pupils are boys. The majority of pupils however are mestizos, reflecting the large-scale arrival of civilizados during the past half-century. Many of the former Indians removed themselves up river while those who remained — upwards of one-third of the total of nearly 7,000 people living in the immediate vicinity of the mission — became heavily integrated. Virtually everyone, for example, speaks Portuguese (compared to only 50% at Iauareté), and to judge from a rather bizarre concert we attended that night the pupils are keen on pop music complete with excruciatingly noisy electric guitars.

The long-term problem in this area seems to be employment prospects. The first class was about to graduate from the ginásio, and the best pupils were to be selected for further education as teachers, agronomists and traders. However, the land in this area was described as weak and full of ants, and the mission is not self-supporting in food; we were told that there were too few labourers to make agriculture profitable. Transport is slow and expensive, and with only 14,000 people in the whole municipality of Uaupés (which embraces a vast territory from Iauareté and the Icana
eastwards), there seems little prospect of attracting industries to serve the local market. In short, Uaupés reminded us that the economic future of the Indian is parlous not simply because he is an Indian, but because he lives in relatively remote areas which do not lend themselves to diversified and broadly-based enterprises. The caboclo, equally with the Indian of the Rio Negro, will not find his children offered anything like the range of opportunity for which the Salesians' education has fitted them.

25th August – To Tupuruquara and Boa Vista
Our touch-down at Tupuruquara on the Rio Negro downstream from Uaupés was brief and time did not permit us to visit the Salesian mission and the neighbouring settlement of Santa Isabel. However, we met at the air-strip Padre Miguel Ghigo who proved informative about the work of his Order and that of FAB and the following account is based upon our conversation.

The Salesians of Dom Bosco, as they are sometimes described, date from 1841, and in 1913 Rome granted them the Upper Negro region. Following the establishment of the Iauareté and Uaupés missions in 1921 and 1930, a school was founded at Tupuruquara in 1940, and was followed in 1952 by the first ginásio in the region (ante-dating Uaupés by 16 years). Operated by 4 padres and 8 sisters, there are now 385 pupils at the school and ginásio, of whom 225 are boarders. The ginásio caters primarily for girls, and has trained all the native teachers employed throughout the Upper Negro. Although tuition is wholly in Portuguese, Tukano is still spoken widely among Indians of Santa Isabel (who form about half the town's population of 3,500) and many still speak língua geral the Jesuit's blend of Tupi and Guarani.

As in Uaupés integration has proceeded apace and Indians travel widely down the Negro, trading as far as Manaus in artifacts and mandioc flour. FUNAI plays next to no part in the process of acculturation among the Tukano, but we were told it had recently opened a post near the junction of the Maya and Cauaboris rivers designed to serve the more remote tribes (especially the Yanomami) in the mountains north of the Negro. We also heard of a FUNAI intervention when a trader had failed to pay the Indians for the piacaba – used for rope – which they had extracted on the Rio Preto. FUNAI resolved the dispute by itself buying the 4–5,000 kilos involved.

The Salesians too seem to be extending their work among the Yanomami along the Venezuelan border, particularly in the vicinity of Brazil's highest peak, the Pico da Neblina, where Padre Coco was said to be working. Elsewhere Padre Goes, who first moved into Yanomami country in the mid-fifties, is apparently building a big school for these Indians at a station called Maturaca. In short, much of the pioneering contact with the biggest surviving tribe of primitive Indians in Brazil is being carried out by missionaries, and this picture was to be amply confirmed in our own subsequent journey to the Yanomami.

The arm of the Government is nevertheless beginning to reach out along the Negro in the form of INCRA which has recently arrived to register land. Once the land has been registered, it becomes liable for tax and the traders who loosely own miles of ill-defined river bank are grumbling that instead of levying taxes, the authorities should pay people to settle in the area. However, from the point of view of the indigenous inhabitants of the whole area between the Negro and the Venezuelan border, the more vital issue is that of defining their Reserves and we shall return to this when describing our visit to the Yanomami.

Once again we had impressed upon us the excellent services offered by FAB. In 1970 an influenza epidemic among the Yanomami apparently sparked off a much worse and very lethal epidemic of TB and the padres from Tupuruquara went to Manaus "in desperation" in search of help. FAB promptly sent in ample supplies of medicines and lifted the worst cases out for hospital treatment in Manaus. In this case, moreover, FUNAI "took a keen interest" and seem to have performed well, stationing a doctor on the Maya for several months. Altogether about 100 Indians died, but this high number may have been due to the isolation of the particular Yanomami groups who were worst hit by the epidemic.

The general impression we drew from our journey down
the Uaupés-Negro was of a lengthy and creditable effort on the part of the Salesians to assist the tribes, who are gradually becoming enmeshed in Brazilian economy and society. Given time, and (as notably at Iauareté) a lack of the more extreme pressures of land hunger and greed met in Mato Grosso and Rondônia, there is some hope that this patient process will succeed in integrating the Indians without the sort of tragedies and traumas common to other areas in the past. Our regret, however, and the concert at Uaupés made the point forcibly, is that the Salesians — perhaps for the best of motives — seem to have emasculated and even obliterated the Indian as an Indian. At São Marcos we did not get the same feeling, but the Xavante are less disposed to let themselves be emasculated and have been contacted much more recently. At all events, we hope that in the future the Yanomami can be saved from the belief that integration means the abolition of ethnic and cultural distinctiveness. Even in the melting-pot, the general flavour depends upon the strength of the individual ingredients.

From Tupuruquara the Catalina flew to Boa Vista, the capital of the Territory of Roraima, passing over the wild and beautiful country which has so far sheltered the Yanomami. Upon our arrival, we were met by a representative of the Governor, and in response to our earlier written request, we were generously offered the use of an air-taxi to take us to the three stations we had asked to visit among the Yanomami: Catrimani, Toototobi and Surucucu. 26th August — To Catrimani

We arrived in Catrimani in little more than an hour's flight from Boa Vista, but the effect — as in Sete de Setembro — was as if we had boarded a time machine. The Yanomami, as already indicated, are probably the largest tribe of unacculturated Indians in South America, and half of their 10,000 members probably live in Brazil. Almost entirely naked and with a deserved reputation as the "fierce people" because of their constant internecine warfare, they are a very precious survival in a world where uniformity is rapidly spreading. Contact with them has been intermittent at best during recent decades, although as long ago as 1932 there was a massacre when a band of rubber collectors opened fire and killed 7 Indians.

At that time the Consolata Mission, which had been founded in Turin in 1901, had recently begun operations in southern and urban Brazil. In 1947 it came to Roraima and worked among the Makuxi Indians of the north-east, but from 1954 onwards it began to make contact with the so-called Waika Indians of the Apiau River. In 1961 Padre Bindo Meldollesi first went up the Catrimani River and following his early contact with Yanomami there, he and Padre Giovanni Calleri (later killed in 1967 leading an attraction team among the Waimiri-Atroari) established Catrimani mission in October 1965.

At the time of our visit the Padre in charge was João Baptista Saffirio, and the population of the adjacent maloca was approximately 40 — although there were another 25 visitors present, who had arrived to make peace after a period of squabbling over a woman. The Indian land is neither defined nor demarcated, as we shall discuss below, but the mission has made great efforts to establish plantations and gardens of pineapples, oranges, mandioc, rice, beans and papaya. Chickens and pigs were numerous and in short the atmosphere seemed efficient and cheerful. The mission has been trying to impart a notion of values among the Indians, but it is proceeding cautiously in acquainting them with the products and money of the outside world. It destroys the used boxes and cans which come into the mission by air, so that native baskets etc. will not become a forgotten art and instead of money a special coloured set of cards is used to reward the Indian for his labour. With these he can "purchase" knives, mandioc graters, or guns, and he can also obtain these by bartering his bows and arrows (the largest of any Indian tribe we met) or his feathers. The rate of barter seemed quite generous.

We detected no evidence of any religious indoctrination, and on the contrary found a deep respect for Yanomami culture. Ornaments, medallions and all the other features so evident at Iauareté were conspicuously absent. Medical care is now provided at an infirmary paid for by a Montreal charity, and the LBA also donates Cr. 24,000 (=$1,720) annually for...
medicines. The pharmacy was certainly well equipped, with a resident nurse. We were shown a recent victim of TB who had been flown to Boa Vista for treatment by the town’s health department.

As elsewhere in the far north of Brazil contact with FUNAI was tenuous and intermittent at best; one visit was made by Gilberto Pinto Figueiredo — a famous sertanista whom we met later in Manaus — to investigate the padre’s efforts to keep skin-hunters out of the area, and a favourable report on the mission was subsequently sent to FUNAI. Rather more surprisingly we discovered that none of those at Catrimani had any knowledge of the Government’s proposal to set up a Yanomami Park, and the same ignorance was to be discovered at the two other missions we visited on August 28th.

Our three days at Catrimani were among the most memorable of our journey, for here we felt that a remarkable and attractive people were being treated with tact, consideration and sympathy by the mission. We were invited on the Saturday evening to witness the Yanomami women dancing in the magnificent closed maloca which stands some 300 m away from the mission buildings. The following day the visitors joined with their hosts in a ceremonial hallucinogenic festival to bury an old feud. Perhaps, with the plantations and the introduction of guns; the old ways will begin to be eroded, even in Catrimani, but nowhere could the inevitable processes of integration have been begun with greater tact and understanding towards the Indians.

28th August – To Toototobi, Surucucu and Boa Vista

On our arrival at the New Tribes mission of Toototobi, about 360 km south-west of Boa Vista, we were met by Keith and Myrtle Wardlaw who had started there in 1963 following the first local contact with the Yanomami in 1959. The mission is evangelical and stresses the need for personal salvation through the person of Jesus Christ; we were told however that the local Indians had a strong culture which was “difficult to break”, and it seemed that in 9 years only one convert had been made. This man proved to be the Chief, who met us clad in a mustard-coloured Playboy Club shirt; but we were told that even he showed signs of losing his faith. Another complaint of this missionary concerned the Indians’ unwillingness to accumulate material possessions by work and saving. As for garments, “almost every one of these people has had clothes at some time, but they shed them — gave them away . . .”

In short, the Yanomami seemed to be content with their culture, and had proved strong enough to resist the converting zeal of the missionaries. The lesson however has been learned: “We were too aware of the urgency of bringing the message of Jesus Christ to these people . . . it is a great mistake to belittle the spirit world. It is very real to the Yanomami . . .” We should add that we found the Indians of this particular maloca (which contained about 65 Yanomami out of the 500 or more on the Upper Demeni River who are in contact with the mission) to be physically fit and to all appearances of good morale. Health may well be vulnerable however to future contacts with the outside world; in 1967 a measles epidemic had struck locally and 17 adults and children died. Malaria is endemic and a team of doctors from Michigan had recently found nearly all the Indians suffering from enlarged spleen, but perhaps the most pressing danger is the sort of TB epidemic which had struck on the Maya in 1970. More urgent attention to preventive medicine seems desirable, but once again FUNAI seems to play virtually no part in helping the mission. Toototobi in fact had quite an efficient if small pharmacy, but all the medicine had to be paid for out of the missionary’s own funds (which derive from a church base back in the USA). The nearest Posto Indigena is at Ajuricaba (see Map 2), which apparently sends a boat up river once or twice a year to trade skins from the Indians, but although some trade goods are brought, so far no medicines have been included.

Our stay at Toototobi was all too brief and any conclusions must be tentative. However we felt that the dedicated missionaries had gained a more sympathetic and profound insight into the Yanomami culture during the years they have lived among them, and that the perhaps crude mistakes of the early days were unlikely to be repeated. All the same, the question remains whether it is right to allocate newly contacted
Indians to proselytising sects, without at least some overall surveillance by experienced anthropologists, particularly when — as at Toototobi — we were told that co-operation with non-Protestant missions (“those not based on personal salvation through Jesus Christ”) is impossible. The Yanomami may sometimes be their own worst enemies, admittedly, but it can hardly help to have the various tribal groups riven still further by Christian schisms.

Our next stop was at Surucucu, reached by a flight over the headwaters of the Orinoco. Here the Unevangelised Fields Mission (of Philadelphia) was in charge, serving some 3,000 Yanomami who live within 3–4 days’ walking distance within Brazil. Our visit coincided with a desultory but protracted local war, sparked off originally by the alleged abduction of a woman the previous March. A subsequent reprisal raid led to the death of 2 men and the trouble spread to the mission itself in June when one of the contending groups raided the store in search of machetes. This potentially dangerous situation was obviously handicapping the mission’s work and the story of the raid, plus the tension which deterred more than a handful of Indians from gathering at the mission to see us, helped remind us of the courage needed to man these lonely stations.

The first arrival of civilizados in this mountainous and extremely beautiful area had occurred only in 1961, when in an exciting landing Brigadier Camarão himself flew on to a grassy plateau nearby. The missionaries followed, believed at first to be the spirits of dead ancestors, and “for a while the Indians would not touch anything from the mission. Then they suddenly decided we were real, and then the problem was to stop them stealing everything . . .”

Robert and Gay Cable, who were manning the station when we arrived, told us of the effort to teach the Indians the monetary value of things. With so many Yanomami in the vicinity, and with so many suddenly desirable things available in the mission, a problem of supply has emerged. Moreover, “we don’t want to give things and turn them into beggars . . . but now that the mission is well established, we are rather short of work to be done and it is getting hard to trade”.

This is, of course, a common problem, but the sheer number of Indians magnifies it along the remote Venezuelan border. Also, the number of Indians might well soon increase in consequence of the vaccinations completed at the mission. Unlike at Toototobi, measles vaccine has been flown in and administered and so too have smallpox, diphtheria and whooping cough vaccines. We do not have the population data to make any sort of forecasts, but the Toototobi figures (see Table 4 of Appendix 5) hint at a potentially buoyant demographic situation once the killer epidemics are mastered among the Yanomami.

We sensed both dedication and patient stamina at Surucucu. As well as the evidence of the vaccinations, there was the small child we saw who had been taken to Rio for a hare lip operation. Another encouraging sign was the dignified “church” in the open air, with the pews simple logs of wood and with none of the jarring pretentiousness of Camararé.

After these two comparatively brief stops we returned to Boa Vista. But before leaving the Yanomami we must express our astonishment and anxiety about the restricted limits proposed for their Park. As already said, none of the experienced missionaries we met, neither Catholic nor Protestant, had even heard that a Park was planned. Nor did they know its boundaries. We ourselves were eventually to see these on a FUNAI document in Manaus (see Map 2) and it was immediately clear that its limits were hopelessly inadequate. Almost incredibly it excludes every single one of the Yanomami villages acknowledged to exist by FUNAI itself. The map shows that not one of the places we ourselves visited would be within it. René Fuerst, who on earlier visits to the Yanomami lived among them for months on end, estimates that only 300–350 — or something like 7% of the tribe’s numbers in Brazil — would normally be found within this shrunken area. To define it without consulting the local people is bad enough, but to draw it in such a way as to expose the bulk of this large tribe to land-grabbing by intruders is quite indefensible.

We consider that a major extension of this Reserve is both necessary and justified and furthermore that discussions
should be opened with the Venezuelan authorities to see what forms of liaison and co-ordination of Indian policy are possible along the frontier. This could well be a test case of Brazilian Government policy towards Indian Reserves and we have no doubt that the local missionaries (and indeed virtually everyone else we spoke to in Brazil on this matter) would endorse our recommendations.

29th August – To Lethem, Guyana
In 1969 the leader of the APS Mission, Edwin Brooks, had carried out an investigation of the condition of the Makuxi and Wapixana Indians in the Rupununi savannas of Guyana. Following an abortive uprising by a group of ranchers earlier that year, allegations had been made of a ruthless suppression by the Georgetown Government involving brutalities to the Indians locally. Although Brooks’ investigations had concluded that the allegations were wildly exaggerated, it was clear that the position of the Guyanese Indians (or, for clarity in that country, the Amerindians) was vulnerable to the same sort of colonising pressure that Brazil has been experiencing. Since the APS team happened to be so close to the Rupununi, the opportunity was taken to pay a brief call over the border at Lethem, to see whether conditions had changed much in the intervening three years.

It would be tempting, but beyond the brief of our present Report, to recount the details of this day’s journey by jeep, generously made available by the Governor of Roraima. However, in view of the large numbers of Amerindians on the Guyanese side of the savannas which stretch from Boa Vista eastwards, (there are estimated to be some 8,000 Wapixana alone), it might be suggested that here too, as on the Venezuelan border, it would be sensible for the countries concerned to co-ordinate their Indian policies as much as possible. There seems little doubt, for example, that some of the Wapixana who fled across the River Takutu into Brazil in the chaotic days after the uprising, have never returned home. Similar migrations could well occur either way in the future depending on local conditions, and it could be a matter of concern for Brazil, say, if the recommendations on land tenure contained in the Guyanese Amerindian Lands Commission’s 1969 Report failed to be implemented and instead an influx of settlers from the coast came to occupy the savannas.

30th August – To São Marcos, Roraima
In the morning we went 50 km up the Rio Branco by motor launch to visit the solitary FUNAI post which exists in Roraima Territory (see Map 2). Alongside lies an important cattle station with some 3,000 head of stock. The Parliamentary Commission of enquiry published 1971, revealed that the number of cattle on these ranches had mysteriously shrunk from some 20,000 head to this depleted figure. Detailed information proved hard to obtain as the encarregado was in Brasilia and the capitu in Boa Vista (where we were told he is usually to be found). The Makuxi Indians who live in and around São Marcos seemed reasonably well fed and cheerful, and, like the Makuxi at the (Guyanese) mission of St. Ignatius near Lethem, they have become closely integrated with the wider society. The cattle are (as in Bananal) owned by FUNAI and the yield presumably goes to the Renda Indígena; meat however was being sold cheaply to the Indians at Cr. 2 (= 14p) per kilo. The local teacher was of high calibre and seemed lively and enthusiastic. She complained that FUNAI provided no scholastic material at schools. This was the only occasion during our two-months’ visit when we saw a class in progress on a FUNAI post although we saw many mission classes. Her pupils were certainly most engaging. Outside the school was a well equipped playground which had been constructed two years earlier, and which was obviously appreciated by the children.

The basic problem however, confirmed in a discussion later that day with Dom Servillo Conti (Bispo Prelado de Roraima) in Boa Vista, is once again land. The Makuxi are essentially agricultural cultivators for whom an unambiguous title to land is vital, yet farmers and their cattle have encroached upon their territory and protective demarcation has still to be carried out. As the Amerindian Lands Commission was to make clear in the Rupununi, where the environment is the same as around São Marcos, the savanna lands are poor and basically infertile, and for Indians who lack the capital to
permit intensive cultivation with fertilisers it is essential to be guaranteed in quantity what is lacking in quality. FUNAI must be fully aware of this problem, particularly as the Bishop submitted a fairly detailed statement in February 1972 which stressed the urgency of demarcating the Makuxi farmsteads; but with FUNAI so thin on the ground throughout Roraima it is not altogether surprising that this special type of land problem has been rather lost sight of in the overall programme of demarcating Reserves and Parks.

31st August — To Tirios, Tumucumaque
The flight eastwards from Boa Vista took us in turn across savanna and thick forest in southern Guyana, and then once again to the savannas which lie on the Surinamese border with Brazil. Here too lies one of Brazil’s major national Parks, Tumucumaque, occupied by probably no more than a few hundreds of Indians, of whom the Tirio are the major group. Ninety-five per cent of the 25,000 sq. km of the Park is savanna, making this — as we were shortly to discover accidentally — the most obvious area through which to drive a road north from opposite Santarém on the Amazon to Paramaribo on the Atlantic coast in Surinam.

The Franciscan mission of Tirios where we landed had been founded in 1959 with the active encouragement of Brigadier Camarão and FAB; hitherto the Tirio, Kaxuyana and Ewarhoyana Indians of this frontier zone had received no assistance whatever. The decade of acculturation which followed has been described in detail by the anthropologist and former missionary Protasio Frikel (see bibliography) whom we were lucky to meet personally at the nearby village of Paimeru. He repeated to us one of the major themes of his book, that the religious divide which follows the international border — with a Catholic mission in Brazil and Protestants just to the north in Surinam — has been a tragedy for the Indians. As well as causing religious dissension and a sort of religious “sifting” via migration as a result, he claimed that the missions “have put an end to the era of tribal festivals. I don’t think these will return. The Indians have a physical future, but not a cultural one.”

Yet despite these apparently favourable signs, we left Tirios with more than our ordinary share of unease about the future. For as we were eating a meal in the village, there arrived a colonel from the 9th Batalhão Rondon of the Army Engineers, together with a group of military colleagues prospecting a highway clean through Tumucumaque to the north and Surinam. Upon questioning he made it clear that the new road from Santarém would undoubtedly go through the savanna for ease of construction, but that although it would enter the Park it would proceed some way distant from the mission itself. The missionaries however were certainly alarmed at the dangers inherent in such a major

Tirios, and although Christianity was clearly in the ascend-
through route across this presently isolated region — whose physical difficulties of access have hitherto been reinforced by FAB's control over all flights into this border zone. We share this concern, but we are also disturbed to realise that had we not (quite fortuitously) met the colonel, our prognosis for Tumucumaque would have been markedly different. We subsequently wondered how many similar developments were already under way in other Indian lands and whether public discussion has elsewhere been prevented by failure to reveal what is being planned. At no time did we hear anyone from FUNAI even hint at this road through Tumucumaque, which is frankly surprising in view of the fierce arguments which have broken out over the routing of the BR 80 through Xingu. Either FUNAI had not been informed of the new road, which begs some serious questions about liaison with the Army Engineers (and with fellow departments of the Ministry of the Interior), or it has not felt it necessary to reveal the plans publicly. Yet given the manifest inaccuracy of so many of the maps which exist showing road schemes (see Map 4 and the further comments in Chapter 3), it seems particularly important for the responsible agency to show what is actually happening to the Indian lands entrusted to it. Brazil already has alarmingly few evidence of violation of the three most important: Xingu, Aripuanã, Tumucumaque.

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1st September — To Manaus

To visit the famous Opera House in Manaus is to be reminded of the bizarre and grandiose opulence which, like some Amazonian orchid, grew out of rottenness. However, the decimation of the forest Indians along the Putumayo, the Juruá and the Purus, is now a matter of history, and we found Manaus beginning to enter a new phase of growth after the long years of stagnation which followed the end of the rubber boom. The main event of our stay there was the visit to the 1st Delegacia Regional, where although we were unfortunately not able to meet the Delegado that particular weekend, by a stroke of good fortune we met one of the most famous of all sertanistas, Gilberto Pinto Figueiredo Costa. He had joined the old SPI back in 1941, and described how Rondon had initiated the first Inspectorate at Manaus in the early 1940's. At that time, and with the encouragement of President Getulio Vargas himself, the SPI entered a period of expansion in the Amazon basin and in its heyday had 22 posts in Amazonas with 5 or 6 on the Rio Negro alone.

Gilberto, like many others of long experience in the SPI, was arrested in the ignominy of 1967-68. Yet — also like others arrested — he was released after 30 days, without having been charged and with no explanation or apology. We obviously do not have the information to comment on these rather strange events, except to find it odd that the Brazilian authorities have given such little publicity to the fact that (presumably) at least some of the experienced SPI personnel were found not to have been implicated in the corruption and treachery broadcast to the outside world.

Gilberto, as befitted an old and experienced sertanista, had mixed views about the wisdom of using young men as encarregados. Nevertheless he was pleased with the calibre of some of those who had joined recently, including some of the large team of 25 (one-third of all those on the staff of the Delegacia) who were currently engaged on the pacification of the Waimiri and Atroari Indians to the north. This particular pacification, the prelude to the completion of the Manaus-Boa Vista highway which (as Map 4 shows) will go straight through the proposed Reserve, had in 1967 led to the tragic death of Padre Calleri (one of the founders of Catrimani) and other members of the attraction team. According to the map shown us in Manaus, from which Map 2 of this Report was largely derived, the limits of the Reserve now being proposed fall well short of that advised by the FUNAI people on the spot. Some of the villages marked on that map will be seen to lie outside the constricted borders, although it will also be seen that while the eastern half of the Reserve has not been explored, with the new road bisecting the Reserve it is far from clear how the tribes are to be distributed and we refer to some further odd aspects of this in Chapter 3.

However, this is an appropriate moment to discuss Map 2 as a whole, for it represents the administrative structure of FUNAI throughout the whole of Amazonas and Roraima —
remaining unanswered and with much depending upon should surely encourage a better feed-back of information on steadily rolling in upon the region. The roads marked on Map 72 are only too well aware of deficiencies in the Amazonas and ous to the tribe concemed. We believe that many in Indians from the massive economic pressures which are FUNAI’s - and severa} new posts are contemplated for the Waimiri-Atroari, have already indicated that the new more financial and expert anthropological assistance will bear proposals are not simply inadequate, but potentially danger­ such matters as the whereabouts of the Yanomami. It will be seen, of course, that new Parks and Reserves are being planned - for the Itui as well as for the Yanomami and Waimiri-Atroari - and several new posts are contemplated whose location is shown somewhat approximately. Yet our strictures on the Yanomami and our misgivings at least about the Waimiri-Atroari, have already indicated that the new proposals are not simply inadequate, but potentially danger­ous to the tribe concerned. We believe that many in FUNAI are only too well aware of deficiencies in the Amazonas and Roraima region, and we trust that their endeavours to get more financial and expert anthropological assistance will bear fruit. Perhaps too when the new Acre Delegacia is created — which we understand is to cater for the Juruá-Purus — things will improve. FUNAI also seems to be planning an Adjudancia for Roraima, with its HQ at Boa Vista and this should surely encourage a better feed-back of information on such matters as the whereabouts of the Yanomami.

We left Amazonas with a sense of many questions remaining unanswered and with much depending upon FUNAI’s ability to strengthen itself in time to protect the Indians from the massive economic pressures which are steadily rolling in upon the region. The roads marked on Map 1 and Map 4 only hint at the plans under study for opening up the whole catchment region above Manaus, and there will probably be a vigorous and far from scrupulous struggle to acquire land title along this expanding frontier north and west of the Transamazonica. The missions have a role to play too in protecting the Indian and we have no doubt that his interests will be served by constructive collaboration rather than destructive rivalry, between them and FUNAI.

3rd September — To Cururu

After an exciting but eventually unsuccessful attempt to fly under an electric storm south of Manaus, the Catalina set out a second time for the Franciscan mission at Cururu which serves half the Munduruku Indians. Reaching it successfully in the late afternoon, we had a brief opportunity to look around the neighbouring village (housing about 300) and gained an impression of neat orderliness and a substantially acculturated Indian population. The original mission had been founded nearby in 1918, moving to its present site in 1920. The missionaries had a map of 1945 showing two Reserves which appear to have been defined under a Pará State Law (see Map 2) east of the Teles Pires, the northern one designed to contain the Munduruku. However, we found it extremely difficult to relate the description of the Reserve’s boundaries (including those indicated on the rather simple map shown to us) to the more up-to-date knowledge of local physical features, and it would be interesting to know how disputes get resolved when streams which were once described as running east-west are later found to be running south-north and in any case miles away from the original location. We are also not clear about the legal status of such old State laws. This is the sort of muddle FUNAI’s legal department must resolve urgently all over Brazil.

The Munduruku are a large tribe, of perhaps some 2,000 in all. Apart from the 300 at the mission and similar numbers respectively upstream and downstream along the River Cururu itself, roughly another thousand live on the main Tapajós, or on isolated patches of savanna away from the main river. There might also be some still uncontacted Munduruku living to the north, between the river and the
Cuiabá-Santarém road now under construction. The acculturated group we saw was therefore at one end of a spectrum unusually wide for any single Indian tribe.

The mission benefits from considerable help given by FAB, which has made an excellent air-strip and has a base there. This application of Brigadier Camarão’s "Trinomio" concept (see below under Belém) is unusual so far from the Brazilian frontier, but it reflects his undoubted admiration for the work being done by the Franciscans in this area. FAB’s help includes flying out somewhere between 10 and 20 tons of rubber each year, which is collected by the Indians but marketed by the mission. In return the Munduruku earn a “money-equivalent” (a ledger entry), which we were told represents the local minimum wage of Cr. 210 (= £15) per month, less Cr. 1 (= 7p) per day deducted for food and accommodation. The Indians also have a co-operative, which they pay Cr. 25 (= £1.79) each to join and which has a total Indian capital of some Cr. 12,000 (= £860) to which the mission has added an equivalent amount. This capital is used to cover stores of goods, and to buy the Indians’ produce when they want to sell it. However, the American Franciscan missionary in charge (Friar Ervano OM) was not prepared to see the Indians take over responsibility for running the co-operative. Despite half a century of patient missionary work, he still did not feel they were competent to shoulder such a responsibility and he explained this in terms of a lack of parental discipline during the Indians’ formative years. We suspect the reasons are more complex than this, but the general failure of Indians in Brazil to be trusted in positions of responsibility and command (with one or two exceptions such as among the Kayabi at Diauarum) clearly needs to be faced. We shall return to this theme in Chapter 3.

The medical situation however was much more encouraging. Vaccinations and inoculations had been given against smallpox, diphtheria, tetanus, whooping cough, measles, polio, typhoid and (with BCG) against TB. Nursing sisters from the Franciscan Order in Santarém had undertaken this major work, which covered over 1,500 Indians in the region plus another 400 civilizados.

Education has apparently been making slower progress and the majority proceed only to the 3rd primary year (we were told they want to quit school and marry at 14). Before 1969 there had been a boarding school for children from the outlying districts, but Fr. Ervano abolished it on the argument that it had been “creating class distinctions”. He reported however that a recent series of visits by boy scouts and other educated outsiders flown in at Brigadier Camarão’s behest had succeeded in “greatly stimulating the Indians” and making many of them more eager to learn.

Land invasion around Cururu has not so far been a problem, and with the BR 80 extension linking Caximbo and Manaus passing (so we were told) 250 km east of the mission, there seems little threat of intruders in the immediate future. The land is reputedly poor and sandy and if anything the Munduruku have been tending to consolidate their position in the area. This is certainly an unusual situation in interior Brazil.

FUNAI recently tried to re-open a nearby post, but it has not yet established itself. Perhaps the already well established mission backed as it is by FAB, inadvertently makes it difficult for any newcomer to define its role.

4th September — To Caximbo and Altamira

A long detour to the south-east, to Caximbo in southern Pará, made of this the longest day’s flying of the Mission. In turn it took us from one of FUNAI’s key contact bases on the Cuiabá-Santarém road to one of similar or even greater importance on the Transamazônica. Caximbo lies at the intersection of the BR 80 (proceeding north-westwards at this point from its crossing of the Xingu) with the BR 165 proceeding north along the watershed east of the Teles Pires (see Map 4). The latter is being constructed through an area of previously uncontacted Indians, the so-called Kreen-Akarore, who in 1961 had ambushed and killed Richard Mason. Mason, together with John Hemming of our own Mission was leading an expedition of the Brazilian Geographical Institute and The Royal Geographical Society to explore the headwaters of the Iriri. He was killed by a band of Kreen-Akarore who had probably become aware of the expedition’s presence north of the tribe’s traditional hunting.
areas. A decade later its privacy is being far more rudely disturbed by the road-builders and there have been several reports of fighting in the area. The tribe has so far been unresponsive to all attempts to make contact peacefully. The Villas Boas brothers have made a number of expeditions since 1968 to contact the tribe. They have exchanged presents, entered the Indians’ village and have even had brief face-to-face meetings. It seems that they will make this contact before the road engineers penetrate the area. This, if successful, will be the Villas Boas brothers’ swan song and an end to the independence of Brazil’s most famous tribe.

From Caximbo we proceeded to Altamira, where the Catalina which had flown from Boa Vista was due to leave us and here we stayed for two nights at the FUNAI base of Kararao which controls and co-ordinates the pacification work westwards along the Transamazonica towards the Tapajós at Itaituba. Here we met our first FUNAI encarregado since Umariausu, including one who had been in charge at Bau (for location see Map 3) where a large Reserve of about 6,000 sq. km is projected east of the BR 165. We had only flown over this territory, but as the encarregado was prepared to answer our questionnaire in detail, we are able to describe some aspects of the situation there.

The Indians he served were one of the Jê group, the Kayapó-Mekranotire, with the population at the post only 45, of whom 20 were children. He said that the number was now increasing, after some terrible losses from epidemics. In two major measles epidemics in 1966 and 1968, almost 120 out of the former population of 160 had died. Yet despite continuing health and hygiene problems at the post, no doctor had visited it in the previous 18 months, nor was there any record of a dentist having been there in recent years. There were however 3 medical kits at the post and these were said to have a good selection of drugs but with certain items missing. Vaccination against yellow fever, typhus and diphtheria had been carried out, as also intensive treatment for worms. Requests to FUNAI for DDT however had remained unanswered.

We might say here that this particular encarregado, of Japanese descent and 27 years old, impressed us as an idealistic and able man who joined FUNAI with a genuine sense of vocation. His young wife, who had recently had her first baby, also seemed to have a high sense of commitment and such young couples are obviously the type which FUNAI needs to attract and retain. Although he gave examples of FUNAI’s positive achievements, such as the exclusion of the rubber, nut and skin gatherers who had once exploited the Indians locally, he was clearly frustrated and disillusioned.

Much of this was probably the outcome of sheer loneliness on the post, with virtually no visits from outside. During 1½ years, apart from a 2-hour stay by a FUNAI official from Altamira, there had apparently been no contact with the organisation at all. The encarregado was candid about the neglect to which he had felt subjected and the failure to answer his reports and proposals. He agreed to our publishing his criticisms and revealing their source. Certainly we saw nothing unreasonable in the requests he had made to FUNAI; he had sought a boat to accompany the outboard motor which lies at the post and he had tried to get help in planting more mandioc, as the Indians “often went hungry”. He wanted a school and teachers, to bring education to a tribe which had received none in all the years since first contact with missionaries in 1935. The tribe had very nearly become extinguished by measles epidemics and a special effort would seem imperative to save it.

5th September – To Kuantinema and Bacajá

The Mission had to divide into two pairs on this day, as the helicopter which INCRA generously made available to us for visiting the Asurini Indians at Kuantinema could carry only two passengers. After drawing lots, Hemming and Fuerst were selected for this journey, while Brooks and Huxley went instead to the Kayapó-Xikrin at Bacajá by air-taxi (booked via FUNAI at a cost of Cr. 1,000 (= £71) which was subsequently refunded by Itamaraty to the APS).

The more interesting of these visits was to the Asurini, a recently contacted Tupi group about 160 km south of Altamira. A FUNAI man lived in their village which is known as Kuantinema (note: this is spelled Koatineha on Map 3). The tribe had been contacted only in June 1971 by Antonio
Cotrim. The 32-year-old Cotrim was acknowledged as FUNAI's most brilliant young *surtanista.* He resigned early in 1972 thoroughly disillusioned and accusing FUNAI of serious neglect and incompetence.

At the time of the visit, the *encarregado* was a 45-year-old man with 15 years experience in both the SPI and FUNAI. He said that a missionary had been there once, but had stayed for only 10–15 days. FUNAI doctors and dentists have been on two occasions and we were assured that all the Indians had been vaccinated "against everything". The first FUNAI medical kit had arrived a fortnight earlier, but all nursing on the post was the responsibility of the *encarregado* himself, who lacks formal training in this. (He said, however, that he planned to take the *indigenismo* course later in 1972.) The most serious medical problem seemed to be malaria, which affected everybody including the *encarregado.* Hygiene was primitive but the houses were clean and numerous pets (monkeys, parrots, coatís, peccaries – but not too many dogs) were in evidence.

The naked Asurini were a most charming and delightful people, and both APS visitors were to describe their visit as the most memorable of the whole Mission. They were fatter, more cheerful and relaxed than any other Indians we saw. Yet there was one alarming and puzzling feature of this community. The population totalled 62, and there was a marked imbalance between the sexes with 39 females and only 25 males. But much more ominous and perhaps related to this imbalance in some unknown way, was the very small number of children. Only 10 persons were under 18, there were no babies to be seen and only 2 children seemed to be under 5. Whether this demographically menacing situation is the result of epidemics before contact (in which case how was the disease introduced?), or due to subtler causes, is impossible to say definitely. But we gathered that abortion and contraception are widely practised and the tribe may be wilfully keeping its numbers down. No explanation can be found in the history of the tribe since contact; whatever produced the reluctance to have children clearly pre-dates 1971. This Indian community deserves urgent scientific study and its situation highlights the lack of experienced anthropologists along the whole of the sensitive contact zone flanking the Transamazónica. Communication with this tribe is very difficult. It can be reached only by helicopter or by an arduous journey up river. One plan is to move it a few miles downstream to a site where an air-strip could be built. But we were seriously alarmed by a casual remark by the Delegado at Belém that he might move it right down to the Xingu itself – a move that would mean its rapid cultural and probably physical collapse from contact with river traffic.

The other visit this same day was also south of Altamira to a much more acculturated group of Indians at Bacajá. Unfortunately the *encarregado* was absent at the time of the visit and an additional problem was the insistence of the air-taxi pilot on leaving the post and returning to Altamira (where he pleaded urgent business) within little more than an hour of our arrival. This naturally stopped us making the sort of enquiries we would have wished, but some useful background information came from a FUNAI employee (a former Army engineer) who had been at the post for some time supervising the construction of new accommodation for the *encarregado* and a new clinic and isolation wing nearby. He sounded very optimistic about the prospects for this group of Xikrin (a sub-group of the Kayapó, who are themselves part of the Ñe language group) and went so far as to affirm that the tribe "had no real problems". They numbered 94, roughly balanced between males and females and they were said to be increasing, if rather slowly. Our impression was of a physically fit community and the energetic dancing, which the women and then the men put on for our benefit, showed plenty of vigour if somewhat less dignity (see frontispiece).

*6th September – To Marabá*

The third Catalina of our journey brought us to Marabá on the Tocantins River, where owing to a slight misunderstanding with FAB we found ourselves staying for six days, or longer than anywhere else during the Mission. The day after our arrival also happened to be the Brazilian National Day, which in 1972 had very special significance in commemorating the 150th anniversary of the foundation of
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the state and our enquiries had to be deferred while the marching and celebrations took place. Our first visit to the neighbouring Indians, to the Gavião at Mãe Maria, did not take place until the 8th, but before describing that experience a brief comment on Marabá — and the Sete de Setembro festivities we saw there — may be relevant to this Report.

Marabá lies on a bluff flanking the southern banks of the River, just downstream from its confluence with the Araguaia. The areas nearby in eastern Pará and northern Goiás saw a substantial influx of civilizados from the 1950's onwards and several of the worst incidents during the closing years of the SPI occurred along this advancing frontier of colonisation. With the construction of the Transamazônica (whose western extension from Marabá to Itaituba was to be officially opened by President Medici later that month), there seems every prospect of Marabá becoming one of the major growth points along its length. Also, as Map 3 shows, a road branching off the Belém-Brasília road is being continued south-westwards of Marabá in the general direction of the BR 80 and the other routes pushing out west beyond the Araguaia. The Indian groups who have survived in this neighbourhood, such as the Gavião to the east of the Tocantins and the Parakanã to the west, are therefore faced with no distant, but a very immediate threat from a large immigrant population. Watching the procession of school-children marching for over an hour and a quarter (and anything up to ten deep) through the streets of Marabá on the 7th was a dramatic visual proof of the population pressures (from natural increase as well as inward migration) which are accumulating all around the remnant Indian tribes.

8th September — To Mãe Maria

This post lies on the PA 70 (Map 3) about 30 km from the small riverside town of São Felix, which itself lies on the north bank of the Tocantins 11 km upstream from Marabá. In 1970 the Red Cross doctors described the 48 Gavião Indians whom they encountered in a provisional camp near Mãe Maria as “in a most deplorable state of health, the worst of all we had seen”. The group were described as having been moved at least twice by FUNAI (on the first occasion 2 years earlier when settlers had invaded their land) and to be grossly lacking protein in their diet. The ICRC also visited Mãe Maria itself, where they found 28 Gavião living alongside the main road. Although the health of this group seemed a bit better, the doctors expressed their surprise that FUNAI should have located the post in such an exposed situation where the risk of infection was so obvious.

This severe criticism was echoed by RHT the following year, when he too described the first group of Indians as being “in the worst state of any” seen. He described how “every single one of them seemed to be suffering from what appeared to be whooping cough”, and spoke of an “atmosphere of total despair and degeneration...” The second group, alongside the post and the PA 70, were all away however at the time of his visit.

In view of these very stringent comments, we were naturally curious to see whether conditions had changed for the better; indeed, had there been no improvements at all, then we would have had to conclude that the criticisms of investigating teams are a waste of time. We arrived first at the post itself, to meet an encarregado of 37 who had spent 20 years with the SPI and FUNAI and who was married, with 2 children. Unlike his colleague at Kuatinema however, he did not intend to proceed to the indigenismo course and was instead planning to retire shortly. His post faced the adjacent village across the highway — which runs in a fairly deep cutting at this point — and there were certainly signs of much new investment in buildings. A school for some 50 pupils was finished apart from the roof and a new house for the encarregado himself, with tiles and flush toilet, was already complete. The opposite village of Kikrainon had a total population of 40, implying a rapid growth since the Red Cross visit and indeed we were told that 5 children had been born the previous year alone. But the sex imbalance is at least as pronounced as among the Asurini, only this time men outnumbered women almost 2:1 for reasons we could not discover. An ambitious house building programme is promised for the village, with the capitão’s house already newly completed and another 9 (with lavatories) to be completed in 1972–73. The financial basis for some of this
building and in particular the role of the *Renda Indígena* (derived at Mãe Maria from a trade in nuts which seems highly profitable both to FUNAI and to the capitão personally), remain more than a little ambiguous however and in view of the importance of this particular example to our general comments on the *Renda*, we shall defer the details to Chapter 3.

We then proceeded to the second village — whose name had been forgotten by the *encarregado* — which lay about 3 km east along the road and about 800 m into the forest. Here lived the second group, contacted much later in 1968 and the ones who had aroused such alarm both in the ICRC and with RHT. The population here was said to be only 42 (6 less than in 1970) and of 3 cases of TB which had occurred so far in 1972, 2 had died. It was claimed however that BCG, measles, polio and tetanus vaccinations had been carried out (although rather surprisingly neither whooping cough — which RHT observed — nor smallpox). The village was certainly much less pre-possessing than the other one, consisting basically of two large unwalled shelters in which people and furniture were badly crowded together. The attitude to us was distinctly cool at first, but most people eventually thawed out. In this village too the males easily outnumbered the females; but it was hard to foresee any *caboclo* woman wishing to move in. We were told that FUNAI plans to build modern houses here, but will not allow the *encarregado* to build another traditional shelter in the meantime to relieve congestion.

The general health of the group seemed far better than that described by the Red Cross and RHT. Another positive thing to report is the planned creation of a Gavião Reserve of some 24 sq. km which we were told should protect both these groups from the “land-grabbers” who according to the *encarregado* had been steadily invading the area. In short, and recognising that conditions are still far from ideal, we think that some notice was taken of the earlier critical reports and we hope that the recent improvements continue.

9th September — To Caetete

On this day Edwin Brooks wrote a letter to General Bandeira de Mello requesting certain information to supplement and clarify the Mission’s enquiries. The questions are shown in Appendix 7. Unfortunately the original letter was never received by FUNAI and although a copy was given to FUNAI representatives in Brasília on the 26th September, the reply was not received until December 4th when this Report was virtually complete. However, in Appendix 8 details of the material submitted are given and our conclusions (Chapter 3) incorporate the main points. Furthermore, Map 5 is based upon the up-to-date FUNAI map despatched to us.

Meanwhile the other three members of the Mission hired an air-taxi to visit a Kayapó-Xikrin group on the Caetete, a tributary of the River Itaicunas which flows into the Tocantins at Marabá. The group had once lived lower down the Itaicunas, nearer Marabá and had been persuaded to move to this more distant site by René Fuerst, who had once spent a year living with them. The move appears to have been beneficial, at least as measured by demographic recovery; the population is now up to 170 after having dropped to a bare hundred. During the APS visit the tribe seemed to be in good health and the Dominican mission which has been with them for a decade had a well stocked pharmacy. The Xikrin culture also seemed intact, with clubs, arrows, feasts, body painting and the graves of ancestors all preserved.

However, the Mission arrived right in the middle of a turbulent period, whose full history we found very difficult to piece together. A few days before our arrival the Indians had unceremoniously bundled the Dominicans’ *encarregado* and his wife into the boat of a skin-hunter who had invaded the area and escorted them all down to Marabá. The *encarregado* had been there for four years and was to all accounts a hard working man but seemed to have little rapport with the Indians. Whatever the explanation for their anger — and we heard at least three quite different stories which we have no means of checking — the Indians did not allege brutality. Rather they alleged a refusal on his part to give either cartridges for the big annual hunt or dried milk to a sick child. The Indians had handled the situation with great tact, expelling the unwanted *encarregado* and the hunter without any physical or material damage. The result of this incident was an inevitable lack of much hard information. We
might add too, that our attempts to get at the truth of the matter were handicapped because FUNAI had a short time earlier closed down its former Marabá office and appointed a Dominican padre as its agent there.

12th September — To Belém

Belém is the state capital of Pará and the Headquarters of the huge FAB zone stretching back to Tabatinga. Here we met Brigadier Camarão himself, the Air Force officer on whose shoulders much of the responsibility for our complicated movements in Brazil had rested. As well as spending four hours with him on the Wednesday, we had an extremely valuable meeting with the Delegado of the 2nd D.R., Colonel Augusto Nogueira. He gave us every facility for transcribing the information available in printed form in his office (including the original source of our Map 3). The third informative meeting we had in Belém during our two-day stay was with the Rev. Douglas McAlister of the Unevangelised Fields Mission (one of whose stations we had visited at Surucucu).

Reference to Map 3 will indicate many of the main features of the 2nd D.R., which covers the state of Pará and the Territory of Amapá. However, as the cautionary note beneath the title makes clear, the boundaries of the Indian Reserves are not nearly as precise and accurate as is implied. Indeed, we are far from sure now of the meaning of the map. The Delegado told us that territories which were shaded on the original in colour and bounded in solid lines, marked Indian lands which were fully registered legally. However, the President of FUNAI, when shown our copy of the map in Rio on September 29th made it clear that most of these boundaries bore no relation to reality. They included tentative proposals for Reserves that had been rejected long ago. According to the information and map we received as this Report was being finalised, the only true Indian Reserves in the whole of the 2nd D.R. at the end of 1972 were Parakanã and Kararã. Furthermore, although the latter was shown with the boundary almost exactly the same as that on Map 3 (where it was spelled Kararaio), the Parakanã Reserve was shown as lying well to the north-west of the place called Trocara on Map 3 and at least a hundred miles distant from the Reserve of this name marked on that same map. This contrast in location can be seen directly by consulting Map 5. Map 5 reveals that the Gavião Reserve has still not been designated. Given the admitted presence of “land-grabbers” around Mãe Maria, reported above, we can only hope that a proper sense of urgency in confirming this Reserve will be shown. The same applies to the other areas suggested on Map 3, particularly the impressive row of large Kayapó Reserves along the southern flanks of the state.

In addition to all this uncertainty over the boundaries of Reserves, it is difficult to discover the criteria used to choose these boundaries in the first place. We have mentioned this earlier, notably with reference to the Nambikuara and Yanomami Reserves and here we may supplement the point by drawing attention to the population figures shown in Tables 5 and 6 of Appendix 5 and in the bar diagrams of Map 3 where the data of Table 6 are portrayed graphically. As the note to Table 6 points out, there is some discrepancy between the figures and the explanation suggested is that Table 5 excludes Indians distant from the actual Posto Indigena. For example, Table 5 shows only 200 Munduruku, whereas the total number of this tribe (as we explained in the section on Cururu earlier) is probably around 2,000. In fact this latter figure is the one shown on Table 6 and we might therefore deduce that the numbers throughout this Table include the whole of the listed tribes. The total number of Kayapó however, which is given as 1370 in Table 6, is very little different from the total (1234) obtained by adding together all the Jê group tribes (less the Gaviões) enumerated in Table 5. This suggests that the great majority of the Kayapó Indians for whom large territories are apparently proposed according to Map 3, live in the immediate vicinity of the local PI.

This raises the question of why such large Reserves are — or were — being suggested, particularly when we see that the numbers of each Kayapó group who would inhabit the future Reserves differ so enormously. Thus the Gorotire are shown as 463 strong, while the Kokaimoro — apparently destined for a Reserve of comparable size — are a mere 28 in all.
In short, by consulting the statistics and map which we obtained at the Belém offices of the 2nd Delegacia Regional we found more questions raised than answered. The simple explanation would be that the map is purely a statement of intent. But it is difficult to see why it was ever drawn in the first place. Throughout our enquiries — and certainly not just in Pará — we found our ability to comment sensibly on FUNAI's land policy handicapped by the ambiguity or lack of cartography. As we point out in Chapter 3 (see Administration) this lack of precision must equally handicap the encarregado trying to keep out intruders.

Among the other points discussed with Colonel Nogueira was the future role of the équipe volante, the mobile health team. He was aiming at one visit per post per year, although he fully accepted that the ideal would be more like once every three months. He pointed out that regular visiting tended in any case to be interrupted by sudden emergencies, such as the measles epidemic then raging among the Kayapó to which we refer at Kubenkranken (18th September entry). Transport, as elsewhere, remains a major problem for FUNAI, particularly as some of the posts in Pará cannot be reached by river during the dry season. FAB seems to give little direct help, at least from Belém itself; the FAB planes which do fly regularly to Gorotire and Kubenkranken arrive from Brasilia and we think it would be sensible if these two Government agencies were to combine more effectively at their regional levels. Again, we return to this point in Chapter 3 (see Liaison with other bodies).

In our lengthy meeting with Brigadier Câmara on the 13th we naturally found ourselves discussing the relationship between FAB on the one hand and the missionaries and FUNAI on the other. The Brigadier's own remarkable personality has undoubtedly had much to do with the evolution of this relationship and we were left in no doubt of the warmth of his concern for Indians. We referred earlier to his pioneering role at Surucucu and it is clear that his profound admiration for the work of the missionaries (both Catholic and Protestant) has coloured all his exploits and endeavours on their behalf. He had devised the Trinômio, a threefold partnership between FAB, the missions and the Brazilians. Its first expression came at Tirios when he invited the Franciscans to look after the Indians in the frontier region of Tumucumaque. Other examples of this developing partnership were to follow, as we have already described, at Surucucu, along the Rio Negro and even deep in the Brazilian interior at Cururu. The Brigadier told us of his warm admiration for the work of the Unevangelised Fields, Salesian and Franciscan missionaries. His praise was qualified by some criticism of the Salesians who, he thought, tended to "over-educate" the Indians rather than provide them with jobs and job training.

The Brigadier's judgement of FUNAI was more critical although he accepted that it had inherited more than its fair share of difficulties from the SPI. He agreed with the view, which we had already reached from our earlier experiences (e.g. the Bau situation above), that FUNAI needs to give more aid and comfort to its encarregados. Both in this respect and in its ability to recruit and retain personnel of high calibre, he felt that FUNAI could learn much from the missions. As for FUNAI's land programme, he seemed ambivalent about the role of Reserves in preparing Indians for their "inevitable" integration with Brazilian society. At one level he was sceptical of the policy of conserving Indian cultures within protected Reserves, affirming that it was "almost immoral ... condemning Indians to a primitive life when they want progress". Yet despite his strictures on the Villas Boas brothers for "preferring the primitive to the civilized", he readily agreed when pressed that a policy of defining strict Reserves was necessary in present circumstances. Perhaps the dilemma is more apparent than real. The Brigadier's concern is with what happens inside the Reserves and we interpret him to be saying that Indians must not be seen as cultural fossils away from the mainstream of Brazilian evolution.

It is clear that under Câmara's guidance the Air Force throughout northern Brazil has come to play a decisive part in articulating official policy towards the Indians. Nevertheless, this work does depend to a crucial degree upon the philosophy and ability of one exceptional man, whose concern for the Indians has extended to bringing up their orphaned children in his own household. It is therefore no
criticism of the Brigadier, but rather a recognition of human mortality, to suggest that FUNAI should resume a more active role in the region and be encouraged to learn from — as well as supervise — the Christian missions which owe so much to the Brigadier. We return to this theme at the end of Chapter 3 (see Missions).

The third of our meetings in Belém was with the Rev. Douglas McAlistair of the Un-evangelised Fields Mission (UFM), which took place on the 14th September. This mission had originally been founded in 1931 and since 1940 has had its HQ in Philadelphia. Today it has some 143 adult missionaries in Brazil, of whom 25 are in Roraima and separately administered. Most of the Belém-based missionaries work among the ordinary Brazilian population, but about 10 were currently working among the Kayapó and a similar number were among the Guajajara Indians of the state of Maranhão. Relations with FUNAI were discussed frankly. We were told of several recent incidents — as in the previous year when FUNAI had evicted the UFM man from Mekragnoti (spelled Menkronoty on Map 3) and in July 1972 when there had been some slight friction at Gorotire. However, Mr McAlistair also said that “FUNAI is doing much more than any other Government body has ever done”, and that there was “less graft”.

His own mission’s “main purpose” is “religious conversion”, but he also drew our attention to its considerable social work in medicine and education. He denied that Indian culture as a whole was deliberately eroded by the missionaries. Instead he claimed that “we don’t change any Indian custom that we feel is not harmful”. The Indians were coming into contact with civilisation at every turn and he argued that they “must be adequately prepared to face it and to avoid its degrading side when it comes”.

15th September — To Repartimento, the Parakanã and Marabã
The fifth and last Catalina provided by FAB took us to an air-strip built by the company constructing the Trans-amazônica highway. Here, as a result of the joint efforts of Colonel Nogueira, Brigadier Camarão and INCRA we found a helicopter waiting to lift us to the recently contacted Parakanã village south-west of the highway at a distance of only 28 km from it. Contact with the village had been made in April 1971 following an eight-month period of attraction — the usual exchange of presents and gradual increase in physical contact. The following months saw a number of incidents along the highway. Roadworkers we met at Repartimento told us how, at 9 o’clock on the morning of the 28th August 1971 their camp was suddenly invaded by about 30 Parakanã. At the time there were between four and five hundred workers present, but having been warned of the possibility of some such incursion they made no hostile or even defensive move — despite the removal of a large amount of clothes, hammocks, suitcases, knives and underpants.

Unfortunately not all the contacts being made with the Indians were to produce such little real damage; in particular there is strong evidence that 8 cases of venereal disease (one of which caused blindness) were brought to the Parakanã women by some of the FUNAI pacification team. Sexual relations with Indians are expressly forbidden by the organisation (following the example of the old SPI) and we understand that those eventually held responsible were dismissed the service after an initial attempt to gloss over this incident.

Known now as Espiritu Santo, the Parakanã village on the Rio Loutra has a population of around 80, but many of the men were absent hunting at the time of our visit. Although some Indians were wearing a mixed assortment of clothes, the majority were completely naked and wore very few personal adornments. The forepart of the head was entirely shaven, with the rear part cut very short into a distinctive pattern projecting forward above the ears. Some of the men were wearing small quartz pieces on the lower lip, but apart from string tied around the legs just below the knees and the teeth of animals worn in pierced ears, the Indians lacked bodily ornaments. The village was bereft of artifacts; very few bows and arrows were to be seen, for example, although the ones that remained were of a quality which suggested a once thriving artistry. It seemed to us that the tribe’s store of artifacts had already been exchanged for such things as guns
and ammunition and that their culture was being disrupted with shattering speed leaving the Parakanã bewildered.

The hygiene was appalling, with excrement near the houses and one poor dog wandering around whose back was covered by a huge suppurating sore filled with flies and maggots. Eye disorders such as squints and (apparently) cataract were in evidence, as were cysts and various growths, including a large tumour on a woman's head. Colds were also common and the risk of further infection from the nearby Transamazônica (actually closer is the Vilhena-Porto Velho road to the Surui village near Sete de Setembro) was painfully apparent.

Such a small group of simple hunters and collectors are terribly unprepared for contact with the nearby world of road traffic.

16th September — To Barra do Corda
Following our visit to the Parakanã, we had spent the night at Marabá and the following day flew eastwards into the state of Maranhão. This region falls under the 6th D.R. with its HQ at São Luís and we had originally hoped to visit both that city and the Urubu-Kaapor Indians who live in the Gurupí valley on the state's western margins (see Map 3). This tribe had a particular interest for Francis Huxley, who had once spent a year living among them and had subsequently published an account of his experiences (see Bibliography). However, we discovered that the main village lay a good day's march away from the FUNAI post at Caninde and owing to the presses resulting from our unplanned visit to the Parakanã, we reluctantly had to forego this visit to the Urubu. This was doubly unfortunate, as not only would it have been interesting to examine the present conditions of a tribe studied in detail some twenty years earlier, it would also have been valuable to investigate allegations of the tribe being moved from its traditional area to make way for an American meat-packing company which wanted the land for cattle. This territory is also being cut by a new road joining São Luís and Belém. We had hoped to check these points with the Delegado at São Luís, but unfortunately his valiant efforts to drive overnight to meet us in Barra do Corda resulted in a car crash, though happily without serious injury.

As a result, our sole investigation of conditions in the 6th Delegacia was of the Canela, a Jê group of Indians living some 74 km south-east of Barra do Corda. This is one of two Canela villages which came to its present site in 1970; the other, Porquin, being 60 km away. A large village of nearly 500 Indians, its population has been rising very steeply in recent years. The total number last recorded for FUNAI was 431, which was made up of 195 males and 236 females, but the SIL missionary in the village reckoned the total was now at least 486. If, as we were told, 43 children had been born in the previous twelve months, this could well explain the discrepancy and would confirm that a quite remarkable rate of population growth (even greater than São Marcos) is presently taking place.

Among the reasons for this apparent success is the personal interest taken in the Canela by the American anthropologist William Crocker. In addition, SIL has been with them for at least the last five years. Last, but not least, FUNAI too can take credit for having restored the tribe to self-confidence after the shattering events of 1963, when a murderous attack was made upon it by local cowhands. The trouble had been sparked off by a messianic movement which resulted in the Indians killing a score of cattle; in revenge, the cowhands launched a dawn attack on the village, killed five Indians, wounded eight and burned the houses. The terrified Indians fled into the surrounding woods, where a further toll was taken by disease; another sixty are estimated to have died during the winter of 1963–64 in consequence. The attackers had in the meantime been arrested, but in the event were never to be convicted. Following this traumatic episode, the recovery of the Canela is an encouraging sign that the authorities — if still not happy about prosecuting civildados for crimes against Indians — are nevertheless making some effort to help afflicted tribes find their feet again.

The Canela have now been vaccinated against smallpox, whooping cough, diphtheria, tetanus and typhoid. Electricity has been installed and a new school built for a potential 60 pupils. (Unfortunately this school has not yet opened due to mysterious "bureaucratic delays" and as mentioned earlier, is inhabited solely by a colony of bats.) But against these
achievements and our own impression of a sturdy and generally healthy village, must be set the poor land round about; it lacks game and long distances have to be travelled to the fields. Agriculture is slowly making progress, with about 30 pigs now owned by the Indians and 22 cattle and 29 horses owned either by FUNAI or the Indians. The nurse acting as encarregado and the Indians themselves complained that the group is hungry. Income for the Canela is lagging well behind the soaring population and to make matters worse there seems to be little outlet for the artifacts being made for trade. We were ceaselessly implored during our passage through the village to buy various items. It is very much this sort of experience which leads us, in Chapter 3, to stress FUNAI’s responsibility to encourage better marketing arrangements (see Sale of artifacts).

17th September – To Kraho and Conceição do Araguaia
After a short refuelling stop at Carolina on the Tocantins, we reached the FUNAI post of Kraho in northern Goiás. The Kraho Indians, another of the Jê group, were contacted in the last century and are now substantially acculturated with 60% of the local population speaking Portuguese. The encarregado, who at 48 was older than most of those we met, was away in Goiânia at the time of our visit, but our questionnaire was answered in detail by a Brazilian corporal from the Goiás state police who had spent 2 years on the post in charge of a troop of 26 Guardas Rurais Indígenas Nacionais (GRINs). This Indian police force, which we had earlier encountered briefly at Santa Isabel among the Karajá, was an experiment started in 1970 by FUNAI. It initially involved the training of 84 Indian youths from the Karajá, Xavante, Xerente and Kraho tribes. RHT discussed some of the problems created by this force and we also deal with these problems in Chapter 3 (see Authority).

Unfortunately, lack of transport and time precluded us visiting the nearest of the five Kraho villages, which lay some 8 km from the post. Our impressions of the health of the Indians had to be based on those – including a number of the GRINs – who happened to be at the post on our arrival. RHT, who visited the nearby village in 1971, had described the conditions as “fair and the village clean”, and that although “a lot of the Indians had TB they were otherwise reasonably healthy”. We saw nothing to contradict this latter judgement, but we were told that the last doctor to visit the Kraho had come in 1970 (this turned out to refer to the Red Cross mission) and that the medical problems of the tribe were enough to justify 5 nurses. TB, dysentery, influenza, measles and worms were said to be widespread, yet little or no vaccination had been carried out. On the other hand there seemed to be a regular supply of the standard FUNAI medical kits and it was said that between 20 and 30 sick Indians were sent to hospital in Goiânia each year at the post’s expense.

No doubt the GRINs, with their monthly income of Cr. 216 each (= £15.40) enjoy a reasonably high standard of life and we were told that most of the 26 Indian pupils in the post’s primary school were the GRINs’ own children. But the land in the vicinity of the post is generally poor quality and the Indians were said to lack food and particularly protein. Better hunting land is a long way away, on the other side of what was described to us as the Kraho Reserve. This Reserve was said to be 240 sq. km or something in excess of 300,000 hectares. However, like the Gavião Reserve discussed above, it is not marked as an Indian Reserve on the most up-to-date of FUNAI’s maps (see Map 5 of this Report) and it is perhaps not surprising that we were told of “much invasion” by civilizados. The GRINs were said to have delivered eviction orders to about 90 of these invaders during the previous twelve months. All but 10 had taken the hint and removed themselves “without fighting”. RHT had urged a more central position for the FUNAI post, to bring the Kraho closer to the good hunting land and to facilitate supervision and control of the boundaries. We enquired about this and were told of plans to build a second post in such a central location, but that as it would cost upwards of Cr. 40,000 (= £2,857) there was little immediate likelihood of it materialising.

Equipment at the present post seemed far from adequate, given the large number of Indians it serves. RHT had referred to a slow growth in population of about 1% annually.
between 1963 and 1971, with the total reaching 583 at the
time of his visit. The figure we were given was 608, which if
correct would suggest a slight acceleration recently; but we
were told that in fact the total had fallen somewhat in the
previous year from a peak of 613. These discrepancies could
well be due, however, to the tendency mentioned by RHT
for young men to hitch-hike back and forth to Goiânia and
Brasília and to the absence of sick Indians in the hospitals
elsewhere at various times. What does seem clear is that the
Kraho are increasing far more slowly than the other Jê group
of the Canela whom we had just left. FUNAI would do well
to improve the obviously unsatisfactory medical facilities
among the Kraho. It might also ensure that the radio, which
was sent for repair in 1971, is mended and returned.

We left the Kraho to spend the night at Conceição do
Araguaia, where we unexpectedly stumbled upon a rather
disturbing — and certainly puzzling — incident involving a
group of Karajá Indians who had arrived down river a month
earlier. They had brought with them a young man suffering
from suspected tuberculosis, who had been admitted to the
local Hospital São Lucas run by Dominican Sisters. The
remainder of the Indians, perhaps a dozen in all including
children, had put up a simple hut on the wide sandy beach of
the River Araguaia, where they had been living for weeks. On
the argument that responsibility for Indians rested elsewhere,
two of the Sisters approached our FAB crew on the evening
of our arrival to see if any help could be given in getting the
young man and his family to a more suitable environment.
We were naturally curious to discover the role of FUNAI,
particularly as there was an encarregado locally in charge of
the post called Las Casas. However, as we had earlier seen
from the population data given us in Belém, no Indians at all
were listed as belonging to this post. It was originally
intended for the Kayapó but they long ago moved further
from civilization. It is now one of FUNAI’s strictly
commercial undertakings, comparable with the cattle herds
of Bananal.

Given his rather specialised role, it may be understandable
that the encarregado was unprepared for the arrival of
Indians, sick or otherwise, and we do not wish to imply any
wilful neglect. For his part he pointed out that he had made
contact with the Indians on the beach and that steps were
being taken via Belém to remedy the situation. He willingly
agreed to explain all this in writing and we duly delivered his
report (plus a short note from the Sisters addressed to the
President of FUNAI) when we returned to Brasília the
following week. We hope that the confusion over
responsibility for this wandering group of Indians was speedily
resolved. This affair showed a lack of efficient liaison
between FUNAI and the Dominicans in the emergency
treatment of sick Indians.

18th September — To Kubenkranken and Diauurum
We were now on the final leg of our journey, bound for
Xingu, but before arriving at the most famous of all the
Brazilian Indian Parks we made a brief stop at Kubenkranken
where another Jê group of Kayapó Indians are found. Again
the encarregado (a married man in his mid-thirties with two
children) was absent at the time of our visit, but one of the
women missionaries stationed at the village answered our
questionnaire. She belonged to the Missão Cristã Evangélica
of Brazil and had been at Kubenkranken for over 5 years. She
was well able to describe the local position, including the
recent severe epidemics which had led to the death of some
20 Indians in this particular village (and even more, perhaps
22, at Kokramoro on the Xingu River to the west). It
seemed that malignant malaria (P. falciparum) had struck in
April 1972 when the Indians were in the forest harvesting
nuts. It killed 6 immediately and another died later, probably
from malaria. Then in July came the measles epidemic which
Colonel Nogueira had mentioned to us in Belém and which
was responsible for the remainder of the deaths. During this
last epidemic FUNAI had sent in doctors and medicines, one
batch being sent by an expensive chartered air-taxi from
Altamira (which it may be recalled cost us Cr. 1,000 (= £71)
just to visit the comparatively nearby Bacajá post). At the
risk of repeating yet again the point about liaison between
FUNAI and FAB, it is hard to understand why the medicines
could not have been sent in directly from Brasília by the
regular (once fortnightly) Air Force flights which are made to
this post.

With vaccinations however, some co-ordination of effort has occurred. FUNAI vaccinated against smallpox and yellow fever and the mission against whooping cough, tetanus, diphtheria and typhus. Measles vaccine had also been sent from Brasilia, but (as at São Marcos) reservations were expressed about its suitability for Indians.

The population according to RHT was around 300 in 1971, but we were given a figure of 378 - which excludes the 20 or so who had died during the spring and summer. We were also told that the numbers had been rising steadily in recent years, at least until the epidemics struck and that there was "plenty" of food available from the subsistence agriculture.

The major cash crop is Brazil nuts and about 1,000 hectolitres are produced annually. However, we discovered a good deal of resentment among the Indians at what they claimed had been a failure to pay them properly for the previous harvest. It is interesting to note that RHT also referred to a failure to pay the Indians for goods delivered, although in that case the item was jaguar skins. Payment, we were told, was in kind not cash and we are not in a position to judge the validity of the Indians’ complaints - but there could be no doubt about their genuine sense of having been treated unfairly and it would be prudent for FUNAI to get to the bottom of this.

Owing to the absence of the encarregado we could not discover the size of the Reserve planned for the Kubenkranken, although for what it is worth Map 3 suggests a very substantial area. The urgency of defining this land was brought home to us by the presence at the post of a Brazilian team from Projeto Radam, which is using sophisticated air photography and other forms of remote sensing to seek out mineral deposits in the interior. The Projeto, which is an agency of the Ministry of Mines and Energy is so far only preparing this triangulation and mapping for later infra-red aerial photography to discover mineral deposits. The sight of helicopters and light aircraft busy at the post reminded us of the economic pressures rolling in towards the interior. The legal position is obscure. Article 198 of the constitution of the 12th October 1969 guarantees Indians the "right to the exclusive usufruct of the natural riches and of all the utilities existing in" their lands. However the latest draft of the Indian Statute (Sec. 3 Chap. 1 Article 24) excludes resources from the subsoil and benefits thereof. Reserves would admittedly not preclude sub-surface working of minerals (which are specifically allocated to the Government in the Indian Statute), but they might give FUNAI and the Indians some protection against the surface phenomena only too likely to accompany mineral exploitation.

From Kubenkranken we proceeded southwards into the headwaters of the Xingu, to the world-renowned sanctuary region where the Villas Boas brothers have worked for a quarter of a century among a rich assortment of small Indian tribes. The total number of Indians involved is surprisingly small, as can be seen from Table 7 of Appendix 5 (although this excludes a small number, namely Kayabi, Juruna and Suya in the area around Diauarum and the northern part of the Xingu Park). So much has been written about the Park that it would be superfluous to attempt a history here, but in view of its importance in the evolution of Brazilian policies and attitudes towards the Indian, we refer to its general significance on numerous occasions in Chapter 3. Here we shall simply describe briefly what we saw during the days we spent at Diauarum and Leonardo, where to our great regret our enquiries had to proceed in the absence of both Claudio and Orlando Villas Boas. The brothers had spent much of 1972 in their efforts to contact the Kreen-Akarore (see above) and Claudio was still in the attraction post on the Peixoto de Azevedo. We were later able to meet Orlando in São Paulo, but we wished we had had the privilege of his experienced guidance in the Park which he has done so much to create and sustain.

We felt his absence and that of Claudio, all the more keenly because of the threat which now seems to be looming over the Park. On our flight to Diauarum we passed over the red scar of the BR 80 which has been built on both sides of the River Xingu only a short distance downstream from the post. As we have already said, this diversion of the highway well to the south of its former alignment was used to justify
the amputation of the northern stretch of the Park. This road thus symbolises the vulnerability of all Indian lands at this time of Brazilian expansion.

The policy of the Villas Boas brothers has often been criticised for holding back Indians on the road of “progress”. Yet within a few hours of landing at Diauarum, where because of Claudio’s absence the post was being run entirely by Indians (mainly Kayabi), it was obvious that we were dealing with people of great charm and efficiency. For the first time in our travels we had arrived at an Indian post where the Indians were actually in charge. They were considerate hosts and it was refreshing to escape the paternalism we have noted at so many other posts. Moreover, we felt that their leaders were more capable of meeting the outside world on equal terms than many of those more strenuously “civilized” Indians we had met elsewhere.

19th September — To the Suya, Juruna and Kayabi villages and to Leonardo

In the morning we travelled by motor boat a short distance up the Suia Missu River, a tributary of the Xingu which joins it just upstream from Diauarum. The predominantly Suya village which lies on its banks has a population somewhat in excess of 100 (RHT gave a figure of 125 in 1971), of whom about 40 belong to the Beico de Pau tribe (named after the large lip discs worn by the men), who were brought to this site from the Upper Tapajós. Earlier that summer the Suya killed a female “witch” for her alleged role in causing the death of the chief’s brother’s wife in childbirth. Witchcraft always has been common amongst the upper Xingu tribes and is resisting the Villas Boas brothers’ efforts to discourage it.

In the afternoon we walked first to the Juruna village which lies a stone’s throw to the north of Diauarum and later travelled downstream for about an hour to a Kayabi village on the banks of the Xingu. Both of these visits were too hurried to permit anything approaching a considered analysis, but the general atmosphere was cheerful. In the Kayabi village we noticed a mentally deficient youth — showing symptoms similar to those of autism — who was clearly being looked after as a member of the family and in no sense excluded.

Upon our return we made our final flight in the Catalina, to Posto Leonardo and there, on the following morning, bade farewell to the crew who had brought us safely from Belém. At this point too our own Mission separated, Edwin Brooks returning to Brasília (via Barra do Garças and Goiânia) to try and make arrangements to meet the absent Orlando Villas Boas and the remainder of the party spending the next four days visiting various tribes in the vicinity of Leonardo. They visited the villages of the Kamayura, Kalapalo, Txikão, Trumai and Yawalapiti Indians. They found the atmosphere in all of these places just as relaxed as around Diauarum and although some of the Indians were to criticise the policies of the brothers (see Chapter 3, particularly Education) morale generally seemed to be high. The restrictions imposed by Orlando upon trade in Brazilian commodities which might undermine indigenous arts and crafts are sometimes resented, but for the time being they are succeeding in their purpose and inter-tribal trade in shell necklaces and the famous Waura zoomorphic pots was found to be still flourishing.

The health and medical facilities at Xingu were far better than at any other FUNAI posts we visited. A highly efficient dispensary at Leonardo itself is supplemented by the Escola Paulista de Medicina of São Paulo, which regularly sends teams of doctors to vaccinate and otherwise treat the Indians. Just before our visit, in the months of August and September, a severe cold epidemic had struck and FUNAI sent prompt and ample medical supplies. The São Paulo Hospital also sent two doctors and an Army doctor and dentist appeared unexpectedly as well.

The older forms of medicine, or rather witchcraft, nevertheless persist at Leonardo as around Diauarum. The son of the Kamayura chief died recently, probably from eating poisoned fish. The tribe thereupon waited for Orlando to leave and immediately pursued the man suspected of administering the fatal spell. He lived in a maloca at Leonardo itself and although he fled into Orlando’s own house he was caught and hacked and shot to death. His maloca was then burned to the ground.

A new football pitch had been laid down at Leonardo and
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there was also a playground with swings and a water slide on the river. Among the new buildings was a guest house and a house for Orlando was nearing completion. However, as we shall relate in a moment, the future, both of this house and of the Park itself, are far from clear and our meetings in São Paulo with Orlando on the 30th September and the 1st October were to leave us both sad and apprehensive about the future of Xingu and all it has come to symbolise.

On Sunday 24th September the members of the Mission were reunited in Brasília, where the next three days were spent in discussions with FUNAI (including the transmission of the missing letter asking for further information), with officials of Itamaraty (who as ever proved extremely helpful with our travel arrangements back to Rio) and with the British Embassy, which had kindly arranged to keep a file of press cuttings relating to our Mission and Indian affairs while we were absent in the interior. Following these various meetings, we travelled to Rio de Janeiro.

29th September – Meeting with the President of FUNAI
The lengthy discussion with General Bandeira de Mello naturally concentrated on the points which had concerned us during our travels and the underlying issues raised are more appropriately dealt with in Chapter 3. However, as said earlier, we were told that the map copied in Belém was wrong and particularly misleading as far as the big Kayapó Reserves in the south of Pará were concerned. We were also told that although FUNAI had individual maps of each Reserve decreed, these had never been co-ordinated on a master map. For this reason our Map 5, which was based upon the one eventually compiled for us by FUNAI and received in early December 1972, is presumably the first time all the Parks and Reserves of the Amazon basin have been simultaneously plotted on one map.

To our queries about the small and unsatisfactory area proposed for the Yanomami, the President seemed to be saying that national security would never permit a Park actually along the frontier of Brazil – where he admitted the great bulk of the tribe lived. He was even more pessimistic about any possible international Park for this tribe, involving Venezuela, which would take account of the fact that the Yanomami territory is crossed by the international frontier. He said that such a proposal would have to be negotiated through the Foreign Service and that in any case the Yanomami would take advantage of such an international Reserve “to smuggle gold across the frontier”. We found this argument unconvincing and it is far from clear what possible additional dangers would face Brazil on her northern frontier should the Yanomami Park run alongside it. Apart from the wild ruggedness of the region, which hardly lends itself to an invasion route, FAB could presumably have the same policing function within any such Park as it presently has in the undemarcated land where it has “seeded” so many missions.

Among other miscellaneous points touched upon, we were told that a new mobile health team is being based upon Altamira and that one of the two new Britton-Norman Islander planes just purchased will be based henceforth in Belém (the other being kept “in reserve” in Brasília for executives’ use). This should ease some of the transport problems – especially of medical supplies – which we have commented on throughout our discussion of the posts in Pará.

As for the Las Casas post which has no Indians, this is apparently going to be sold off in the near future; but at the cattle ranch at São Marcos in Roraima a cattle specialist is to be hired to revive the herd.

30th September – To São Paulo
We flew by ordinary commercial airliner to be met by both Orlando and the third surviving Villas Boas brother, Alvaro, who is in charge of the São Paulo Ajudancia of FUNAI. In the course of many hours discussion, the results of which are again reflected in Chapter 3, we gained a fascinating insight into the philosophy, hopes and fears of the brothers as they look back upon their lifetime of work on behalf of Indians. The dedication and stamina of these men (including the dead Leonardo who gave his name to the main Xingu post) can have few parallels in the history of aboriginal peoples anywhere. Yet the news that they broke to us was dismal, for both Orlando and Claudio had asked to retire from FUNAI
at the end of 1972. To some extent this decision reflects the illness and exhaustion of the brothers after their long years in the forests. But it also stems from their disillusion with certain aspects of present policy towards the Indians and with the calibre of some of those appointed at various levels to serve in FUNAI. To men like Orlando Villas Boas, who once spent a solid 6½ years in the forest, and even more so to Claudio, who once spent 9½ years without emerging, the present generation of encarregados with their short course and brief spells with the Indians must seem a frail body of people. It is not for us to elaborate on their personal plans and views. We simply record the passing of an epoch in Brazilian Indian history and suspect that future generations of Brazilians will look back with pride upon the work of the brothers.

Orlando and Claudio Villas Boas hold the rank of sertanista, which means that they earn less than a young encarregado entering the service after passing the indigenismo course. It also means that their pension on retirement would be only Cr. 600 (= £42.85) a month. We strongly urge the Brazilian Government to make some special award to these very great men.

3 General Analysis and Conclusions

It is fair to surmise that the APS Mission was invited to Brazil to give the lie to accusations that the Brazilian Government was either practising or conniving at the physical extermination of its Indian population. On the basis of its findings the Mission is glad to agree that the accusations are untrue and that charges of genocide are wide of the mark.

In all fairness too, the Mission expected no less and saw as its real task that of considering the subtler accusation that lack of assistance to Indians was but another way of getting rid of them. In this final chapter therefore we give our conclusions about the assistance given to Indians by FUNAI, religious missions and other bodies, and about the policies underlying this assistance.

It is as well to realize at the outset that most Brazilians are frankly bewildered by the concern Europeans show for the Indian situation, since the number of Indians in Brazil is estimated to be but one or at the very most two hundred thousand in a total population of 95 millions, the problems of the majority being politically much more immediate and often as serious as those of the tiny Indian minority.

We see the reasons for this apparently disproportionate concern as follows:

1. Humanitarian. The aboriginal population of Brazil has shrunk enormously since the discovery of the country, many tribes having been intentionally killed off in past centuries. Such decline is of course general among indigenous peoples elsewhere. Brazil, however, is notable for
having still uncontacted tribes within its boundaries, and for inviting foreigners to inspect its treatment of Indians.

2. Scientific. Tribal cultures are of great professional interest to anthropologists, psychologists and other students. Evidence from Brazilian tribes has contributed notably to the development of structuralist philosophy.

3. Sociological. The acculturation of tribes brings a halt to their self-sufficiency and creates a number of problems, practical and theoretical.

4. Ecological. The opening up of the Amazon forests will bring about large-scale changes in the regional – and perhaps global – environment as well as in Indian cultures.

5. Idealistic. The Indians of the Americas have provided Europe with models for various utopian schemes which may still be relevant to us today.

6. Justice. Indians are often referred to as the original owners of the land and have a right to physical and cultural survival.

In short, the Europeans’ concern has to do with tribal life and the effects upon it of Brazilian civilisation.

Generally speaking, these effects are traumatic to the tribes concerned, who are expected to make radical changes in their ways of life. At the VII Indigenista Conference in August 1972 the Minister of the Exterior declared that “Brazil is not a guineapig to serve as a showcase for pseudo-scientists and does not wish to preserve Indians as laboratory specimens, in a state of savagery, for university research ...”. On the same occasion the Minister of the Interior said “Brazil is living through its time of accelerated development, occupying new areas of its territory and uniting them to its powerful economy. Integration in the cause of development is the theme, an integration at once territorial, economic, social and cultural”. He added that FUNAI was the spearhead of this integration wherever roads were being built across the lands of still uncontacted tribes and that through its work all Indians were assured of respect for their persons, their communities, their lands and their tribal institutions in a process of slow integration without sudden change.

The present official policy of slow integration for Indians obviously contradicts that of rapid integration which General Bandeira de Mello was said to have stated to Hanbury-Tenison in 1971. With us the President affirmed, it will be recalled, that this earlier report was “newspaper lies”. For any kind of integration to take place however, FUNAI must in some way accommodate the rate of accelerated national progress to the obstinate facts of Indian culture. It is doing so largely by the following administrative measures:

1. Indian lands are being properly demarcated, and settlers within their boundaries are to be moved elsewhere.
2. Better medical provisions are being taken.
3. Indians are to be encouraged to work for money and to contribute to the expense of FUNAI through the Renda Indigena.
4. Education is to be fostered, both in Portuguese and the Indian languages concerned.
5. FUNAI is staffing its Indian Posts with young men with some education, who have also passed through the Indigenista’s course.

Administration

The laying down of a firm policy is essential for any organisation and especially for FUNAI, which was created after the débâcle of the old SPI. The need to administer such a policy efficiently is perhaps one reason the President of FUNAI and the heads of departments are all Army men, as are – with one exception – the Delegados. We were often made aware of the satisfaction these men got from carrying out their duties, and having something to show for it in the end. Many Delegados, for instance, were much occupied with the necessary demarcation and registration of Indian lands, which total some 6½ million hectares and much of FUNAI’s budget goes into this vital work. The legal safeguarding of their lands is essential to the welfare of the Indians and we gladly acknowledge the work FUNAI is doing in this direction. We have however, no means of telling how far this work has progressed, for FUNAI inherited a messy situation with many posts and Reserves either undemarcated or the
records concerning them lost. The present work seems to be still in its preliminary phase, for the few maps we were shown were firmly said to be approximate and untrustworthy and new ones were not even on the drawing board. This plainly makes it hard for encarregados to deal with intruders.

We also record FUNAI's efforts in supplying posts with farmacias padrões, that is, regulation medicine kits. Although the aim is to send these out monthly and for mobile health teams to visit each post monthly as well, from ten centres, this target has not nearly been achieved. The supply of kits is usually irregular and sometimes lacking, while many posts are only visited by medical teams in times of emergency. Some Indians are given no medical assistance at all, for instance the Tikuna at Belém whose only recourse is to buy patent medicines at a trading store. Here we asked what happened if an Indian was seriously ill. "He dies, of course," said the owner of the store, no doubt speaking as much for other local Brazilians as for the Indians.

On these two essential matters, therefore, FUNAI's well-intentioned administrative policy is not yet as efficient as it could be.

**Policy**

FUNAI is a department of the Ministry of the Interior, and it was made abundantly clear to us that its main lines of policy were laid down to further the programme of the Ministry in the development and integration of the hinterland. As touched upon above, FUNAI is remarkable for not having men experienced in Indian affairs in its top ranks and, apparently, for making little use of experienced advisers. Its advisory body is the Conselho Nacional, but this was reformed when General Bandeira de Mello took office and filled it with people of his own choice. As far as an outsider can judge, its present members are also not noted for their experience with Indian problems, nor does the Conselho appear to have any teeth.

There is of course, a shortage of experienced sertanistas (Indian and jungle experts) in Brazil and many of them have contradictory notions about the integration of Indians. It seemed strange to us however that some of those who were once in senior positions as Delegados or the Directors of Parks have been relegated back to the field. While one such sertanista affirmed that his advice was often sought by the Delegado of his particular area, others complained with feeling that their opinions were rarely, if ever, taken into account. (At the same time we must record that one sertanista commonly alleged to have been deeply implicated in scandals connected with the running of the old SPI still retains his position under FUNAI.) It appears that the President of FUNAI is not anxious to have contradictory voices within his organisation, and several encarregados told us that he has decreed that no member of FUNAI is to discuss its policy with outsiders.

It is of course clear that Indian policy cannot be left to sertanistas or anthropologists, since they disagree amongst themselves as to whether integration should be swift, slow, or even non-existent. It is clearly a matter for political decision. No single policy can apply to such a wide diversity of tribes, with vast differences of culture, history and degree of acculturation.

The lack of experienced advisers, however, is one symptom of a characteristic fault in FUNAI's structure: not only does it hardly allow for criticism, but it receives little informed feedback. A possible exception to this may be certain actions the President has taken in conformity with recommendations made by the International Red Cross Mission and by the Primitive People's Fund, namely the eviction of unsatisfactory missionaries from Camararé and elsewhere and the stopping of the Green Hell Tours to the Tikuna village of Umariassu, this last despite considerable local pressure. Though we hope that FUNAI was aware of these situations before attention was thus drawn to them, the number of encarregados who complained to us that their reports were consistently unheeded makes us suspect a general failure in gathering information and reacting to it.

This failure appears linked with the difficulty of knowing just what "integration" really means, irrespectively of whether it be slow or fast. The classic examples of non-integrated tribes are commonly held to be those in the Xingu National Park, sometimes sneered at as being a "human zoo"
and falling into the category of being a “showcase for pseudo-scientists”. The Xingu, however, is also one of the few places where Indians are respected for their persons, their communities and tribal institutions, all of which are fostered with an eye to the time when the Indians concerned can begin to deal with neighbouring Brazilians on more or less equal terms. The results are so interesting that visitors come to the Park in fairly large numbers, and FUNAI sees nothing wrong in illustrating its latest publications with splendid photographs of Xingu Indians, naked, painted, and be-feathered. Indeed, these Indians are so well integrated in one sense, that they accommodate themselves with great composure to the demands of the photographers and visitors in general.

This attitude is clearly the result both of tribal temperament and of the intelligent administration of the Park. The other extreme is shown by the Xavante at São Marcos, who demand 5 cruzeiros for each photograph taken of them, and admit visitors to their village only by invitation. They claim that in the past they allowed visitors to wander at will, but that when they themselves sought to do likewise in the houses of the civilizados they were angrily forbidden, so that now it is tit for tat. We agree with these Indians that integration tends to be a one-sided process that seems incapable of respecting Indian culture. Those Indians who have been in contact for some time well know that there are Brazilians who think of them as “bichos da mata”, (jungle animals), and that while it is good for Indians to integrate with Brazilians, it is impossible for Brazilians to integrate with Indians. FUNAI is now trying to combat “the current stereotypes of the good Indian, the ingenuous Indian, the lazy, suspicious, vindictive, grown-up-child” (Indian (see “O que é a FUNAI”), but its policy requires it to act on the assumption that many of these stereotypes are in fact true. Missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, are also caught up in these stereotypes. The paradox of this attitude is that it discourages the Indians from shouldering the responsibilities they are ostensibly being educated and trained to accept. We found no FUNAI functionary who believed that any Indian tribe is ready to leave the protection of his organisation and compete with its Brazilian neighbours on a relationship of genuine equality. Indeed, we found hardly any who seemed actively to be preparing for some such time. The same goes for missions; at Cururu for example not one of the Munduruku Indians had been asked to fill even a low post of the co-operative set up on their behalf, nor was this thought strange by the Franciscans there.

One sertanista told us that the ability of an Indian tribe to fend for itself was like the capacity of a single Indian to live in a city: it was impossible. We think the point well made. However, we wish that he and FUNAI as a whole would ponder the reasons for this impossibility, rather than by making such remarks as “all Indians need a father’s love”, and continuing to treat them as children. We may remark here that the patrão (patron) has always been important in Brazil, from the days of the Casa Grande (the plantation house); he still occupies a most important role in rural life, peasants needing to acquire a patrão to defend them in tight spots or merely to earn what living they can. This patronage is clearly visible in FUNAI. Here two examples must suffice. The first is to be found in the 5th article of the Decalogo do Indigenista (attributed in “O que é a FUNAI” to General Bandeira de Mello) which runs: “Consider the indigenous community under your direction as if it were your own family”. It omits to mention that Brazilian notions of what constitutes a family are usually quite different from those held by Indians, nor does it allow for these “children” to reach adult status. The second example comes from Roraima, where a group of Indians decided to buy the title to their lands in order to keep neighbouring settlers at bay. To do this they not only had to bribe the surveyor, who would otherwise have marked the land out to their disadvantage, but they also became liable to taxation. We thought this an admirable example of how Indians could integrate into the national society on their own behalf. The Delegado with whom we discussed this matter, however, blamed the Indians for not having called in FUNAI to do the job for them, apparently not realising the difference between a collective and an individual title to land (which we shall return to later) and the fact that Indians in Reserves are expected to pay tax
in the form of the Renda Indigena wherever possible.

On this and other evidence we believe FUNAI’s policy of integration to cover a self-contradiction; it appears that as long as Indians live in a tribal community they are to be considered as minors, so that the only properly integrated Indian is a detribalised one; on the other hand FUNAI does little to encourage Indians to attain their majority and so keeps them in a state of dependence. The problem admittedly is most difficult. Elsewhere in the world where Reservations have been set up as a necessary and useful initial step, they have eventually laid a blight upon the tribes within them. We therefore suggest that FUNAI should consider the consequences of its policy in some detail in order to avoid the self-contradictions already apparent in it.

The Xingu Park is a case in point here: the frequent gibe that it is a “human zoo” seems to echo a fear that even a minute “nation” within the nation as a whole is dangerous or intolerable. Even when the reasons for this fear are understandable, FUNAI’s policy is still self-defeating and demoralising to the Indians when it treats them as a collective minority which is never expected to be responsible for itself. This demoralisation was noticeable at Gomes Carneiro, whose Bororo population have a long history of being treated as incapable minors: the Indians stated that they feared integration and did not believe they could ever cope on their own, having failed so often in the past. They had however regained some of their confidence due to the devoted efforts of Hélio Bucker to restore pride in their traditions. As a result they were no longer drowning their sorrows in drink and were less of a problem to the encarregado and to FUNAI as a whole. This hopeful experience suggests that it should be quite possible for FUNAI to give assistance to tribes without at the same time making them chronically dependent.

Structure

The reformation of the old SPI into what is now FUNAI bequeathed a curious structure with Army men of the older generation at the top, youths in their twenties at the bottom, and only a few men experienced in Indian matters in the middle. This makes the structure distinctly top heavy, not only in what seems to be an undue staffing at HQs, but in the very different kinds of expectation and experience which these groups exhibit, and the largely one-way communication between them.

We are in no doubt, however, that the recruitment of young and relatively well-educated men who have taken the indigenismo course is a sound policy. Perhaps it leads to some jealousy among sertanistas since those who have passed the course are financially better off than those experienced men who were retained by FUNAI. The older men naturally do not like the idea of going back to school, or having their experience belittled. But such a situation is unavoidable, given the crisis of leadership revealed in the SPI story, and the difficulties should not in any case be unduly exaggerated. Several of the older sertanistas have already taken the course, while our impression of the younger recruits was of a welcome infusion of zeal and talent.

The present structure, however, offers little hope of a lasting career for these initially keen recruits. Some of them told us that they did not expect to stay with FUNAI for more than a few years because of poor or vague prospects or because the job had not come up to their expectations. Here FUNAI is faced with the difficulty of giving a sense of vocation to its everyday affairs. The Indigenista’s decalogue makes the point of emphasising the need for such a sense, but the nature of the job, and often the lack of support given to encarregados, do little to encourage it. The young recruits we met were filled with a sense of adventure and of the exotic nature of Indian culture, but their idealism was often fading away for lack of a high aim. Several, for instance, disliked having to make Indians work for the Renda Indigena, and were disillusioned by the seeming lack of interest taken by FUNAI in the vitality of tribal life. Others also mentioned the difficulty of learning more about the tribes they had to administer because of the complete lack of literature on the subject in FUNAI posts. On the whole they saw no future for themselves in FUNAI as anything but encarregados.

The career structure thus does not seem to have been thought out, nor has the need to have continuity. Lack of continuity in Indian affairs was something encarregados
regularly complained of: it is common to hear how the fortunes of a post and the Indians served by it go up and down under successive encarregados, who often start new schemes rather than consolidate those of their predecessors, however successful they may have been.

We suggested that this lack of continuity is also to be seen in the structure of FUNAI itself, as a lack of liaison between its various parts. Encarregados often complain of their isolation, that their reports go unacknowledged, their recommendations unheeded, and that they are often short of supplies and are seldom visited by anyone from HQ. These failures have led to a number of encarregados abandoning their posts after only a few months, or at least asking for a transfer. Others have simply decided to leave FUNAI formally, with or without public recriminations. We discovered that the massacre of FUNAI personnel at PI Roosevelt in the Aripuanã Park had occurred shortly after a number of their colleagues had pulled out because they had not been paid, leaving the post open to attack by the Indians. We also recall the uneasy and tense situation among the Xavante, whose pleas to be given land by FUNAI seemed only to be met when they began to threaten neighbouring farmers; and the sad death of the encarregado at Sete de Setembro, which might have been averted had the radio facilities been in better order.

Liaison with other bodies
FUNAI clearly lack the resources (particularly the finance) to carry out all its functions unaided, nor is it able to serve all the Indians living in Brazil. Yet its liaison with other bodies which might help it, or which perform similar functions, is not very good.

One of its great allies, however, is the Summer Institute of Linguistics. SIL has a sizeable number of employees in the field, whose job as described in Chapter 2 is to learn various Indian languages well enough to have the Bible translated into them. However it does not appear to perform specific missionary work on its own. A well-endowed organisation, it not only provides FUNAI with bilingual texts for some of its schools, but is ready to lend its planes for an emergency and to provide medical help. FUNAI seems to have no linguists of its own, and as we have said seems happy to allow SIL to live with such newly-contacted tribes as the Surui and to take advantage of what it learns there.

FUNAI's relationship with the other Christian Missions is more ambiguous, perhaps because it has inherited the positivist ideals of its predecessor, the SPI, and has a humanist rather than a religious approach to Indians. Also, as this Report stresses repeatedly, there are large areas in the north of Brazil where FUNAI is practically speaking nonexistent but where Catholic and Protestant missions operate instead. FUNAI has now begun to mend its fences with these missions, for example by holding a conference with them early in 1972 which both sides found fruitful.

Obvious difficulties arise if one tribe is placed under two or more authorities, each competing for primacy on different grounds. At some posts FUNAI has allowed Protestant missionaries in, yet at others has expelled them for forbidding Indians to follow their traditions and forcibly catechising them. At Fontoura, however, we heard of a mission running an infirmary and a school, which seemed to cause the encarregado there some jealousy. At Cururu the FUNAI post had been abandoned, largely because the Catholic mission there dominated the area and gave the encarregado little scope for setting up a rival organisation. At São Marcos we gathered that FUNAI gave the Salesians little or no help and did not pay much attention to their recommendations. In fact we see little reason for FUNAI to give help since from its own point of view missions are allowed to work with Indians precisely because of the material assistance they provide. However, we found considerable animus to exist between several missions and FUNAI, each accusing the other of having unfair advantages; while in Roraima a Catholic representative even complained that FUNAI was actively hindering the missions there.

The unfair advantage which FUNAI employees complained of most was the missions' close understanding with FAB which flies their goods and personnel in and out on a regular schedule and without charge. FUNAI on the contrary has to
provide its own transport or hire taxi-planes. There seems to be no rational reason for the lack of similar co-operation with FUNAI other than a traditional inter-services stand-offishness (FUNAI — and the old SPI — being an Army preserve for many years).

At risk of over-generalising we think FUNAI seems to get on rather better with Protestant than with Catholic missions. We hazard the following reasons for this:

1. Protestant missions, like FUNAI posts, are small and the buildings they put up are generally unimposing, unlike Catholic missions which tend to be large and highly organised.
2. Protestants preach individualism where Catholics rather stress collectivism and so are closer to FUNAI's post-Positivistic ethos.
3. The Catholic church is a power in the land, unlike the Protestant ones, and so does not readily defer to secular control. The Catholic church openly criticizes FUNAI on occasion, whereas Protestants operate quietly under agreements with FUNAI.
4. The largest Catholic missions we visited were in areas where FUNAI was largely absent. Here State Governments or regional development authorities help finance such missions.

These differences in outlook cannot easily be bridged, but a closer working liaison between FUNAI and the missions seems to us desirable.

It is difficult to judge how effective FUNAI's liaison with local (State) government is. As we have described, the Delegado at Porto Velho had charged property developers with knowingly entering and trying to possess Indian lands, the case having reached the Public Prosecutor. Similarly settlers have been evicted from Indian lands at Kraho with the help of the Indian Guards (the so-called GRIs). However, the perpetrators of the Canela and Cintas Largas massacres, though charged, have gone unpunished, while the settlers who preempted Indian lands at Cerra Azul (near Wasusu) were allowed to remain in possession, the Nambikuara who lived there being removed to worse territory in the Reserve.

FUNAI claims to have agreements with 26 hospitals throughout Brazil which will accept Indian patients. We heard of several instances where this agreement was made use of, sometimes to help out Catholic Missions whose charges were suffering from an epidemic. However, we also found a few cases where FUNAI's relations with special medical missions could well have been improved. One concerned a team of doctors who visited the Suya promising a long-term programme of medical supervision, but who did not return for reasons unknown to us. Another concerned a diligent Army Medical team from Tabatinga, which arrived at Urariassu without having previously informed the encarregado there, who was thus unable to arrange for all the Indians to attend.

Process of integration
The methods employed here are rule of thumb, if not plain arbitrary, nor can one expect them to be very different. As a rule, FUNAI is called in either to clear the way for civilization before it has entered Indian territory, or to protect civilizados from the Indians in whose lands they have settled. The self-contradictions of FUNAI policy ultimately stem from these situations, in which it has to protect Indians from the encroachment of civilizados, and civilizados from the Indians they encroach upon.

The attitude of the civilizado to the Indian seems to have changed little over the centuries. The Indian has always been seen as a bar to progress throughout the land and even now the common reaction to the presence of Indians is either to agitate for their immediate reduction by force of arms (now no longer practised as a matter of policy), or to call in aid catechism or FUNAI. What happens to Indians after this "pacification" is not the concern of civilizados. However, the locals become jealous if FUNAI is successful in its aim of guaranteeing Indians their land and giving them assistance — thus the population of São Felix has been heard to complain that they are treated "worse than Káraí" since they have no hospital of their own. When, on the other hand, a tribe
bizarre entertainment offered us at Uaupés, which bespoke an obsessive desire to transplant European school culture into that of Amazonian Indians. What the Indians make of all this when their education is over and they return to their villages is difficult to tell.

We were unfortunately unable to visit any Indian villages in the neighbourhood of these missions to gauge just how smooth this course of civilization may have been, though we did see the small “village” of one street dependent on the mission at Iauareté. This was clean and orderly. However, it was noticeable that the caboclo-type houses were bare and did not seem lived in, the real centres of activity being the out-house kitchens which were untidy, somewhat dirty and full of gear. One woman, when asked to show us her house, wished to refuse by saying that it was “ugly”, a remark one often hears from people caught between two contradictory cultures and trying to excuse their unsuccessful efforts to live up to the non-traditional one imposed on them.

This is but one of many different experiments being carried out in the acculturation of Indian tribes and whose results are difficult to estimate because of the very different conditions which obtain in the environment, the tribal temperament, the land problem, the presence or absence of settlers and the method of acculturation used. We may, for example, contrast the work of the Salesians in the Rio Negro with that of the Salesians at São Marcos amongst the Xavante, an energetic tribe hemmed in by farmers; there the Indians have so far retained their cultural identity while learning new agricultural skills and receiving a very adequate education. Whether these or the Tukano will fare better in the long run, however, remains to be seen, as it does for other tribes we shall mention in due course.

Let us turn from these highly organised ventures to the more usual situation, where FUNAI is called to contact and pacify tribes that are in the way of extractive workers, settlers, farmers or roadmakers. The sudden spate of new contacts is, of course, mostly due to the building of the Transamazônica. “We have not had,” said the Minister of the Interior at the Conference of Indigenistas, “ – and I hope we shall not have – any shock between the clearing and
construction fronts of the Transamazônica with the Indians who walk about in this immense area. I call this work of FUNAI's one of real integration, contacting the natives and attracting them to the Reserves already existing in the region, in preparation for the process of gradual acculturation.” It is because of this that, of the 130 employees in the Belém Delegacia, 40 of them (including native interpreters) are attached to attraction posts, with 25 at HQ.

The work of pacification, or attraction as it is now called, is usually long, laborious and difficult. That of the Waimeri-Atroari as told us by the sertanista in charge, is a case in point. He has established two posts to control the riverine approaches to these Indians, to the west and to the east; it takes 5 days by boat from Manaus to reach the western post, 8 days to reach the eastern one. In an emergency he can charter a small plane, but the journey to the eastern post costs Cr. 700 (= £50) and the plane can only carry 200 kilos of supplies. Even with boats the cargo carried is small, because fuel for the return journey must be carried. For this operation he has only some dozen workers, quality being more important than quantity and though he finds lack of experience in young recruits a drawback, he has enlisted two young men whom he declares first rate. At the same time he is hampered by receiving but a third of the budget he sought, this money coming from FUNAI and from those building the road north from Manaus to Boa Vista (see Map 4).

This operation is just enough to keep in contact with the Indians, keep out unwanted Brazilians and allow the road builders to get on with their work without being attacked. The sertanista's advice on the area of the Reserve, however, has not been taken, the legal area being considerably smaller than that planned by him and leaving out a number of villages to the north. Also his knowledge of the whereabouts of these Indians seems to have been ignored. According to him, both tribal groups are in the western zone, whereas General Bandeira de Mello told us that only the Waimeri were to be found there, the Atroari being in the eastern zone.

The attraction of the Parakanã, as of other groups, continues. The advance party here must travel some ten days from base before it reaches the attraction site and the difficulties of supply are such that at one stage the party went short for a whole fortnight after the Indians had taken their clothes, hammocks and other goods.

As described earlier attraction consists in leaving large numbers of presents for the Indians. If they take these presents and leave some of their own behind, this is a sign that they are ready to enter into open contact. However, such was the quantity of machetes and knives used during the Surui attraction that these Indians discarded them as soon as they were blunt or rusty, and asked for more. The same is true of the Tirio, though these Indians have been in contact for a long time.

There comes a moment after contact has been confirmed when this bountiful supply dries up and the Indians are expected to work for the objects they receive. This change of attitude, which might seem reasonable to us, must be odd to the Indians, particularly as both these steps in the process of integration are necessarily rapid and something of a culture shock. The US missionary at Surucucu impressed us with the need to teach Indians the true value of goods, by making them work for them (yet he - like all sertanistas - had first got into their good graces by giving without regard for value). He was thus deliberately not growing certain foods at his mission so that the Indians could provide such food in trade - an excellent decision. He also kept down thieving by refusing to trade with Indians who stole from him, or with any Indians at all as long as any thief remained unidentified.

Having started to supply these Indians with goods, however, his greatest difficulty was how to go on doing so and satisfy the entire tribe which must locally run into thousands. At this stage of contact the goods given in one area are frequently exchanged amongst the Indians themselves and find their way into other areas; this internal trade amongst the Yanomami goes several hundred miles north and south, and crosses the border into Venezuela. The same is true of the Tirio, whose women-folk are taught sewing by the Catholic mission in Brazil, and given cloth to make clothes with. However, they are usually to be seen in rags, for they keep their newly-made clothes to be exchanged for other goods via their relatives in Surinam.
Whoever contacts an Indian tribe with the use of gifts, therefore, gets saddled with the problem of keeping up the supply and of teaching Indians the value of different goods. In their turn the Indians are hooked onto a money and work economy of which they have no experience — not, at least, when the partners are unrelated to them by blood or marriage. Integration and the introduction of a money economy therefore means the supplanting of kinship relations and the tribal order by impersonal, non-familial ones. Between themselves, Indian tribes often cement relations by intermarriage, thus assuring a continual and well-understood exchange of goods and activities. This situation is impossible between Indians and Brazilians, for various strong reasons. Indeed, sexual and marital relations with recently contacted Indians are expressly forbidden by FUNAI in order not to interfere with tribal integrity and also not to spread venereal disease (as reportedly occurred amongst the Parakanã).

Pacification is thus the first step in the destruction of tribal self-sufficiency. It can have quick and curious results. The first exchange can sometimes be understood not so much as one of gifts as of trophies won in a bloodless battle, as the SPI recognized when dealing with the Parintintin. It is certainly true that pacification teams acquire many such trophies from Indians, to such a degree that, for instance, the Parakanã hardly had a bow or arrow left when we came to visit them, the few bows still in use being rude affairs made from unshaped branches. In exchange, nearly every Indian had acquired a gun. This makes them dependent on FUNAI in order not to interfere with tribal integrity and also not to spread venereal disease (as reportedly occurred amongst the Parakanã).

Pacification thus tends to deplete the Indian technical repertory. We saw this amongst the Canela, whose arrows were improvised affairs of a kind used in the past mainly by children. It also makes Indians dependent on civilizados for medical help. Epidemics sweep through tribes soon after contact and only Western medicine can cure them. It was indeed partly because two Gavião Indians were cured in a Brazilian settlement that their part of the tribe concluded they could live at peace with Brazilians and so concurred in their pacification. The Surui posts, however, had no FUNAI doctor in regular attendance, two visiting Frenchmen filling this gap; nor was there a doctor for the Parakanã pacification. There are obvious difficulties in giving Western medicine to newly contacted tribes, for example, they may find pills impossible to swallow, and the taste of them when powdered and mixed with water, or fruit, disagreeable. Injections, which are the surest method, may appear alarming. However, since the terrible effects of Western diseases on Indians are well known, it is surely part of FUNAI’s responsibility to have a doctor with each pacification team.

Land

Land is what civilizados want from Indians, and what FUNAI has to ensure for Indians when they are pacified. General Bandeira de Mello told us that hunting tribes were assured of 100 to 150 hectares per head, acculturated ones 50 hectares. This measure seems equitable until one inquires into the kind of land given to Indians. That at Marechal Rondon is so poor that the Indians have their plantations 10 km away from the village at the Post; at Canela the only good soil is several leagues away — “quite close”, one Indian remarked, “it hardly takes a man an hour to run there”.

It is obviously in the interests of Brazil as a whole to increase the agricultural capacity of hunting tribes. These
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Tribes can hunt out an area in 10 or 20 years, after which they would try to move on to another district. The missionary at Surucucu said that the Yanomami were bad conservationists, killing pregnant female and young animals. This judgment we must concur in. Likewise the Xavante burn the brush to drive animals towards the clubs of waiting Indians. It was somewhat ironical, therefore, to hear them complain that neighbouring farmers were burning off their land.

The change of village sites which occurs when an area is hunted out also goes with hostility between Indian groups. Thus one large party of Yanomami had left the neighbourhood of Surucucu not only because hunting was poor, but because they were feuding with another group over a woman. The Nambikuara are also notorious for living in small feuding groups, one of them being famous for stealing women from the others. The Gavião villages now settled close to each other are still suspicious of each other and work out their hostility during the ritual buriti log races. Most Indian tribes, in fact, suffer from internal dissensions, one of whose effects is to keep the dissenting group separate.

FUNAI’s policy of putting Indians such as the Nambikuara into Reserves means concentrating them into an area, which is usually smaller than the one they formerly occupied. This cuts down the area they have to hunt in and magnifies any internal dissensions. The seritanista originally in charge of the Parakanã pacification dwelt on this point when he told us that two of their groups were hostile but would be made to live close together and would have to get over their hostility as best they could. This must be a difficult moment for an encarregado to handle and we are not aware that he is given either help or direction when he has to do so. The encarregado at Pimentel Barbosa, for instance, told us that groups of Xavante are difficult to handle when they number more than 200. With his resources, this was obviously true. At São Marcos, however, the Xavante numbered over 800; though even here internal frictions in the village had earlier led to a group of 130 going off by themselves.

The tendency of certain tribes to split is well seen amongst the Kayapô, who have been doing so for centuries, and the Yanomami. These last are particularly interesting, for it seems they live in their enormous malocas principally in order to defend themselves against enemies. Now that firearms have been introduced amongst them, families who own such weapons believe they no longer need allies to defend themselves and live on their own in much smaller houses. The problem of getting the Yanomami to settle in the Park allotted them, where very few actually live, will plainly be exceptionally difficult. Administratively it would be much easier and more sensible to demarcate the area where most villages are to be found, which would mean alongside the Venezuelan border. The present proposed Park, whose limits were arrived at without consulting those closest to the problem, can only make trouble for all concerned, and we strongly reiterate the arguments in Chapter 2 in favour of a major review of the proposal.

However, the basic idea of concentrating hostile groups in one area is not unsound in itself, as long as the process involved is understood and well directed. The great weakness of many Indian cultures is in their political structure and their lack of an authoritarian chiefship — which might keep the antagonistic factions together. These factional differences may make segments of tribes more vulnerable to detribalising aspects of integration. It would then be in the interest of a tribe to compose these differences, not only to present a common face to outsiders but to learn elementary political skills. The same may be true of differences between neighbouring tribes and here the history of the Xingu Park is of particular interest. Before the arrival of the Villas Boas brothers, there were 11 tribes in this area who had already integrated their differences in ritual matters and material culture, so forming a kind of ceremonial federation with a well developed inter-tribal trade. It is because of this that the Xingu Park is of such interest.

The Villas Boas brothers managed to introduce six other tribes into the region and these are slowly finding their place in the Park. That they are able to do so is due as much to the basic peace already existing amongst the other tribes (not unlike the peaceful relations amongst the tribes around Iauareté) as to the leadership given them by the Villas Boas.
brothers.

The Xingu Park must be the only region in Brazil to enjoy such advantages and to have had a single and continuous policy under the same leadership since the 1940s. The Park is famous as an example of what slow integration can mean, the quality which most often impresses the visitor being the self-confidence of the Indians and their lack of that "inferiority complex" which characterises other tribes with long contact. Much of this is undoubtedly due to the steady integration which has taken place amongst the various tribes and the political experience they have gained from it.

Reserves and Parks

As explained in Chapter 2, a Reserve is an area set aside for one tribe, a Park for several tribes. However, a Park may also be an area for the preservation of the fauna and flora, as at Bananal where the Instituto Brasileiro do Desenvolvimento Florestal protects an area even from the Karajá living within its boundaries, who as a result are unable to increase the number of their plantations.

In practice a Reserve is smaller in area than that which the Indians originally occupied. There have been many pronouncements from FUNAI that Indians have legal rights over their traditional territories, though in fact the effect of Reserves is to diminish these lands or even force Indians off them and onto others, (e.g. the Nambikuara and Yanomami).

Not only are Indian lands diminished in size by the Reserve policy, but the rights to them do not in the end belong to the Indians concerned but to FUNAI as their legal guardian. We must agree that there are serious difficulties in the way of granting Indians legal status on a par with Brazilian citizens, if they speak no Portuguese, have no concept of individual property in land, ignore the value of money, have no means of political representation and so on. However the problem of what it means for an Indian to be legally a minor is not dealt with in the Indian Statute; nor are the conditions specified which would enable an Indian to become a full citizen. Indian Reserves, it seems, belong to FUNAI as of legal right, or to the Patrimonio Indigena, and can presumably be sold off if this is in FUNAI's interests. We recommend that FUNAI should make clear its position in regard to the ultimate possession of Reserve lands by Indians.

The siting of Reserves and of the posts serving them brings up other problems. We have already mentioned those existing amongst the Tirio, where the two American Protestant Missions in Surinam have attracted the Indians from over the border and concentrated them in two large settlements, the Franciscans having done the same on the Brazilian side in reply. This is a special case and FUNAI is not responsible for it. However, the siting of the FUNAI post at the extreme edge of the Kraho Reserve means that the villages on the other side do not easily get assistance and it is distinctly possible that in time these villages may migrate towards the post and virtually abandon much of their land, as the Tirio have done. On the other hand we must record that this has not happened to the Urubu, whose nearest village is a day's march from the post; in their case — as we were to discover — the problem of relative inaccessibility from the post makes speedy contact well-nigh impossible.

A more important point is raised by the Asurini. The Delegado at Belém spoke of the possibility of moving them from their present location to the banks of the Xingu, where the post would have the benefit of river and air transport. But such a location would also expose them to diseases and other evils carried by travellers on the river, as happened to the Kayapó-Xikrin when they lived on the banks of the Itacaiuna. Only after they suffered a sizeable epidemic there did this tribe agree to move to a tributary, where their health improved enormously and their numbers recovered to the old level. To balance the need of Indians against that of FUNAI will always be difficult, but to move Indians to new locations merely to suit organisational need, or to tidy things up; is a questionable practice which could be highly dangerous if really adequate medical precautions were not taken at the same time.

There are numerous Indian tribes who do not live on defined Reserves at all (such as the Makuxi, Wapixana and Tikuna) and instead are mingled with settlers who lay claim to the land round about. These Indians are in essence already acculturated and we see little value in creating Reserves for
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them. Rather we suggest that they should be helped to claim land for themselves as individuals wherever possible. FUNAI is in any case very weak in the areas of Roraima and Amazonas inhabited by these Indians, the present situation of the Tikuna having been determined by the various extractive industries in the region which use the Tikuna as labourers and the extinction of the Omaqua and other tribes on the main river. Demographically this had led to these Indians moving down from the tributaries on which they once lived to the main river. This complex pattern of change by laissez-faire is beyond the competence of our Report, but we mention it to show how little FUNAI can do — or has done — where outside economic pressures are overwhelming, and to note its seeming lack of interest in such cases.

Needs of Posts

FUNAI posts are isolated from the rest of the world, and we have already recounted some of the experiences which brought home to us just how lonely and potentially dangerous is the life of a typical encarregado. There is really no great mystery about the urgent needs of such posts, but we must stress in particular that of better communications. Defective radios can literally mean the difference between life and death, and we hope that FUNAI will rapidly complete its planned programme of installing more two-way radios. It is also hardly necessary to state that the regular payment of wages, and the regular supply of foods, goods and medicines, are a pre-requisite of high morale on the posts, as too is the provision of a decent house, of uncontaminated water and a small generator for electricity. Not only are these likely to be appreciated by the encarregado himself — there is also his wife (and perhaps too his children) to consider. FUNAI is undoubtedly a great improvement over the old SPI in all these matters, but at several posts we were made aware of lapses and deficiencies. FUNAI might well consider following the example of the Protestant missions in helping the family life of the man in charge — for example by providing proper boarding schools for his growing children. In many ways this all comes back to the central problem of defining a proper career structure within FUNAI, in which young entrants can look forward — with their families — to a lifetime or at least many years of service to the Indians.

Roads and rivers

As the Minister of the Interior stated, one of FUNAI’s main functions today is to prepare the way for new roads by pacifying the tribes in their neighbourhood and settling them. As far as we could determine, FUNAI has no say in planning the course of these roads, a matter which is entirely in the hands of the Ministry of the Interior and the Army Engineers who make the surveys.

Our meeting with General Bandeira de Mello on the 4th August had included a lengthy discussion of the most notorious example of this unsatisfactory situation — the BR 80 which went clean through the former Xíngu Park. In this case, following the removal from the Park of its northern third, a roughly compensating area was grafted on to the south and west: but much of this additional land is of poor carrying capacity, and at least a sizeable proportion has already been allocated to settlers. Other consequences of this highway have been the initial demoralisation of the nearby Juruna Indians who were eventually forced to leave their village and settle close to Diauarum, and the even greater shock to the Txukahamaye through the section of the Park which has been removed.

Similarly, the pacification of the Waimiri-Atroari was only undertaken to allow a road going north from Manaus to cross their territory, which it has already done; while that of the Kreen-Akarore is still in progress to protect the workers along the Cuiabá-Santarém road. FUNAI seems to have so little objection to these roads that the Delegado at Porto Velho planned to locate the HQ of the Aripuanã Reserve actually on the road between Vilhena and Rondônia, though the Indians are now living well to the north of it. Likewise after the post at Mãe Maria was set up for the Gavião, the Belém-Marabá road was driven between it and the village it serves; we were told that the same had happened between the mission at Sangradouro and the Xavante village nearby, though we were unable to confirm this by inspection. We can
also cite the road which passes close to the village of Gomes Carneiro, though this is used only by the neighbouring farmers, and that which is being built to the new Xavante settlement on the Serra do Roncador from the farm which took over the former Pimentel Barbosa site. This latter is apparently planned to link up with the São Felix-Barra do Garças highway and could well become a major through route. As Map 4 shows, a road was apparently being planned in 1970 to go through the southern part of the Xingu Park, but we were assured by General Bandeira de Mello that such a route (going apparently through or near Leonardo) had never been envisaged. Certainly the 1970 Ministry of Transport Map was inaccurate, showing as it did the BR 80 going through Diauarum instead of somewhat to the north, but such inaccuracies hardly strengthen our confidence in the liaison which exists between FUNAI and the highway building agencies. Again, the remarkable coincidence which brought us to Tirios on the very day that an Army Engineers' team arrived to complete its survey of the planned Santarém-Paramaribo road which goes straight through Tumucumaque (see Map 1), was the only way in which we could have learned of this project. Such confusion and secrecy in the planning of major roads intersecting Indian Reserves and Parks makes it clear that FUNAI should certainly be given far more precise advance warning, and far more powers to resist when such highways are in the planning stage.

We accept, of course, that it would be wrong to approach this matter in purely negative terms. Although the Delegado in Belém did not explain to us the reasons for the road going straight through Mãe Maria, he reacted strongly against the suggestion that this village and others in a similar predicament, should be moved away from any road coming nearby. This, he said, and with some justice, would imply that Indians were doomed to perpetual flight. There is too the fact that Indians can benefit from the possibilities opened up by better accessibility. We would also agree that posts may run more efficiently if they are well served by roads and that good roads are not cheap to construct. However, roads make for a stream of passers-by whose visits are not always welcome, who may spread disease and are not above trading and cheating unscrupulously. They can be a drain on the morale and spiritual stamina of the Indians as well as on the resources of the posts or missions involved, as we learnt at São Marcos, Marechal Rondon, and particularly amongst the Gavião and Nambikuara and now the newly contacted Surui and Parakanã.

An extreme example of the dangers of too easy communication with Brazilians is afforded by Santa Isabel, the Karajá village a few miles downstream from São Felix with its brothels and bars. It is probably not feasible now to move this village to another site out of temptation, nor do we believe the Indians would readily submit to such a move. In short, we must admit we do not see an easy way of balancing the pros and cons involved in the close proximity of Indians to roads and rivers, though we do urge that special attention be paid to this problem, and that it is not to the best advantage of Indians to have through roads as distinct from access roads penetrating their lands.

Money and work
Once a tribe is pacified and introduced to manufactured goods it loses an important measure of self-sufficiency. This can be made up either by subsidising the tribe or by making it work for the goods it receives, usually by a mixture of both methods. The problem here involves an accommodation between two different systems of value. It usually takes a long time before Indians understand the function of money in an exchange of goods and services and a much longer time before they become aware of its detribalising effects.

Many FUNAI posts and missions do not use money in their dealings with Indians but pay them with goods, sometimes directly, sometimes through the intervention of a coupon system or a ledger entry. At first sight this is similar to the canteen system or trader's stores operated by rural landowners and extractive workers, who usually overcharge grossly for their goods and manage to hold their employees in a state of debt-bondage. We certainly do not accuse FUNAI or the missions of such practices; some missions, indeed, make a considerable loss on the goods they sell Indians and continue to do so in order to avoid any charges of...
exploitation. As for the coupon or ledger system, this is practised in two contexts: first, where Indians do not understand money and its various denominations; second, where a mission would be financially embarrassed if the money it paid to Indians were spent outside.

Indians frequent traders’ stores whenever the post or mission does not stock certain goods, or where there is no other trade centre nearby. Thus Indians sometimes go outside the Xingu Park to work for neighbouring farmers (the minimum wage is Cr. 10 (= 71p) a day) in order to obtain such goods as radios and fishhooks. A floating store, or regatão, visits the Munduruku from time to time, a small group of Nambikuara is entirely dependent on the trader’s store at Faustinho, and the Tikuna as a whole were dependent on a number of them. The latter are now discovering the advantages of money in cutting loose from this system, which helps to explain why they have left the tributaries they lived on for the main river, but they still suffer from traders who buy cheap and sell dear. The effects of this can be found in the messianic movements which occur and which the civilizeds in the region have always tried to put down, since the subversive economic motive of such cults does not escape them. The movement we witnessed on the Upper Solimões is doubly significant in that it embraced the caboclo as well as the Indian population, implying that the region as a whole is suffering from economic imbalance. FUNAI could probably do little in such a situation, even if it were to have more than one post at Umariaissu.

One interesting effect of this messianic movement was that the Tikuna had given up drink, together with their traditional rites and the taking of the hallucinogenic yage*. Alcoholism is generally a sign of economic and social deprivation, as it has been for the Tikuna (and will doubtless be again when the movement loses its impetus) and for the Bororo and Karajá amongst others. Interestingly enough the Jê tribes do not succumb to alcoholism so easily.

Amongst the tribes we found to have a fair idea of the value of money were the Karajá, the Tikuna, the Munduruku, the Gavião and the Canela. The situation of the Canela was so difficult that a number asked us outright for money to relieve their poverty, while others pressed us insistently to trade with them (something we did not come across anywhere else). The Bororo at Gomes Carneiro, though they have lived amongst civilizeds for many years, were still under the tutelage of their encarregado in money matters; he sees that they get the minimum wage of Cr. 10 (= 71p) a day when they work for farmers and oversees their trade in artifacts with visitors, lest they get cheated. The Xavante at Pimentel Barbosa, however, had a very slight understanding of money and many tribes, newly-contacted ones amongst them, had none. This spectrum of experience with money is to some extent also one of degrees of integration and it follows that FUNAI and the missions have a special responsibility in educating the Indian in the use and value of currency wherever he is in close touch with a money economy, besides establishing a range of minimum prices for his goods and labour and providing a market for his produce.

Indians engage in a variety of commercial enterprises. The Tikuna sell mandioc and fish to civilizeds (often for derisory prices) besides working for seringalistas (rubber collectors) usually without help from FUNAI. The Munduruku produce rubber, mostly under the auspices of the Franciscan Mission and with the help of FAB, which flies it out gratis. A good worker is able to earn up to Cr. 15 (= £1.07) a day as credit in the mission canteen. The Karajá sell some of their arts and crafts directly to visitors at an agreed tariff, the rest to FUNAI. Some are also engaged in the rice-planting programme at Bananal and a few years ago a market for their dried fish seemed to have opened when FAB agreed to fly out their catch. This unfortunately came to a stop when it was found the salt used in curing the fish corroded the aircraft. The Xavante at Pimentel Barbosa have succeeded in raising a considerable crop of rice, as did one Nambikuara Indian at Wasusu; while the Gavião depend largely on Brazil nut extraction.

FUNAI and the missions are often the middle men between the outside market and the Indians who otherwise could not dispose of their produce. At many posts the

*See Glossary
encarregado is encouraged to make the Indians produce more, the Indians being paid as labourers and in theory benefiting collectively from increased assistance. However, Indians are seldom if ever involved in the selling of their agricultural produce on the open market so that they might learn at first hand what this trade involves, who the traders are and what are the going prices. The same goes for missions, who also consider Indians to be incompetent in such matters. Neither they nor FUNAI encourage Indians to take an interest in the tribe's financial account, nor even in the stocking of the stores which serve them. This paternalism, though well-intentioned and often necessary, ends by keeping Indians in a permanent state of economic ignorance and dependence as there is always an acute temptation to profit at the Indians' expense.

Sale of artifacts
Indians make bows and arrows, blowpipes, baskets, pots and a variety of personal ornaments, all of which can be objects of trade and are often a principal source of wealth. In spite of the skill and time employed in making these objects, however, they are often treated by civilizados as being of such little worth that it has been known for a single razor blade or a flashlight to be given in exchange for a bow. While many Indians continue to sell their own artifacts to visitors, or on roads and in townships, they are now encouraged to trade them in to FUNAI or the missions at a better rate of exchange. These artifacts are either kept in the post's store to be sold to visitors, or taken to cities to be sold in FUNAI's Arte India shops, or at mission stalls.

We visited a number of these shops, where the prices were not surprisingly much higher than those obtained by the Indians and the stock was generally second-rate. Since there were no Arte India shops attached to the Delegacias of Porto Velho, Manaus and Belém, we infer that the artifacts gathered in these districts are sent to Brasilia for the shops there and in Rio de Janeiro. The Manaus Delegacia, however, had a well-stocked basement where it was possible to buy objects — if one discovered its existence — but the store at Belém was bare. Since both cities have a number of commercial shops selling Indian and folklore objects, FUNAI might well take advantage of the situation and lower costs by selling to them directly. Its collection of artifacts from Indians might also be improved; we were told that a consignment sent from the Kraho was returned "since no-one wanted it" and there seemed to be no arrangements made by FUNAI to help the Canela.

We have earlier mentioned how the tribe may suddenly stop making objects in the first flush of contact when the manufactured goods start to arrive and we must therefore applaud any effort to rescue and encourage Indian crafts, even at the risk of them becoming somewhat debased in the process. This deterioration has taken place with certain Nambikuara, Tikuna, Canela and Karajá objects, according to the general rule that artifacts made for the tourist trade rather than for practical or ritual purposes eventually lose their meaning for those who make them. Trade in artifacts may also impoverish tribal life, with the finest pieces liable to be snapped up by museums or private collectors and no longer able to set standards of excellence in the tribe itself. The change brought about by integration, from handmade to manufactured objects, from tribal to civilised values and from personal to impersonal contacts are thus often apparent in the quality of artifacts. While we agree that this trade is both useful and necessary, it can mean that sometimes the aims of integration and of respecting Indian traditions are at cross-purposes.

This is perhaps unavoidable, since the problem of fostering tribal arts admits of no easy solution, particularly if the practices which require these arts are allowed to wither away. We realise that nourishing such practices goes against the whole ethic of integration, but its value was shown by Hélio Bucker's work with the Bororo and we suggest that such a sensitive anthropological approach by FUNAI as a whole might pay remarkable dividends.

Renda Indígena
Since FUNAI is a spending department it is understandable that the Government should see if income could be derived from its patrimony. There are obvious dangers in turning a
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One of the show-places for the effects of the Renda is at Mão Maria, where the Gavião work at collecting Brazil nuts. The market price for the nuts varies from Cr. 60 to 100 (= £4.27 to £7) per hectolitre, but FUNAI pays only Cr. 17 a hectolitre to the Indians who gather them. The Indians themselves, however, told us that they only receive Cr. 7, the difference between this sum and FUNAI’s price apparently remaining in the hands of the Capitão, who has managed to furnish his well-built new house with Cr. 850 (= £60) worth of furniture. The difference between FUNAI’s price and the market price is used by FUNAI, apparently entirely, to construct new houses similar to that of the Chief in both the villages served by the post; it has already constructed a new school there. In the meantime it has stopped the Indians rebuilding their very cramped village to the north-east of Mão Maria in traditional style.

This is plainly an example of rapid integration. The Capitão’s house has the same uninhabited appearance we noticed in the houses near lauereté, the kitchen outhouse being the centre of activity (though to be fair his wife was obviously proud of her new dwelling). In the same village two Brazilian women who had married Indians said they were delighted with their life there, but their husbands displayed the typical embarrassment of Indians having to live up to a strange and imposed way of life. While the situation of the Gavião may well be exceptional, needing as they do very special assistance as a result of their recent unfortunate history, we have some doubts about the forced change in their living arrangements, even though done with good intentions.

The Gavião are recipients of this assistance because of the wealth they gain from the nuts. Other tribes are not so fortunate and their immediate income is correspondingly smaller. One use of the Renda is to distribute the income earned by all Indians for the running of FUNAI which amounts to a curious form of taxation. This is certainly unsound if a tribe is to learn how to live successfully in a capitalist economy.

In addition, FUNAI is using the Renda to set up farms or businesses of its own on the Parks and Reserves, as at Bananal. There the Karajá do not benefit directly from the cattle owned by FUNAI, nor from those owned by the farmers who graze ostensibly Indian lands. FUNAI’s earnings from these enterprises are not officially disclosed and accounted for, with the result that no outsider can discover how or where they are used. Since the Indians are never involved in the organisation of the Renda except as labourers and thus have no way of learning how to make use of the money they earn, we consider that this whole system entrenches their collective and individual status as minors, and should therefore be changed.

Authority

The kinship and social-structure of Indian tribes make it very difficult for chiefs to wield the kind of authority that civilizados often expect of them. When FUNAI and the missions take charge of Indians, they thus create a new form of leadership centering upon their own organisations and leaving the tribal structures to one side. Indians who previously had little say in tribal matters are often drawn into this new complex and the tribe may then suffer a crisis of authority.

The formation of the GRINs provides an example of this process. Amongst the Karajá their main function was, we were told, to keep order in the tribe, to deal with drunkards
and to stand sentry duty at the entrance of the village of Santa Isabel. For this they received a salary larger than that of a chief, were given a uniform and a holster which at one time (but no longer) housed a pistol. Their standard of living was better than that of most of their neighbours and they had begun to put on airs — the GRIN son of one of the chiefs, for instance, quarrelled with his father in our hearing in a way that is unusual. The GRINs amongst the Kraho had three sons of chiefs amongst their number and all of them were housed away from the circular village nearest the post in two rows along a straight pathway. Their main duties were to help the work of the post and under the guidance of the encarregado to warn settlers off their lands. This useful and educative operation must be balanced against their social and economic isolation from the other Kraho. Their wages were again higher than a chief's and one told us that he and his fellow GRINs have long since stopped sharing their money with relatives and instead use it to buy goods and even cattle. We do not know if FUNAI intends to create what almost amounts to a caste within Kraho society, but this could well be the eventual outcome. Whether intentional or not, we suggest that the encarregado be warned that a crisis in tribal authority may soon come about.

Such a crisis has already occurred amongst the Tirio, who have been greatly influenced by both the Protestant missionaries in Surinam and the Franciscans in Brazil. A number of young catechists under the leadership of the young chief have now taken on responsibility for the morals and daily life of Tirios village. The old chief removed himself from the village after he had married a fourth wife against the new monogamous trend and the elders, who once formed the village council, are unheeded and held in disdain.

A less obvious crisis exists in tribes which have had chiefs appointed to them by civilizados and not by their own custom. The Karajá, one of whose chiefs was appointed by President Vargas, seem to have weathered this crisis well enough. Their situation, however, is not as difficult as that of the Tikuna, whose chiefs were foisted on them by seringalistas as intermediaries to recruit labour. The false position of these chiefs had made it necessary for them to be hypocritical with both sides and the organisation of the tribe has suffered much in consequence.

A change in a tribe's structure of authority can nevertheless be a good thing if it is based on sound economic reasons capable of benefiting the tribe as a whole. The Tirio, for example, may well be set on a new and fruitful course, with much depending on their capacity to use the novel tools of civilisation put into their hands. We believe the Franciscans are well able to perform the necessary guidance, and we believe the same to be true of the Villas Boas brothers, who have fostered excellent relations with the Xingu tribes via the chiefs they have appointed. In both these situations, however, the Indians are made privy to many matters of policy and such tangible participation helps relax the strains inherent in a change of authority.

A quite different state of affairs is to be seen amongst the Munduruku whose traditional society has so decayed in the fifty years the Franciscan mission has been with them that they have no chiefs. Perhaps as a corollary of this, fathers were said to have no authority over their own sons as they approach puberty and many traditional rites have long disappeared. At the same time, no new forms of leadership seem to have emerged. One main cause of this situation might well have been the introduction of rubber-tapping amongst these Indians, which is necessarily a solitary occupation bringing with it quite individual rewards and thus breaking down tribal solidarity. This represents a loss of organisation which the mission unwittingly perpetuates, for instance by setting up a co-operative in whose running, as we saw, the Indians take no part, nor are they trained to do so.

Patronising attitudes
Changes in the tribal structure of authority are often matched by subtler psychological ones. It is normal for there to be a certain embarrassment when those of different cultures meet and wish to establish friendly working arrangements. On the Brazilian side, this is often marked by over-heartiness, laughter a little too loud, physical handling and teasing, even of chiefs; a proprietorial examination of the houses and possessions of Indians, impatient attitudes when
trading and bad manners with cameras. Much of this is resented by Indians who often allow themselves to be treated in this way without overt complaint — the Tirio, for instance, merely allowing themselves the small luxury of saying "white beasts" in their own language when *civilizados* take advantage of them. The Xavante at São Marcos, however, had the complete support of the mission in allowing no visitors into their village unless invited by the chiefs, in retaliation against the bad manners of *civilizados* and their refusal to allow Indians the same privileges when they visit the neighbouring farms. They also charge visitors for any photographs they take. Indians of other tribes were often sullen when being photographed, as amongst the Tikuna, but did not have the courage to demand payment; and amongst the Xikrin at Caetete two members of our mission were pelted with small sticks by the women when they started photographing them, even after permission had apparently been granted. We sympathise with these reactions and agree that the privilege of taking photographs must not damage the Indians' self-respect and may well have to be paid for in certain tribes.

It is normal practice for visitors to a tribe to present themselves to the Brazilians in charge of the post or mission and we compliment FUNAI on its efforts to supervise visits. Even *encarregados*, however, may be tactless when showing visitors around an Indian village, often as much out of enthusiasm as ignorance and we found it quite common for Indians to be interrupted or ignored in our favour. We also found that Indians were often excluded from the living quarters and offices of many missions, while FUNAI posts usually let them in. We agree that the continuous presence of Indians in one's house can become more than a little irritating and we mention this fact to illustrate the difficulties inherent in any close contact between those of different cultures. Different habits of privacy and possession can cause friction and misunderstanding and without sympathetic allowance for these differences, Indians easily learn to become ashamed of their culture and themselves. We deplore any form of integration which relies upon this process and which destroys one path to self-respect without offering another.

**Clothes**

Indians enjoy the novelty of clothes for various reasons, partly to look like *civilizados*, partly to stop these taking what to Indians is an unseemly interest in naked bodies, partly for the pleasure of dressing up and partly as a protection against insects. The problem here is that Indians are not encouraged to look after these clothes, which rapidly become dirty, ragged, ugly and unhealthy. It should be obligatory for FUNAI and the missions to provide soap whenever they also provide clothes, not only as a matter of hygiene but to preserve the Indians' self-respect. Dirty clothes encourage Brazilians to accept the contemptuous stereotype of the Indians as "*bichos da mata*" or "*bugres*" (bugs) who never bathe or wash themselves. In fact this is grossly untrue, though it is correct to say that Indians rarely wash their clothes, mainly because they have no soap.

Indians should also be shown how clothes can be mended. There seems to be a universal failure to do so, even in posts or missions where the making of clothes is taught.

**Hygiene**

The teaching of hygiene to Indians is necessarily a slow matter. Privies have been installed in a number of villages, with indifferent success; Indians often complain of their smell, of the mosquitoes which live in them, or that children can fall into them. The traditional way of using the edge of the jungle for defecating may well be more practicable in villages with few inhabitants, though problems necessarily arise in the larger ones.

There are similar problems with drinking water, traditionally brought from a stream or river. Wells have been sunk in some villages, for example at Santa Isabel, yet the Karajá continue to fetch water from the Araguaia although it is polluted by the town of São Felix upstream and they suffer from dysentery in consequence.

More difficult to deal with are dogs and the fact that most Indians' houses have an earth floor on which dirt, ashes and food refuse can accumulate. Children cannot be stopped from crawling on these floors and easily become infected with worms. These, together with fleas, are harboured by the
numerous dogs which Indians like to keep even when they become mangy, lame or broken-backed, since they are regarded as members of the family. Indians could be encouraged to sweep their houses out even more often than they do, but otherwise (like the Red Cross team of 1970) we have no easy solution to offer.

Finally, there are certain epidemiological matters which are of interest, for instance the eye disease amongst the Parakanã — said to be congenital — and the very general tooth decay even amongst recently contacted tribes. Amongst Indians, this decay starts with the incisors rather than, as with Europeans, the molars; the reasons for this, and for the existence of decay at all, are of scientific and perhaps also of practical importance.

Education
The education of Indians by civilizados starts from the moment they have to learn the way of the new culture which has contacted them, including the ways of a world where promises may be given but not kept. Such education proceeds in a quite informal manner. The Indians learn to accommodate themselves to the attitudes and the prejudices which confront them and to accept their situation. All this is sometimes achieved with the active help of the encarregado, but rarely if ever does this informal tutoring go as far as in Xingu, where the Villas Boas brothers spend long hours talking with Indians about their situation and advising how best they might comport themselves with neighbouring Brazilians.

One of the objects of the brothers’ advice is to put the Indians on their guard against too close a contact with Brazilians and they are urged not to stray beyond the boundaries of the Park. The reasons for this are: to restrict trade in goods which the brothers fear will eventually undermine the integrity of Indian culture; to stop Indian women being seduced by Brazilians, largely for fear they contact venereal diseases; and to protect them from being cheated. Several Indians complained to us of what they saw as this “autocratic” advice and many go off on trading journeys despite it, but in secrecy.

There are as yet no schools in Xingu, though the brothers had planned to introduce them soon with a curriculum of their own devising. However, certain youths from Xingu have already received education, due apparently to the initiative of FAB. One such youth who made a show of having a textbook in his hands when we visited his village, complained to us that the policy of the Park was to keep Indians backward; he would no doubt have applauded anyone charging this policy with preserving a “human zoo”. This is indeed a serious charge, which we heard also from the Salesians at São Marcos; and these in turn have been criticised by the Villas Boas brothers in the past, for exerting too great educative pressure on the Xavante and for exploiting their labour.

We believe that these conflicting charges are the result of different social situations as well as quite different ideologies. The Xavante at São Marcos are like the Xingu Indians in retaining great pride in their own traditions, and their education under the Salesians seems, on short acquaintance, to have been efficient and to have caused remarkably little disturbance to the principles of their culture. (We may remark incidentally that two young Indians who had been well educated here and had visited some Brazilian cities, complained to us articulately and at length about the injustices suffered by the Xavante as a whole. This, as in Xingu, points to one of the effects of education, though we did not meet it elsewhere.) The Xavante at São Marcos, however, are surrounded by farmers and it is obviously to their advantage to receive a good primary education. The Xingu Indians are much more isolated as yet from outside pressures and a formal education may be correspondingly less useful to them at the moment. But this situation may change dramatically as the new roads penetrate the former Xingu fastness.

It is seldom that one hears of Indians actively searching for an education on behalf of their children and we would expect this to occur only in the last stages of acculturation, when they see the social and economic advantages of schooling. By then they would also understand many of the complexities of Brazilian society. Before this, formal education must appear a curious affair to them. Even the Karajá, with their long
history of contact, were unenthusiastic about school: witness the fact that the encarregado rewarded those children who attended by letting them play football and volleyball. Although the Salesians at Iauareté had filled their boarding school with children, we doubt that the parents had had much say in this. The Franciscans at Cururu confessed that the Munduruku showed little enthusiasm for schooling, as well as no real understanding of Christian dogma even after 50 years effort; we were told it is customary for these Indians to marry when they are 14, with rarely more than three years primary schooling behind them. In any case the Franciscans seemed to take more pride in the practical instructions the Indians received, in building houses, keeping fowl and collecting rubber. We recall that the boarding system for children had proved a failure here and caused unforeseen problems between the boarders and the day children.

As for formal education amongst newly contacted tribes, this is clearly based on a misunderstanding of what is possible. The New Tribes missionary at Toototobi confessed as much when he told us of his original misconceptions of Indian religion and of his almost total failure in making converts among the Yanomami. Like other Protestant missionaries he made a point of relating conversion to literacy, for the mission does not normally stay in one place permanently and the Indians must therefore be taught how to read the Bible and in due course carry on the good work by themselves. These efforts are doomed to failure unless the missionaries succeed in "breaking the culture" of the Indians and either way we consider the characteristically impatient approach of the evangelical and fundamentalist sects to be thoroughly ill-anted.

We find it difficult to comment on the high powered education given by the Salesians at Iauareté, since we had no chance of visiting the neighbouring villages. At the moment, the effort seems disproportionate to the use the Indians in the region can make of their education, though it may well stand them in good stead when the region is opened up to Brazilian settlement in the future. On the whole we consider that the first purpose in educating Indians should be to help them cope with the problems of acculturation in such matters as labour, commerce, money and land, to teach them practical skills and a fluency in Portuguese. Here FUNAI's new policy of bilingual education is excellent in principle, though it has not yet been put into practice.

Languages
Few encarregados are at all fluent in the language of the tribe they have charge of, nor can they be if they change posts every few years. FUNAI might well use its collaboration with SIL to include crash courses in Indian languages and to reward those encarregados who take them. The Namikuru at Camararé greatly preferred the SIL representative who sometimes lived amongst them to the Protestant missionary who has now been expelled, because the one spoke their language and the other did not. Any improvement in communication is obviously of benefit to Indians and FUNAI alike, and should be greatly encouraged.

Missions
Brazil has often put its faith in Christian missions to treat with the Indian. It has welcomed their discipline and persuasiveness and it is still doing so if now to a lesser degree. The missions' work consists in giving assistance to the Indians and in catechising them and criticisms have been regularly levelled against them not only for their methods of catechisation, but for their desire to catechise at all. We have already mentioned numerous aspects of their work and of its effects throughout this Report, as well as some of the major differences between Catholic and Protestant missions; and we here give some further consideration to these, since we hold that the sectarian means tend to determine the religious ends.

Many of the criticisms levelled against the missions are well-founded. A classic example was among the Bororo, when the Salesians made them build their houses in rows rather than in their traditional circle with a Men's House at its centre. As a result their social organisation fell to pieces without an adequate substitute being offered them. This ill-thought-out experiment ended in the demoralisation of the Bororo and much effort is still needed to set them on their feet again. Their situation can usefully be contrasted with
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that at São Marcos, where the Salesians have been much better informed and have encouraged the Xavante to live in their traditional style while still managing to give them a good education and much needed assistance.

It thus has been customary for many missions to act first and think afterwards, though there are notable exceptions to the rule. However, it seems to be only recently that they have found it possible to assist, observe and learn before catechising and to discover that catechisation is possible without destroying Indian culture. This approach has now been adopted as a general rule for Catholic missions; and their co-ordinating Council has appointed an anthropological adviser and entered into closer relations with FUNAI. We believe there is everything to be gained by Indians and missions alike from endorsing this approach and for making attendance at religious services optional (as is the case at São Marcos and Tirios) rather than obligatory (as at Marechal Rondon and Camararé where FUNAI laudably evicted the missionaries concerned). In any event the catechisation of Indians takes a long time before it is properly understood, if the experience of the Franciscans at Cururu is any indication, and only confusion and distress result if the pace is forced.

The Protestant (particularly evangelical) insistence on individual salvation in preference to a more congregational approach, however, discourages such a programme. It requires rather a complete break with Indians traditions at whatever the cost. We are glad that FUNAI has set its face against this in the areas it controls and we hope that similar supervision is soon extended to the whole of Brazil. At times we gained the impression that anyone licensed by the Gospel and a sense of vocation could set up in business converting Indians in the north of Brazil, without having the least familiarity with aboriginal matters or, ultimately, any social aim.

We must however acknowledge the fact that Indians often wish to be baptised in order to get on a par with the caboclos in the region and to avoid the stigma of being a “bicho da mata”. Many Indians are attracted to Protestant missions on these grounds and also because the missionaries treat them “as people”, with respect. These benefits, however, may not be of long duration: one Protestant missionary amongst the Tikuna, for example, was eventually forced to segregate his Indian converts in a separate church and school because the civilizados in his parish made such trouble for them. Thus even the secular advantages of conversion, which are what Indians mainly reach for, are far from guaranteed by missionary activity.

FUNAI did well in arranging a conference for the various missions in Brazil at which problems of this nature could be discussed. We would like to suggest one in particular for future consideration, namely the problem of having more than one mission at work in any one tribe. The sectarianism this leads to can have unfortunate results, as at Tirios and as is commonly found in tribes in other parts of the world. We realise the formidable moral difficulties inherent in apportioning tribal areas to missions of various persuasions, but consider that the long term benefits of doing so could well justify such a step. As said earlier, it is hardly fair to inflict the theological schisms of two thousand years upon aboriginal Indians in Brazil.

Finally we wish to draw attention to the problems which may arise when missions outlaw the rites of native religious practitioners or shamans and the religions themselves. It is common for missions to put these religions out of court by saying they are “nothing but animism”. While this Report is not the place to discuss the nature of Indian religions their psychiatric aspect should not be ignored as a necessary safeguard of mental health.
Summary of Findings

This has been a lengthy Report, but at best it can only summarise a complex situation whose roots go deep into history and extend far across a continent. The Amazon basin, where we deliberately chose to concentrate our enquiries, is a vast, imperfectly explored and remote part of the earth. In the time available it would have been impossible to make a definitive study of the subject and this Report and our conclusion are submitted with this necessary qualification.

We are, however, convinced that the very real and pressing dangers facing the Indians of Brazil stem neither from malevolence nor from deliberate cruelty. They are due to ignorance and prejudice which readily ally themselves with the ruthlessness of interests whose cupidity is content to see pledges broken and even the small Indian Reserves violated rather than lose a chance of gain. This ruthlessness cannot be contained without a matching determination on the part of government. The safeguards for the Indians embodied in the Brazilian Constitution must in turn be upheld by the terms of its Indian Statute, the draft of which does not do so.

The small size of their surviving communities, still so tiny despite a recent recovery in numbers, itself makes the Indians vulnerable in a country likely to grow by another hundred million people by the end of this century. With poverty and land hunger likely to intensify on the crowded coasts, the task of protecting the territory of the Indians of the interior from infiltration is made more urgent and more difficult.

We therefore see the land question as deserving the highest priority and as the crucial test of intentions towards the Indians. Unless the law safeguarding their homelands is enforced the Indians will be swept away by the advancing frontier of colonisation and economic exploitation. FUNAI is aware of its responsibilities in this respect and rightly gives high official priority to territorial demarcation and registration.

But the shrunken Waimiri-Atroari Reserve, and the equally unsatisfactory limits of the proposed Yanomami Park, cast doubt upon the criteria and information sought in planning such Indian lands generally.

We were unable to discover the boundaries of the Nambikuara Reserve (it remained elusive on the map sent by FUNAI in December) and we felt much unease about the re-location of groups from the Guaporé into it. The Xavante, until recently a great fighting nation, we found to be fragmented and apprehensive about their territories. Incidents such as the re-routing of the BR 80 and subsequent dismembering of the Xingu Park, the planning of a highway through Tumucumaque and the retreat of the Aripuanã Park to make room for a colonising settlement, all show that once development interests are involved, Indian Reserves are hardly worth the maps they are drawn on. There also seems to be some contradiction in the fact that FUNAI, which should be tough and vigilant to protect Indian territories, is a department of the Ministry of the Interior, whose role is often the conflicting one of economic development of the Brazilian interior. For whatever reason, FUNAI does not appear to be fighting the clauses in the draft Indian Statute that weaken Indians’ rights to their land.

Admittedly it is not easy to strike the right balance between protection and paternalism and careful differentiation of method between tribe and tribe is needed to cope with contrasted situations. On this we hesitate to make detailed and specific recommendations since it would mean embarking on administrative questions beyond our competence. But, speaking more generally, we foresee the more primitive or recently contacted groups needing protection for a long time to come. For more acculturated groups we see a need for better education and practical training and a more positive policy designed to remove such Indians from the...
status of legal minors and to give them some real authority. The alternative strategy of treating Indians as eternal children can only prolong their alleged immaturity.

In any event it is imperative that the Indians themselves set the rate for change, which should come only at a speed they can accept. This means that each Indian nation should be treated as a separate case, with its distinct culture, history and problems. Some tribes may never wish to abandon their traditional cultures, and it is of some significance that three of the tribes we visited have been in contact for more than a century yet still show no wish for integration. On the other hand, where the tribe wishes to integrate and participate in Brazilian economy and culture, it is important that it should be given proper encouragement. This means, among other things, that profits from Indian work should be accumulated for the groups concerned and we regret that FUNAI is at present subsidised by the concealed tax on Indians known as the Renda Indigena.

These problems are best understood by the Indians themselves, by anthropologists and many of those working closely with each Indian tribe in FUNAI and the missions. It is also important to harness the experience and dedication of those who have entered FUNAI and the missions with a genuine wish to serve the Indians. Recruitment to FUNAI during recent years has been good and the enthusiastic young men entering the service are for the first time receiving a brief course of training. All too often this course is seen as sufficient qualification with which to send very young men to the difficult task of encarregado when they clearly lack the experience and tact needed for the job. We noticed improvements in the educational calibre, pay and living conditions of the staff on the Indian posts, but there is certainly room for better communications, support and provision for the families of married encarregados. We recommend that the career structure of FUNAI be fashioned to ensure that the growing experience of the field workers is properly utilised and rewarded. The recent intake of dedicated younger men will not remain if top posts continue to be monopolised by elderly outsiders, generally military men.

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We were struck by the role being played by religious missions. These deal with far more Indians than is realised outside Brazil. Moreover, the medical and educational assistance they provide is markedly superior to that coming from FUNAI. We are glad to see that many of these missions, both Catholic and Protestant, are re-thinking their attitude to tribal religions and are improving the anthropological side of their work. Nevertheless, it is imperative to stop the rivalries between Christian missions that are dividing so many tribes – Xavante, Kayapó, Tirio, Yanomami and many more; and in the long run we would like to see an improved and properly administered FUNAI shoulder full responsibility for all the Indians of Brazil.

The great new roads being driven across the Brazilian interior are a symbol of the country’s extraordinary economic growth, but at the same time they menace the cultural and physical survival of the tribal minorities along their routes. We therefore recommend that some of the budget for each new road should be specifically allocated to the continuous protection, medical and social, of those suddenly threatened by it. We repeat that the Indians need and should be provided with Parks and Reserves that truly reflect their territories and that are really inviolate. Their lands must not be subject to casual amputation in the name of progress. Instead the concept – and the costs – of progress must be widened to include the well-being of the aboriginal occupiers of the land.

Of course we accept that the pleas and recommendations which we have made in this conclusion, as well as those contained in earlier chapters of our Report, would involve the spending of more money. Not only are there the direct costs of expenditure on Indian health and welfare, there are also the hidden costs of thwarting the plans of a colonisation company or a multi-national company seeking to gain Indian lands. For a country such as Brazil, which despite its recent spectacular economic progress still contains great areas of poverty and under-development, it is not easy to respond to exhortations to spend more on good causes, particularly when the exhortations come from an affluent world which conspicuously wastes so much of the world’s wealth.
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Our final comment, therefore, is that the outside critic should address himself less to blanket condemnations (often grossly exaggerated) of the alleged failings of the Brazilian Government to care for its Indians and instead see the problem as part of a much wider human dilemma in these days of rapid technological advance. The real predators of the Indian may well be in New York, London or Frankfurt, rather than among the poor caboclos trying to find a new life in the interior. Denunciations of the Brazilian authorities for condoning, if not actually promoting genocide, should instead be directed at an insatiable economic system which is about to wreak great damage on the fragile ecosystem we call the Amazon rain-forest. We believe that far from participating in genocide, FUNAI is struggling to help the Indians entrusted to it; if its efforts are weak and fumbling, and sometimes misconstrued, it is still far better to offer constructive suggestions than to show patronising disdain. We hope that our Report will be accepted in this spirit and that it may contribute to helping Brazil to help its tribal men, women and children.

Appendix 1

Press Release, 13th June, 1972
Aborigines Protection Society's Mission to Brazil, 1972

The Aborigines Protection Society, which is incorporated in the Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights, is sending a Mission to spend August and September visiting Amerindian tribes at the invitation of the Government of Brazil. Its purpose is to assess the present conditions of the Amerindian peoples and to offer to the Government of Brazil any suggestions, that may seem desirable, regarding improvement.

The Leader of the Mission is:—

Dr Edwin Brooks 42, Senior Lecturer in Geography, University of Liverpool, Member of Parliament for Bebington 1966–70, first President, The Conservation Society, 1967, investigated Amerindian conditions in Guyana, 1969, on behalf of Amnesty, UNA and APS.

Members of the Mission are:—


John Hemming, 37, Publisher, Iriri River Expedition 1961 supported by the Royal Geographical Society and the Instituto Brasileiro de Géografia e Estatística; spent most of 1971 in Brazil on a Miranda Scholarship, visiting 22 tribes in

*Francis Huxley*, 48, Social Anthropologist, lately Research Fellow of St. Catherine’s College, Oxford, has worked in Brazil, Canada and Haiti, author of *Affable Savages*, *Peoples of the World* and *The Invisibles*, co-founder of Survival International.

This is the latest in a series of missions from overseas invited by the Government of Brazil since the Figueiredo Report of 1968. The Government of Brazil and the National Foundation for the Indian (FUNAI), which administers Government policy in that regard, have met all the Society’s wishes as to the constitution of the Mission and as to its itinerary, and are most generously providing free transportation throughout the entire journey. Members of this Mission probably possess a greater wealth of knowledge and experience and their itinerary is undoubtedly more comprehensive, than in the case of any previous mission from overseas.

Their Report will be published by the Society.

Appendix 2

Brief note on the history of the Aborigines Protection Society

With the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire in 1834, the abolitionist leaders found their task far from complete. Problems of social and economic adjustment in the aftermath were compounded by the rising flow of European migration which by mid-century was to become a flood. In 1837 Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, to whom the anti-slavery leadership had passed from the ageing Wilberforce, founded the Aborigines Protection Society, the body in Britain which was to become the principal secular pressure group informing public opinion of the needs and problems of indigenous peoples as settlers and other European interests penetrated their lands. Mainly, but not exclusively, the Society in the 19th century concentrated on those areas for which the Secretary of State for the Colonies was answerable to Parliament. To do so it built up a world wide network of correspondents among missionaries, traders, civil servants and literate members of the local populations, to collect evidence of alleged exploitation which would be passed to the British press and—much more effectively—used in parliamentary questions to be asked by one of the fifty or more Members of Parliament with whom the Society was constantly in touch.

With never more than a hundred or two members whose small subscriptions provided its only income, the Society wielded an influence out of all proportion to its meagre resources, an influence testified to by the fear and hatred of it which 19th century settlers often expressed, by the confidence with which mid-20th century nationalist politicians on the eve of independence sought its advice on
tribes of the amazon basin 1972

the terms of independence constitutions, and also by such
judgement expressed from time to time by persons of
authority, summed up succinctly by one british minister for
colonial affairs.

"... the APS and kindred societies help by their criticisms
to keep Governors and Captains up to the mark of a high
level of humanity."

Dr H.C. Swaisland
Institute of Local Government Studies
University of Birmingham

Appendix 3

Diary of Mission within Indian areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Journeys and/or stopping points</th>
<th>Indian tribes contacted</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(FAB flights in capitals)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>BRASILIA – SANTA ISABEL</td>
<td>Karajá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>SANTA ISABEL – PIMENTEL BARBOSA</td>
<td>Xavante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PIMENTEL BARBOSA – SERRA DO RONCADOR</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SERRA DO RONCADOR – PIMENTEL BARBOSA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>PIMENTEL BARBOSA – SAO MARCOS</td>
<td>Xavante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>SAO MARCOS – MARECHAL RONDON</td>
<td>Xavante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MARECHAL RONDON – CUIABA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Cuiabá: Excursion with Instituto Indigenista Interamericano</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Cuiabá – Gomez Carneiro (road)</td>
<td>Bororo</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>CUIABA – VILHENA – Marco Rondon – Faustinho (road)</td>
<td>Nambikuara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Capitão Paulo – Fifano – Camararé (road)</td>
<td>Nambikuara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Wasusu (road)</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>VILHENA – PORTO VELHO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Porto Velho</td>
<td>Surui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Porto Velho – Sete Setembro (air-taxi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Journeys and/or stopping points (FAB flights in capitals)</td>
<td>Indian tribes contacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Sete Setembro — Porto Velho (air-taxi)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>PORTO VELHO — TABATINGA</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Tabatinga — Benjamin Constant — Letícia (river)</td>
<td>Tikuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Tabatinga</td>
<td></td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Tabatinga — Belém Solimões (river)</td>
<td>Tikuna</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>TABATINGA — IAUARETE — UAUPES — TABATINGA — IAUARETE</td>
<td>Tukano</td>
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<td>UAUPES — TAPURUQUARA — BOA VISTA</td>
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<td>Boa Vista — Catrimani (air-taxi)</td>
<td>Yanomami</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Catrimani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Catrimani — Toototobi — Surucucu — Boa Vista (air-taxi)</td>
<td>Yanomami</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Boa Vista — Lethem (road)</td>
<td>Makuxi</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Boa Vista — São Marcos (river)</td>
<td>Makuxi</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>BOA VISTA — TIRIO</td>
<td>Tirio, Kaxuyana</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<td>Marabá</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Marabá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>MARABA — BELEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Belém</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Belém</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>BELEM — REPARTIMENTO — Parakanã</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>16</td>
<td>MARABA — BARRA DO CORDA</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>BARRA DO CORDA — CAROLINA — CRAOLANDIA</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>CONCEICAO DO ARAGUAIA</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>DIAUARUM — Suya (river)</td>
<td>Suya</td>
</tr>
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<td>20</td>
<td>DIAUARUM — Juruna</td>
<td>Juruna</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>DIAUARUM — Kayabi (river)</td>
<td>Kayabi</td>
</tr>
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<td>DIAUARUM — POSTO LEONARDO</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Leonardo</td>
<td>Kamayura</td>
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<td>POSTO LEONARDO — BRASILIA</td>
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## Appendix 4

### Questionnaire

**Aborigines Protection Society**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Post</th>
<th>State</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neighbouring towns, rivers, roads (existing or projected)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means of Transportation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names by which the Post has previously been known</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Post</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date established</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative establishments/buildings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinic</td>
<td>School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houses or native dwellings</td>
<td>Villages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area of the Reserve</td>
<td>hectares measured?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Types of land</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agricultural</td>
<td>fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution (made) to the Renda Indígena</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Air-strip?</td>
<td>Radio?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sponsor (FUNAI, Mission, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Officer in Charge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Marital Status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training qualifications or years of service</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary(ies)</td>
<td>Years at this Post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing orderly</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Date of first contact</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Degree of integration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of chief or captain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population: men, boys</td>
<td>women, girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grown or diminishing?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children born alive during the past year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous rural guards</td>
<td>Tribal council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festivals or tribal customs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do the Indians welcome integration?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical: Medical facilities at the Post</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where does the doctor live?</td>
<td>The dentist?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of visits, of the doctor</td>
<td>The dentist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of first-aid kits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical problems or illnesses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Past epidemics | |
|----------------| |
| Standard of hygiene | |

### Education: School or classes and their frequency

| Technique of instruction | |
|--------------------------| |
| Number of pupils | |
| Religious activities | |
| Contact with Brazilians | |
| Lands made over to outsiders | |
| Intrusions by strangers? | |
| Any arguments or fights? | |
| Indians working or studying away from the Post | |

| Recent changes at the Post | |
|----------------------------| |
| Main problems | |
| Wants or needs of the Post | |
| Visits of other missions or anthropologists | |
| Date of visit of the Aborigines Protection Society | |

| Indians, names of the ethnic groups or tribes | |
| Language | Date of first contact | |
| Degree of integration | |
| Name of chief or captain | |
| Population: men, boys | women, girls | Total |
| Growing or diminishing? | |
| Children born alive during the past year | |
| Indigenous rural guards | Tribal council |
| Festivals or tribal customs | |
| Do the Indians welcome integration? | |
| Medical: Medical facilities at the Post | |
| Where does the doctor live? | The dentist? |
| Frequency of visits, of the doctor | The dentist |
| Number of first-aid kits | |
| Medical problems or illnesses | |

| Past epidemics | |
|----------------| |
| Standard of hygiene | |

| Education: School or classes and their frequency | |
| Technique of instruction | |
| Number of pupils | |
| Religious activities | |
| Contact with Brazilians | |
| Lands made over to outsiders | |
| Intrusions by strangers? | |
| Any arguments or fights? | |
| Indians working or studying away from the Post | |

| Recent changes at the Post | |
| Main problems | |
| Wants or needs of the Post | |
| Visits of other missions or anthropologists | |
| Date of visit of the Aborigines Protection Society | |
### Table 2 (see Map 2 for location of Amazonas stations)

**Missão Novas Tribos do Brasil: Mission Stations in Amazonas, Acre and Rondônia**

Source: Mr H.R. Loewen, President of Setor Oeste, Manaus, in letter dated 15 September 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Station</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Began</th>
<th>Pop.</th>
<th>Under 10 years</th>
<th>Over 50 years</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>% Number</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>AMAZONAS</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Uaica</td>
<td>Toototobi</td>
<td>Demeni (headwaters)</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38.3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marari</td>
<td>Padauriri (headwaters)</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>35.7</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Un-named</td>
<td>Icana</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>2-3000</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>42.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nyengatu</td>
<td>Un-named</td>
<td>Puti</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>35.0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Un-named</td>
<td>Juruã (upstream from Eirunepé)</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>43.1</td>
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<td>Canamari</td>
<td>Un-named</td>
<td>Juruã (downstream from Eirunepé)</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>42.6</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ACRE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchinere</td>
<td>Un-named</td>
<td>Iaco</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
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<td>Lourdes creek (tributary of</td>
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<td>95</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>Arara</td>
<td>Un-named</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>52.8</td>
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<td></td>
<td>River Machado)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pacas Novos</td>
<td>Pitop</td>
<td>Pacas Novos</td>
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<td>121</td>
<td>52</td>
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<td>Dois Irmãos creek (tributary of</td>
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<td>124</td>
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<td>Ocaia</td>
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<td>88</td>
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<td>Leges</td>
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### Table 3
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<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Language</th>
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<td>Tukano</td>
<td>Tupi</td>
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<td>Decano</td>
<td>Tupi</td>
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<td>Piaratapuya</td>
<td>Tupi</td>
<td>415</td>
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<td>Arapaco</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tucuya</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
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</table>

Plus about 400 nomadic and less acculturated Maku Indians

### Table 4
Yanomami Indians at Toototobi and neighbouring un-named village (New Tribes Mission)

Source: Keith H. Wardlaw (missionary), 28 August 1972

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Age</th>
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<td>57</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>XXXX</td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>XXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
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<td>XXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>XXX</td>
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</tr>
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<td>31</td>
<td>XX</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>XXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>XXX</td>
<td>less than</td>
<td>XXXXXXXXXX</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>XXXXXXXXXX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table 4 continued overleaf)
Table 5 (for locations see Map 3)

*Indian Posts and Isolated Villages, Pará and Amapá*

Source: Table entitled “População Indígena” at 2nd Delegacia Regional, Belém, signed by José de Mello Fiuza; copied 9 September 1972

(These figures may be compared and contrasted with those shown in the bar graphs on Map 3.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post or Isolated Village</th>
<th>Indian Group</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Under 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorotire</td>
<td>Gorotire</td>
<td>463</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jê</td>
<td>354</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kubenkranken</td>
<td>Kubenkranken</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jê</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokaimoro</td>
<td>Kokaimoro</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jê</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men krononty</td>
<td>Men krononty</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jê</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mae Maria</td>
<td>Gavião</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jê</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bacajá</td>
<td>Xikrin</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jê</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio Cateté</td>
<td>Xikrin</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munduruku</td>
<td>Munduruku</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tupi</td>
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<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiaby</td>
<td>Kaiaby</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tupi</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alto Rio Guamá</td>
<td>Tembé</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tupi</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trocara</td>
<td>Asurini</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tupi</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pucuruí</td>
<td>Parakanã</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tupi</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudjetire</td>
<td>Surui</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tupi</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uaça</td>
<td>Various Tupi</td>
<td>1617</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karib, Arawak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Indian tribes in State of Pará and Territory of Amapá

Source: “Algumas Informações sobre a situação atual dos grupos indígenas do Pará e Amapá, Julho/1972”; published by 2nd Delegacia Regional da FUNAI, Belém

Note: these figures are not precisely comparable with Table 5 as the latter appears to exclude Indians distant from the PI or village named

A. Tribes in various stages of acculturation (total c.6300)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribes</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karib</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galibi</td>
<td>Uaça</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirio</td>
<td>Tumucumaque</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaxuyana</td>
<td>Tumucumaque</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewarhoyana</td>
<td>Tumucumaque</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aparai</td>
<td>Tumucumaque</td>
<td>100?</td>
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<td>Wayana</td>
<td>Paru de l’esté</td>
<td>100?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiskaruyana</td>
<td>Trombeta</td>
<td>120?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jê</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayapó</td>
<td>Tocantins-Xingu</td>
<td>1370</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaviões</td>
<td>Baixo Tocantins</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tupi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munduruku</td>
<td>Tapajos</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apiaka</td>
<td>Tapajos</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karipuna</td>
<td>Uaça</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parakanã</td>
<td>Tocantins-Xingu</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urubu-Kaapor</td>
<td>Pindare-Gurupi</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
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<td>Asurini</td>
<td>Tocantins-Xingu</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tembé</td>
<td>Guama-Gurupi</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surui</td>
<td>Baixo Araguaia</td>
<td>60</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kayabi</td>
<td>Teles Pires</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arawak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palikur</td>
<td>Uaça</td>
<td>300</td>
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(Table 6 continued opposite)
### Tribes of the Amazon Basín 1972

**Table 7**  
*Alto Xingu tribes 1970*


(a) Population of Alto Xingu by village:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tr>
<td>Aueti</td>
<td>41</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kalapalo</td>
<td>85</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kamayura</td>
<td>128</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cuicuro</td>
<td>161</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yawalapiti</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matipu-Nafuqua</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meinaco</td>
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<td>Txikão</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trumai</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uaura</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>755</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Distribution by sex and age:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0–4</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5–9</td>
<td>69</td>
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<td>137</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10–19</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20–29</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30–39</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>12.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>40–49</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 50</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.9</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>409</strong></td>
<td><strong>346</strong></td>
<td><strong>755</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i.e. 248 or 33% under the age of 10

---

### Appendix 6

Correspondence concerning Xavante title to land at São Marcos, Mato Grosso

1. *Letters received from two Xavante Indians at São Marcos, 10th August, 1972*

(a) *from Aniceto Tsudzeweré:—*

Colónia Indígena São Marcos,  
Barra do Garças, Mt.,  
dia 10 de Augusto 1972.

Costa Carvancate (sic)

Eu vou cotar que nos presíssizamos muitos pede ler a minha letra esta escrevendo por nome do nosso Capitão Ahopowena. Nos presíssizamos terra este ano porque já pedemos muitos veze com funai em aida não rejeve nada. Hoje iterese de mandar a carta para ou senho ajodadenos porque fazendeiros ta estragados toda manta as nossas redor, de robare as manta e prata capi e creax as vacas nos estamos co pacecia como ou senhor nosso pai da a terra para viver em aumentar as nossa tribu aldeia de São Marcos.

Abraco Costa Carvancate  
Aniceto Tsudzeweré

Translation by John Hemming:—

I will tell that we need many people to read my letter. I am writing in the name of our Chief Apoena. We need land this year, for we have already asked Funai for it repeatedly but nothing has yet been settled. Today I am once again sending you a letter, so that you will help us: for ranchers are
Tribes of the Amazon Basin 1972

destroying all the forest around us, cutting down the forests
and planting grass to raise cows. We are patiently hoping that
you, our father, will give the land for our tribe of the village
of São Marcos to live on and expand.

An embrace, Costa Carvancate,
Aniceto Tsudzaweré

(b) from Humberto Warinatsé:—

Vossa Excelencia Ministro Costa Cavalcante,
E nomes de todos os Xavantes de S. Marcos, nomes dos
nossos Capitões, Ahopowê, José, Tsoropré e Tio, mando a
minha cartinha vossa Excelencia, por intermedio estes tres
estrangeiros. Que os povos Xavantes ficaram aborrecidos de
esperar a reserva que pediram para ceder para nós, por favor
faz tudo possivel para neste ano e no mes de Agosto ou no
Setembro por favor atende nossos pedindo. Ja esperamos
com paciencia no confiaca do senhor.

Os moradores da nossa redondesa estao estregando a terra
que nos pedimos a dar.

Eles estao echendo esta terra. Nós não queremos prejudicar
as cosas dos alheio sem ordem e nao queremos brigar com os
fazendeiro. Queremos somente a justicia, em confianca dos
senhores.

Eu mesmo, que madou pessoalmente um Descolpe por
minha calegrafia.

Humberto Warinatsé

Translation by John Hemming:—

Your Excellency Minister Costa Cavalcante,
In the names of all the Xavantes of São Marcos, and the
names of our Chiefs Aponé, José, Tsoropré and Tio, I send
my little letter to Your Excellency, through the intervention
of these three foreigners.

For the Xavante peoples are exasperated with waiting for
the reserve that they asked to be ceded for us. Please do
everything possible to meet our request this year, in the
month of August or in September. We are already waiting

patiently, trusting in you.

The settlers in our surroundings are destroying the land
that we asked to be given to us. They are filling this land.

We do not wish to damage other people’s belongings
without orders, and do not wish to fight the ranchers. We
want only justice, trusting in you.

I myself, who am sending this, send a personal apology for
my writing.

Humberto Warinatsé

2. Message left at São Marcos in Visitors’ Book:—

11th August, 1972

On behalf of the mission of the Aborigines Protection
Society which is currently investigating the condition of the
Indians of Brazil, I would like to express our warm
appreciation and thanks for the kind hospitality shown us by
the Salesian Mission of São Marcos. Our stay here has
necessarily been brief, but we have been deeply impressed by
the vigour and personality of the Xavante Indians. We have
sympathy for the problems they face, notably that of land,
which they have discussed with us at length. We undertake to
do all that we can to ensure that these difficulties are
overcome in a positive and constructive way. This has been a
memorable experience for all of us.

Edwin Brooks

3. Letter to H.E. General José Costa Cavalcanti, Ministry of
the Interior

26th September, 1972

Dear Minister,

I am very sorry that the accidents of timing have resulted
in us returning to Brasília at the very time that you are
engaged elsewhere in the opening of further sections of the
Transamazônica. As you will know, we have been following a
very long and interesting journey during the past seven
weeks, and it would have been nice if we could have
conveyed to you personally our appreciation of the helpfulness which has been shown us by so many of your countrymen. However, this is unfortunately not possible and I must content myself by expressing these thanks in written form.

In the course of our travels, we were asked by the Xavante Indians of São Marcos if we would convey to you the enclosed letters expressing their anxieties about the demarcation of their projected reserve. We were left in no doubt about the reality of these anxieties, whether justified or not, and we agreed to convey the letters as a small contribution to relaxing the tensions which we sensed during our visit. Since we shall obviously be making some reference to this incident in our Report in due course, I would be most grateful if you would let us have any comments which you feel should be made, to help us give an up-to-date and balanced picture of what is happening in this particular Xavante area.

Yours sincerely,
Dr Edwin Brooks,
Chief, Mission to the Indians of Brazil, 1972

4. Letter from Sr. Walter Ferri, Head of Cabinet of Ministry of Interior:—

Ministerio do Interior
Gabinete do Ministro

20th October, 1972

Carta/CGM/BSB/No. a/6/72.

Dear Sir,

I refer to your letter of September 26th to the Minister of the Interior through which you kindly forwarded him two letters sent by Xavante Indians from São Marcos — expressing their concern about the demarcation of the Reserve.

I have the pleasure of informing you that His Excellency has asked me to thank you as well as to let you know that, by means of three legal texts, namely Decrees Nos. 71, 105 and 71,106 of September 14th, 1972 — creating the Reserves of Sangradouro and São Marcos — and Ministerial Act 1,104 of September 19th, 1972 — establishing the limits of the Reserves Areões, Pimentel Barbosa and Couto Magalhães, the question about land for the Xavante has been solved. The President of FUNAI has just received a message from Chief Apoena expressing the satisfaction of all Xavantes for those administrative measures.

Thanking you again for your kindness and co-operation, I remain,
Yours very faithfully,

Walter Ferri
Head of Cabinet of the Minister of Interior
Appendix 7

Information sought from FUNAI
(See Chapter 2, September 9th)

1. General matters relating to Brazil as a whole
   (a) Land registration and territorial administration
      i. List of areas (Parks and Reserves etc.) already defined, or to be defined, giving: location; size; date of registration (if known); number of Indians involved, and tribal affiliations.
      ii. Maps of such areas at maximum scale available, plus general map of Brazil showing locations.
      iii. Any maps which show areas defined in the past by State Governments as Indigenous Reserves or similar. (At Cururu we were shown a map — based on a Pará State law of 1945 — which showed two such areas, and we are not sure whether such legal definitions are still valid.)
   (b) FUNAI organisation
      i. Map of Pls, and if possible the villages under the administrative control of each PI. (A map showing this was available for the Amazonas region, and it would be very helpful to have anything similar for Rondônia, Mato Grosso, Pará, Maranhão and Goiás.)
      ii. The Indian areas and villages at present served by the various Christian missions, showing any areas of overlapping responsibility between these and FUNAI.
      iii. Number of FUNAI personnel employed in various centres, including both the Pls and the Delegacias Regionais (analysed for each Delegacia if possible).
      iv. Breakdown of FUNAI staff (e.g. encarregado, nurses, doctors, lawyers, surveyors, anthropologists, office and clerical staff, teachers). Details of salaries, promotion prospects and career structure, educational requirements, would be particularly helpful too.
   v. FUNAI budget, showing expenditure breakdown, budgetary allocations and increases over recent years, and yield from Renda Indígena (can this latter be broken down for different areas?).
   vi. Agreements with FAB, or other agencies, in terms of radio communications, use in emergencies, movement of missionaries into Indian areas, or similar.

2. Specific matters relating to sites visited in current Mission
In a number of posts and mission stations we have seen examples of the statistical returns submitted to FUNAI periodically. We would be glad to have the opportunity to consult this material for some of the places we have visited (or still hope to visit), should we feel it valuable to clarify various points. The four main categories of information which concern us are: population, land registration, medical and educational.
Appendix 8

Supplementary material received from FUNAI on December 4th 1972
(See Chapter 2, September 9th)

The material despatched from Brasília on the 20th November was in response to queries listed in Appendix 7. In addition, a map was received showing the Indian Parks and Reserves, and this was used to compile Map 5 of this Report. The only major gap in the cartographic evidence appears to be the omission of the Namikuara Reserve, which although listed in the key was not shown on the map. The remainder of the information is summarised below, using the spelling of the original FUNAI communication.

The Postos Indígenas were not shown on the FUNAI map, but were listed in a table as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(a) 1st D.R. – State of Amazonas</th>
<th>(b) 2nd D.R. – State of Pará</th>
<th>(c) 3rd D.R. – State of Pernambuco</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Ailaú</td>
<td>2. Baú</td>
<td>2. Fulmô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Jauretã</td>
<td>5. Gutaramá</td>
<td>5. Palmeira dos Indios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) 4th D.R. – States of Parana, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Apucarana</td>
<td>9. Ibirama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Araribá</td>
<td>10. Icatá</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Barão de Antonina</td>
<td>11. Inhaçorá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cacique Doble</td>
<td>12. Ivaí</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Carreira</td>
<td>13. Laranjinha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Fuxinal</td>
<td>14. Ligeiro</td>
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<td>7. Guaraçuva</td>
<td>15. Mangueirinha</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(e) 5th D.R. – State of Mato Grosso</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Barbosa Farias</td>
<td>5. Paráfo</td>
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<td>3. Itantx</td>
<td>6. Rio Perigara</td>
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<td>(f) 6th D.R. – State of Maranhão</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Araribóia</td>
<td>5. Governador</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Bacurizinho</td>
<td>6. Guajajara</td>
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<tr>
<td>(g) 7th D.R. – State of Goiás</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Apinajé</td>
<td>4. Rio das Mortes</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Andeles</td>
<td>5. Rio dos Sonó</td>
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<td>3. Kraio</td>
<td>6. Xavante</td>
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<td>(h) 8th D.R. – Federal Territory of Rondonia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Alto Jurú</td>
<td>6. Igarapé Ribeirão</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Escondido</td>
<td>8. Mamoaquete</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Igarapé Lage</td>
<td>9. Namikwara</td>
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<td>(i) 9th D.R. – State of Mato Grosso</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Amambai</td>
<td>7. Ipeque</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Bodoqueana</td>
<td>8. Lalima</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Caarapó</td>
<td>10. Tapajó</td>
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<tr>
<td>(j) Parque Indígena de Araguaia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Camarã</td>
<td>3. Fontoura</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Barreira Branca</td>
<td>4. Macaúba</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(k) Parque Indígena de Aripuã</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Roosevelt</td>
<td>4. Sete de Setembro</td>
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<tr>
<td>(l) Ajudância Minas/Bahia – located in the States of Minas Gerais and Bahia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Krenak</td>
<td>2. Maxacali</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Pataxó</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(m) Parque Indígena de Xingu</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Leonardo</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Total: 143
The breakdown of staff within FUNAI was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advogado (Lawyer)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almoxarife (Store-keeper)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antropólogo (Anthropologist)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armazenista (Store-keeper)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artifice (Artisans or craftsmen)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistente administrativo (Admin. assist)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assistente social (Social assistant)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atendente de enfermagem (Hospital orderly)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliar Administrativo (Admin. assist)</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliar de enfermagem (Trainee nurse)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliar de serviço (Service assistant)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliar técnico de administração (Tech. assistant)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliar técnico de contabilidade (Tech. clerk*)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliar técnico de desenho (Tech. clerk* for drawing)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliar técnico de indígenismo (Tech. clerk* for &quot;Indígenismo&quot;)</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliar técnico de laboratório (Tech. clerk* for laboratory)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliar técnico de telecomunicações (Tech. clerk* for telecommunications)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliar técnico de topografia (Tech. clerk* for topography)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliotecário (Librarian)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Or assistant

There is no equivalent in English. The sertanistas par excellence are the Villas Boas brothers. They are people who identify themselves with the life of and in the forests.
Tribes of the Amazon Basin 1972

Transport 25
Cozinheiro 1
Marinheiro 1
Mestre 1
Operário rural 1

Total 841

Health statistics
The Equipes Volantes de Saúde from the time of their creation until the present time, have completed the following:
(a) visits to the Indian posts 348
(b) hygienic guidance (technical and practical demonstrations and talks) 228

Immunization:
(a) number of people vaccinated in 1971 27,718
(b) number of injections given 36,787
(c) number of vaccinations in first six months of 1972 16,200

Other medical and dental treatments:
Medical 18,949
Dental 8,814
Laboratory examinations 5,246

Tuberculosis control:
(with the collaboration of the National Division of Tuberculosis, Ministry of Health)
X-rays 1970 11,575
X-rays 1971 11,113
BCG vaccinations 3,647
PPD vaccinations 6,253
Bacilloscopic examinations 1,068
Number of Indians attending 20,175
Patients given treatment 223
Discharged cured 130
Still under treatment 46
Treatment abandoned 16

Reference was also made to the medical assistance being provided by the International Red Cross in the Brazilian Amazon region. Some 5 million dollars are to be expended by the Red Cross during the next five years.

Educational statistics
Number of schools 144
Number of teachers employed by FUNAI 70
Provided by the Prefeituras Municipais 55
Bilingual monitors 19
School population 15,112

Four more courses for the training of bilingual monitors are under way, at Paraíso, Macauba, Guajajara and Clara Camarão.

The fourth Indigenismo course for the training of encarregados was under way in 1972. The total attending the three previous courses had been 147, with another 66 attending the current one.

Courses in museum science and anthropology has been held in 1971 and 1972, attended by 40 and 15 people respectively.

A so-called Superior level course had been held to provide workers for the Equipes Volantes, attended by 20 people.

Budget
For its work in 1972 the Fundacão was granted Cr. 20,100,000 (= £1.5m), plus a supplementary credit of Cr. 5,200,000 (= £371,000).

For its coming work in 1973 a grant was sought of Cr. 36,079,000 (= £2.5m), but only Cr. 29,000,000 (= £2m) was made available.

Note by APS
According to official figures the rate of inflation in 1971 was 18.1%, and the Government hoped to reduce the rate to 15% in 1972. The total grant plus credit of Cr. 25,300,000 (= £1,807,000) in 1971 would therefore have had to be increased to roughly Cr. 27,000,000 (= £1,929,000) to provide an equivalent purchasing power in 1972.

Communications
FUNAI possesses at present 77 radio stations, spread throughout the various D.R.s, P.I.s and advanced bases.
This does not pretend to be an exhaustive bibliography. The literature on Brazilian Indians is vast, and a very valuable and up-to-date summary of the principal writers will be found in the FUNAI publication *Supysaua*. There is also a valuable bibliography published by AMAZIND (see R. Fuerst below) which contains key quotations from the major authorities. The list below concentrates mainly on the more recently published and accessible works, including those which describe the economic penetration of Amazonia and its ecological as well as ethnic consequences.


FUNAI, *FUNAI em numeros*, Rio de Janeiro, July 1972 (a small leaflet containing policy statements as well as up-to-date statistics).

FUNAI, *Boletin Informativo FUNAI*, first four of a new quarterly publication have appeared since the first issue in October 1971.

FUNAI, *O que e a FUNAI*, Brasília, August 1972.


Brazilian Ministry of Transport, *Amazonian Highways*, presented (with map) to VI World Meeting of International Road Federation, Montreal, October 1970.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attraction post</td>
<td>An advanced FUNAI or other post where gifts for Indians not yet contacted are left and exchanged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BR</td>
<td>Brazil Federal Highway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caboclo</td>
<td>Peasant of the interior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitão</td>
<td>Amerindian chief recognized or appointed by FUNAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilizados</td>
<td>A term of convenience used in Brazil to refer to people other than Indians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Cr. or Crs.</td>
<td>Cruzeiro(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delegacia</td>
<td>Delegation office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delegado</td>
<td>Officer in charge of one of FUNAI regional posts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encarregado</td>
<td>Officer in charge of a FUNAI field post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipes volantes</td>
<td>Mobile health teams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAB</td>
<td>Força Aérea Brasileira (Brazilian Air Force)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmacia padrão</td>
<td>Standard medicine kit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fazendeiros</td>
<td>Farmers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUNAI</td>
<td>Fundação Nacional do Indio (National Foundation of the Indian) – a Department of the Ministry of the Interior responsible for Indian affairs</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Observations on the Report Presented by the Aborigines Protection Society

The Brazilian National Agency for Indian Affairs (FUNAI) wishes to clarify certain points made in the draft Report of the Aborigines' Protection Society prepared by Dr Edwin Brooks. In doing this, FUNAI does not attempt to deny its responsibility for some omissions and errors that can still be found in the process of assistance to the Indian. FUNAI is self-critical enough to recognize that in some aspects its work has not yet reached the peak of efficiency it would hope to attain as a result of the efforts of the present Administration in its two years and five months in office.

To give effective assistance to Indians in different stages of civilization is an enormous task. The Indians are scattered over an area of 8,500,000 square kilometres. Most of them live in remote regions to which access is difficult and where communications are sometimes non-existent. The decision to adopt one of the various and complex methods of approach to different tribal communities is daunting enough to alarm all but the most expert.

However, much has already been done towards the ultimate goal, which is to make the Brazilian Indian part of the national community and thus capable of assuming his own responsibilities.

FUNAI's aim is the protection of the Indian as a human being, his traditions and his culture. This aim is sought by guaranteeing the Indian the possession of his land, and supervising his general health.

Its activities among the tribes begin with an approach to a group, and the gradual winning of its confidence. Even before
taking this step, FUNAI defines the area where the group is located and asks the Government to forbid the use of the land by strangers. This measure is taken having in mind not only the actual location of the villages but also the area the Indians use every day, the regions where they hunt, and those they cultivate, which most often, for reasons of security, are some distance away.

As soon as contact is established measures are taken to introduce preventive medicine. These measures were adopted in the light of experience in the recent past when, in the early stages of contact, many Indians were infected by the white man’s diseases and because the first men with whom they made contact were not equipped with medicines. When the phase of effective contact with the group has been completed, FUNAI demands the definite setting up of a Reservation. Its size may vary according to the activities of the group, as well as the number of its members, and the quality of the land it inhabits. It is interesting to note that in Brazil an Indian Reservation does not mean a limited area to which the Indian is confined. The Reservation is land guaranteed his own for ever. Within a Reservation the Indian can go about his normal life under the protection of the law. He is free to leave it and to return as he wants.

The Plan for National Integration, which has mobilized the entire Brazilian nation, foresees the opening of an extensive road system throughout the country. Those roads that must, for practical, economic and strategic reasons, be constructed in the middle of the jungle, have to go through regions presumably and actually inhabited by different Indian tribes. In the face of this national imperative, FUNAI directs its action to balancing national and Indian interests. Thus, FUNAI keeps at the construction head of these roads permanent teams for seeking contact with the Indians known as “attraction teams”, formed by experienced sertanistas (foresters), interpreters and nurses, with the object of establishing contact with any shy tribe that might be living near the projected road, thus assisting the progress of the work and preventing any spurious contact with personnel of the building contractors. These teams also immunize such Indians as they contact against certain diseases, and collect information which will later be used in the setting up of a permanent Reservation. When the Reservation is created, FUNAI installs in it one or more “Indian Posts”, basic units in charge of assistance to the Indians.

This is, in short, the first line of action FUNAI follows when contacting elusive tribes. It is worth emphasizing that there is a lapse of time from the primary contacts to the establishment of the assistance set-up that varies according to the degree of acceptance, by the Indians, of the approaches made by the attraction teams. However, steps are taken at once to delimit the area and forbid its use by strangers.

The second phase deals with the acculturation of the group. This is a very controversial matter, and even within the Mission of the Aborigines’ Protection Society, one could detect a divergence of opinion as to the best way of dealing with the problem. There are two valid theses, each having many fervent supporters.

The first thesis propounds the permanent geographical isolation of the Indian. This is only possible if applied in unexplored and unexploited regions. It presents an immediate solution to maintaining the Indian tribe in its original cultural state. Thus, their political, social and cultural structures stay intact.

However, the maintenance of this geographical isolation is profoundly difficult. This is true particularly in a country that is facing a boom such as exists in Brazil today. Pioneers of all kinds are to be found in every corner of Brazilian territory. Each of them is moved by different interests and aims and has a differing reaction to the Indian question. Therefore, it is essential that the Indian be culturally and economically prepared to survive this confrontation which history indicates is inevitable.

This accounts for the prevalence of the second thesis, i.e. that of gradual and spontaneous integration, which offers the Indian the indispensable cultural conditions at a rhythm that will enable him gradually to face the confrontation with a society both more sophisticated and technologically better equipped than his own. In common with the precepts of FUNAI’s statutes, this theory suggests that the Indian be provided with physical and psychological conditions to
encourage him to accept progressive integration without abrupt changes. The application of this theory allows for the preservation of those tribal customs and traditions which form a fundamental part of Brazilian Indian policy.

Thus, once the Indian land has been guaranteed and a health project set up, the process of integration is started always with due regard to the conditions peculiar to the tribal group.

When it is thought the right moment has come, basic subsistence projects are initiated, making use of the Indians' own skills and will to work.

Here FUNAI supplies technical training and the necessary resources. Any resulting profit belongs solely and entirely to the participating community which has undertaken the project.

When the Indian community has reached a more advanced stage of acculturation, larger scale economic projects are instituted in the Indians' own interest. These range from the simplest subsistence economy to complex mechanised agriculture, always observing the group's willingness to take part and bearing in mind the degree of acculturation it has reached.

FUNAI denies categorically that any of its departments is maintained by the product of Indian efforts.

It is not necessary to reiterate that the product of economic projects is meticulously applied in accordance with the principle established by FUNAI's statutes, as already explained to the Mission by the President of FUNAI. The tithe itself that the law allots to FUNAI, it invests, either in the form of subsidy for new projects, or in bettering the physical conditions of the Indian communities as the leaders of the tribe that undertook the enterprise indicate. Thus, the tribal tradition is not violated. The Indians are encouraged to work together and to learn to manage the profits of their own labour. In this way they are protected from that paternalism which had such bad effects in the past.

In the case of the Gavião Indians, the assistance they have received has had nothing to do with the selling of Brazil nuts. In accordance with the legislation in force, the Indian earns Cr. 14,00 a box for this work, which is more than is paid to the non-Indian worker. FUNAI reinvested 45% of the net proceeds of the sale in the same project; an additional 45% was destined for community assistance and the remaining 10% is being used to finance the construction of brick houses for the inhabitants of the village near the Post. Funds for the construction of the school, the hospital, the well and the reservoir are provided by FUNAI's budget.

Although the law would allow FUNAI to apply the tithe to its own services, it is either directed to the community from which it originated or, very rarely, diverted to needier communities, preferably in the same tribal group. FUNAI considers it inadmissible to immobilize these funds in banks, as was suggested by the Mission, at a time when resources are scarce, and need is very great.

With reference to the project of cattle-raise on the island of Bananal, the report that the Indian does not benefit from it is untrue. The simple fact that the Indian can add milk and meat to his diet is a direct resulting benefit. So too is the wage he receives from his work with the cattle.

It is evident that cattle raising takes some time to become profitable and initially makes a loss. One of the ways FUNAI has to cover part of this loss is to channel into the project funds raised from the temporary rental of certain areas of pasture, outside the Indians' cattle pasture lands. As the project develops the part the Indian plays in the care of the cattle will increase, as will its results.

In the specific case of the Karajá, it would be too confusing for the Indian and so too early to explain the management of these resources to him before he has reached the stage of being able to understand the procedure. However, this is not the rule and in the south there are Indian communities sufficiently developed to understand the mechanics of finance. FUNAI explains the financial position to such groups.

It still has to be said that in Brazil all official departments have their accounts seen and checked by a specialized tribunal. In the case of FUNAI, the accounts are considered by its own internal auditing board and by the Federal Accounts Tribunal.

There is also the matter of the relations between FUNAI
and the religious missions. FUNAI is the Brazilian Government agency in charge of carrying out the Indian policy in the country and its duty is to defend the Indian, protect his health, culture and lands, while seeing to his gradual integration in the larger society. FUNAI may also, when it deems convenient, designate a person or body willing to help and capable of co-operating in its work. Generally religious missions are the bodies which help FUNAI and its work with the Indians.

These missions are both Catholic and Protestant and their activities among the Indians are regulated by the recommendations of the I and II FUNAI-Religious Missions Symposia. In general – as in the case of the Catholics – these missions are set up in areas where FUNAI has had no opportunity to act. The Protestants and other evangelical missionaries sometimes work within a FUNAI post. Their work, under FUNAI's supervision and control, has great value in helping to assist the Indians, provided that tribal structure is respected.

When for some reason a mission does not conform to the decisions of the Symposia or opposes FUNAI, its members are dismissed and their licence to work within Indian communities is revoked.

It is true that FUNAI does not have a linguistic department. This deficiency is caused by lack of academic interest in research into Indian languages in Brazil. FUNAI uses the services of the Summer Institute of Linguistics which has highly competent experts. SIL has, at its own expense, taken a great step forward by publishing bilingual text-books which are used by FUNAI in Indian schools. Besides, the SIL has been giving FUNAI all possible assistance.

The status of the Indian Rural Guard – GRIN – created with the object of acting as the controlling body of the Indian area and of helping the tribal chiefs in cases of dispute within the tribe – was modified because of its performance and pay structure. It is, however, reasonable to fear that very soon its members may constitute a privileged minority within their original community. To avoid this, FUNAI is studying ways in which tribal leadership can be reinforced and the GRIN return to its original position in which it served as an instrument of that leadership.

With reference to the setting up of the Yanomami Park, FUNAI has to state that the concern of a member of the Mission has no foundation whatsoever. The Reserve is still under consideration and the borders referred to in the report came from an old and out-of-date study, which has no validity today.

Speaking of Reservations, it is interesting to note that since the visit of the Mission of the Aborigines' Protection Society, six more have been created; one in Goias for the Xerente and five in Mato Grosso for the Xavante. Besides this, the establishment of Reservations in Xicrin and Apinaje is under consideration along with the establishment of the Parks of Yanomami, Tumucumaque and Kayapó. Also projected is the enlargement of the Reservation of the Nhambikuara and the Aripuanã Park. Furthermore, in this month of December the contract for the demarcation of the south and west borders of the Xingu National Park was signed and a request made to forbid access to the area used for approaching the Kreen-A-Karore.

After the visit of the Mission, two refresher courses for interpreters were completed, as was another course training specialists in Indian Affairs. In the area of the IIId Delegacia Regional (Northeast) alone, three schools and three emergency units were inaugurated in Indian Posts. A further mobile medical unit to serve the Trans-Amazonian road region was also created.

The restoration and enlargement work in the "Hospital do Indio" (general attendance, maternity and isolation units) and "Escola para os Indios" will be completed in January 1973. The construction of 32 houses for the Karajá is under way, and the same goes for the plan for 1,532 houses for the Kaingang and Guarani.

The goodwill of the Mission is evident in its Report where this draws attention to some of the improvements made by FUNAI since the earlier visits of some of the Mission's members.

Many faults were pointed out, the greater part of which were already familiar to FUNAI. Measures to rid itself of those faults depend only on time and resources. Other points cannot properly be called faults; they have been pointed out...
because of hasty observation, misinformation, or even, as is very common, over-generalization of concepts. With reference to the latter it has to be said that the Mission has regarded many situations which apply specifically in the Amazon region as true of the whole country, while the fact is that the peculiar conditions of that area produce unique problems.

At the same time, it must be remembered that each tribal group has its own cultural identity. It is the respect for this identity which is the foundation on which is built the relationship between FUNAI and the Indian tribal groups.

Brasília, 21st December 1972

Oscar Jeronymo Bandeira de Mello
President

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