

The Comment of Travelers
in
Colonial Spanish America
1708-1824

by

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One of the first things attracting one's attention in studying the comments of foreign travelers in colonial Spanish America is the small number of the travelers. This is because foreign travels in these Spanish dependencies were so rigidly restricted that Europeans and Spaniards were in most places synonymous terms, Spanish laws prohibiting entry into American possessions to every European not born in the peninsula. (1)

Even Spaniards could embark for the Indies only with permission from the king, granted only for commercial purposes, and usually limited to two years. Permission for permanent establishment was hard to obtain. Priests and friars, creoles temporarily in Spain, and women, as well as other persons, were required to obtain this permission. Married women could emigrate only if in company with their husbands. Heretics were barred entirely. The reason for these restrictions was ostensibly to preserve purity of morals and prevent spread of European corruption. Authentic information as to morals was required for permission to go to the West Indies. (2)

Foreigners could not tread on Spanish possessions without express permission from the king, which was granted only for scientific excursions. They had to secure new permission to go from one province to another, according to law, but this law was obsolete. (3) The commandant, by permission of the captain-general, accorded the permission, easily obtained if the alleged motives were reasonable. (4) These passports had to be presented to the alcalde of the first town in a jurisdiction in order to

1. Humboldt, "Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain", I, 210.

2. Depons, "A Voyage to the Eastern Part of Tierra Firme", I, 106-8

3. Ibid., 108.

4. Depons III, 106-7.

obtain rules and a guide. (5) Finally, foreigners were liable to be ordered to leave the country on short notice. (6)

Those foreigners settling in America were unmolested if totally inactive, if indigent, intemperate, or beggars; in professions they were regarded as enemies by Spaniards of the same profession, who denounced and persecuted them; they had to lend money to any who applied; but no inquiry was made respecting religion unless revenge could be had in no other way. (7)

This hermit isolation of Colonial Spanish America makes observations by the occasional foreign travelers and sojourners in the Indies of value for several reasons. Their comments are based on a perspective not enjoyed by the natives, and they are not ordinarily biased on the Spanish colonial policy. Notwithstanding the careful regulation by His Catholic Majesty of emigration to his dominions beyond the seas, several travelers visited the country, either with or without the sanction of the king of Spain. These travelers wrote varying and interesting, and often contradictory accounts of the Spanish system as they found it in America.

During the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries those who deliberately investigated conditions in the Indies numbered less than a dozen, and those coming there by chance scarcely that many more. Travelers and sojourners were divided into two classes, with several isolated individuals belonging to neither.

The early part of the century brought only those interested in preying on Spanish commerce. Rogers and Courtney from 1708 to 1711, in command of two ships fitted out by Bristol merchants to cruise against the Spanish ships in the South Seas touched on Juan Fernandez, cruised off

5. Stevenson, "A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America", II, 192-3.

6. Stevenson I, 353.

7. Depons I, 110.

Peru for some months, sacked and ransomed Guayaquil, went on to California, captured two Manila ships and sailed on around the world.

Ten years later, in 1720 the privateer Shelvocke in command of the Speedwell with William Betagh in command of the marines, nominally under Clipperton's orders, sailed around the Horn, sacked and burned Paita, was shipwrecked on Juan Fernandez, but built a small vessel with the remains and went on, meeting Clipperton in the Success on Quibo Island, capturing several ships. Shelvocke was arrested on charge of piracy, but acquitted for lack of legal evidence. Betagh had been sent in the Mercury to seek his fortune while Shelvocke plundered Paita. He captured the Pink and then was captured himself and sent to Lima where he was imprisoned. He was soon given the liberty of the city, and during his short stay made some pertinent observations. These men discovered gold in California and Guano in Peru 120 to 130 years before their modern discovery there.

To this same class belongs Captain Anson, chosen to command as commodore a squadron sent to attack Spanish possessions in America in 1740. Starting with six ships and 961 men he had only three ships and 335 crew at his arrival on Juan Fernandez. He captured Paita, and was then forced to collect his survivors in the Centurion, the only good ship, captured a Manila galleon, and went on by way of Macao. This most famous man in the navy, later admiral of the fleet, was accompanied by Honl. John Byron, British vice-admiral, second son of the fourth Lord Byron, and grandfather of the poet. He was in the Wager cast away on a desolate island in the South Seas from where he made his escape, touching at Chiloe, Valparaiso, and Santiago.

A more worthy purpose is found in the scientific expedition of 1735-44 originated by the French Academy. Louis XV applied King Philip that some members of his Royal Academy might pass over into Quito in order

to make observations measuring a terrestrial degree along the equator, showing the advantages of Quito for the purpose, manifesting the absence of political jealousy in the request. Philip referred the matter to the Council of ^{the} Indies, and the license was granted, with recommendations and assurances of royal protection. To promote the honor of Spain he also appointed two naval officers and mathematicians, Jorge Juan and Antonio Ulloa to accompany them, saying that they would give the expedition more dignity and advantage, securing better treatment from the natives for the French academicians. (8) The Frenchmen in the expedition were the astronomers ^{Godin, and} Condamine, Bouguer, Condamine, a French traveler and mathematician, working in the south part of Quito, became separated from the rest, went down the Amazon, to Cayenne, and on to Paris. He seems to have made a favorable impression on the Peruvians. Menonville in 1777 says, "The arrival of learned men in this dull country is so remarkable that it is traditionally preserved in the memory of every body, and forms an epoch as noted as the appearance of the celestial bodies they come hither to observe. A Peruvian marquis whom I met with at the Havannah, never swore by any other name than de la Condamine; he was indeed generally well beloved, and his departure was seen with sentiments of regret by all the Peruvians; this by Don Uloa was not however attributed to any honorable desert in him; he told me that he was a jocose character, much addicted to pleasantry in his conversation, and complimentary, even to adulation, towards the Peruvians, whose whole friendship and affection he was solicitous of captivating; that at bottom he was a shallow brained fellow, full of presumption, and ready to sacrifice everything to the acquirement of fame;

8. Bouguer, "A n Abridged Relation of a Voyage to Peru", 212.

he added, that he had the meanness to obtain a classical description from Mr. Juffiere of Quinquina, and robbed him thus unfairly of the honor due to him of its discovery." (9) Bouguer was professor of hydrography at Havre before accompanying Condamine.

After the scientific part of the expedition Juan and Ulloa devoted themselves to a careful inquiry, by order of the Spanish government, into the true political and social conditions of the Indies, traveling from town to town, making inquiries of the most disinterested, upright, and intelligent persons, making first-hand observations, and embodying their conclusions in a secret report to the Spanish government in addition to a general account of the voyage. Ulloa later became rear admiral, and in 1764 governor of Louisiana. He was sent on a secret expedition to Florida in 1660, but his zeal as naturalist made him forget his sealed orders, and he was brought before the court-martial, but acquitted.

Humboldt refers to him as an astronomer who was governor of Huancavelica.

(10) Menonville, who saw him in 1777 as general of the fleet, says he was "a little man, at most but four feet ten inches high... grey-headed, and his hair without either powder or pomatum, tied and hanging over his shoulders; his countenance was bad, but his looks extremely mild and affable, and his eyes lively: a little diamond cross, suspended from a button hole, bespoke a man of rank. (11) Humboldt says he commanded the last fleet which arrived in Vera Cruz in January, 1778. (12)

Menonville, a French botanist and physician, came to Mexico in 1777, planning to naturalize the nopal and cochineal insect in French colonies.

9. Menonville, "Travels to Guaxaca," 784-5.

10. Humboldt III, 313.

11. Menonville, 773.

12. Humboldt IV, 988.

The French king approved, so he sailed to Havana where he got a passport from the intendant as botanist and physician. This was given to the major of the fleet at Vera Cruz, who in turn gave him permission to go ashore. There his trunks were opened and examined. The governor refused to return the passport later, but granted Menonville permission to reside at Vera Cruz, assuming that the Havana governor had no authority to grant it. Menonville addressed three memorials to the viceroy of Mexico from Vera Cruz for passports. A friend finally obtained one from the governor, but the governor's secretary demanded it back and secured it. Menonville was forbidden to leave Vera Cruz, and was later ordered to leave the country by a letter from the viceroy to the governor, after deliberation of the audiencia real of Mexico, due to apprehensions of his opening the secrets of the rich culture of the country. (13) His subsequent adventures, minus a passport, and in search of the contraband conchineal, are not the least interesting part of his narrative.

Helms, the chief assayer of the mines and mint at Cracow, was engaged in the Spanish service, 1789-93, to restore the mines to their former flourishing state. He and a Swedish mineralogist went to Peru, taking their families, negro servants, and many miners along. There Helms erected a laboratory, read daily lectures with experiments to officers of the mint and proprietors of the mines, and fully instructed six men in the science of metallurgy. He exposed the ignorance of the overseers and officers of the mines and mint, but was counteracted by secret cabals and the basest calumnies, the newcomers being called arch heretics, German Jews, and cheats, men who would corrupt the morals of honest miners and overseers. The Indian laborers were incited against them by being told that machinery would deprive them of means of subsistence. The opposition finally secured an order from the viceroy to suspend the work, and he left Huancavelica.

Quite the most famous traveler in Spanish America, was Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt, German naturalist and traveler, who, starting to join Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt, ended by going to Spanish America. He landed at Cumana and went to Caracas, along the Orinoco, to Cuba, back to Cartagena, to Quito by river and mountain, ascended Pichincha and Chimborazo, and explored the Amazon, and then went on to Mexico in 1802. Incited by the contrast with South America, he stayed for a statistical study, paid a short visit to the United States, and went on to Europe in 1804. He laid the foundations for physical geography and meteorology, and was reckoned the most famous man in Europe, with the exception of Napoleon, playing important diplomatic parts at London, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Verona. In Paris he was the lion of the salons and the savant of the institution and observatory. In 1845 and 1847 he published the first two volumes of Kósmos in which he finds unity amid the complexity of nature, ignoring any power outside of nature. He ranks with Goethe as a scientist in Prussia. Humboldt's translator apologizes for the roseate complexion given Mexico by Humboldt, saying that it is in gratitude for the attention from public and private individuals of that country, and that he probably saw much that met with his disapprobation that he has not communicated.

Francois Raymond Joseph Depons, commercial agent of the French government at Caracas, 1801-04, contributes three volumes on Caracas, taking up the discovery, conquest, topography, legislation, commerce, finance, inhabitants, productions, and manners and customs of the Spaniards and Indians. Humboldt pays tribute to his grasp of conditions: "I refer the reader for the detail of the custom-house system, to an instructive work, published by M. Pons on the statistics of the province of Caracas. As he filled the situation of commercial agent, this writer was placed in the most favourable circumstances for studying everything connected with the

duties, tariffs, and customs of Spain." §14) Depons also had all confidence in his own opinions, having every institution carefully analyzed and plans matured for remedying defects.

The last and most extensive traveler in Spanish America was W. B. Stevenson, an Englishman who landed in Araucania in 1803 intending to travel. He was taken prisoner at Arauco, as war had broken out between Spain and England, and taken to Concepcion, Callao, and to Lima where he was in jail for eight months, gradually obtaining liberty. He was permitted to reside in the town and make excursions into the neighboring provinces. In 1808 he became private secretary to the president and captain-general of Quito. He joined the insurgents there. In 1810 he was made governor of Esmeraldas, in 1818 secretary to Lord Cochrane, and in 1824 he went to England, returning to Peru in 1825, thus viewing Spanish America on the very eve of the revolution.

It is colonial Spanish America, 1708-1824, as seen by these travelers and sojourners, that it is the object of this thesis to portray. It is regretted that so little is written of some phases of life there. Education is given only a cursory view. The press is almost ignored. The professions are barely mentioned. One who reads the accounts of the writers notices these omissions, and feels the lack of a complete picture. With these exceptions, however, there are remarkably detailed observations on the last century of the Spanish colonies in America.

14. Humboldt IV, 94.

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL CLASSES

Color as Basis for Division

Great stress and minute distinctions were placed on the class system in colonial Spanish America, which many of the travelers have designated as the "caste" system. The "castes," however, were not as rigidly defined as is the case in India, the typical example today. The degree of whiteness of the skin was the determining factor in social ranking. Amusing instances are related concerning certain families whose color, according to them, belied their rank. Families suspected of being of mixed blood often demanded of the Audiencia, the court, that it declare them to be whites. Humboldt observes, "These declarations are not always corroborated by the judgment of the senses. We see very swarthy mulattoes who have had the address to get themselves whitened. When the color of the skin is too repugnant to the judgment demanded, the petitioner is contented with an expression somewhat problematical. The sentence then simply bears that such and such individuals may consider themselves as whites." (1)

Europeans

Spanish American people could be divided roughly into five principal classes: the Europeans, or Chapetones; the creoles, or whites born in the country; the racial mixtures; including scores of grades; the native Americans, or Indians; and the Negroes.

At the top of the scale were the Spaniards composing an exceedingly small minority of the population and exercising a correspondingly large amount of authority. Of these, the nobility, who were the most proud and the most miserable, lived in the diminishing glory of their privileged position. This class bore little analogy to the nobility of Europe.

1. Humboldt I 246-7.

Those who descended from the first conquerors of the provinces, from governors or judge advocates, those who married in the old country, and even those descended from any officer were considered noble families, for any commission from the king was an authentic title of nobility. The nobility were generally forsaken by fortune, having lost by legal process what property they once possessed. Few of these houses, at the end of the colonial period were even in mediocre circumstances. Depons thus describes their situation, "In almost all, they experience so much misery, that the idea of the illustrious origin of their family, is the most grateful support with which they are fed; for a Spaniard, once reduced to indigence, is so ~~for~~ life. The shame of labor and love of indolence makes him brave like a hero, all the horrors of want." (2) But through all their vicissitudes they were courteous and affable, free from haughtiness or flattery. (3)

The rank of nobility was so coveted that many Spaniards came to the Indies only for wealth and titles. This motive brought a reproach upon the order of nobility, caused much idleness and vice, and resulted in the complete abandonment and contempt of the mechanical arts. (4) This desire for titles was so strong that people would go to almost any lengths to secure them. The story is told of a negro who found a twenty-five pound piece of gold in Choco in 1788. This was the largest ever found there, but the slave who discovered it did not obtain his freedom. Instead, his master presented the pepita to the cabinet of the king, hoping for a Castilian title. He also was disappointed, for he scarcely obtained payment for the value of the gold. (5) The creation of the provincial militia was a result of the demand for titles. It was a fertile source of revenue for administrators possessing influence with the ministry, for

2. Depons III, 180-1.

3. Stevenson I, 290.

4. "Secret Expedition to Peru" by Juan and Ulloa, 182.

5. Humboldt III, 385.

vast quantities of wealth were expended for the privilege of being called by a title. Humboldt comments, "The rage for titles, by which the beginning and decline of civilization is every where characterized, has rendered this traffic exceedingly lucrative. In travelling over the chain of the Andes, one is surprised to see on the ridge of the mountains, in small provincial towns, all the merchants transformed into colonels, captains, and serjeant majors of militia. As the rank of colonel gives the tratamiento or the title of Senoria, which is repeated incessantly in familiar conversation, we may conceive that it contributes the more to the happiness of domestic life, and the Creoles make the greatest sacrifices of fortune to obtain it." (6) The fact that many officers from Spain were not so well instructed as the Creoles caused the latter to resent the injustice and to be jealous of their luxury. (7)

The Spaniards nobility whom it is natural to think the most eminent were often the opposite. In Quito they were the most poor, miserable, and distressed, for the simple reason that they refused to apply themselves to mechanical business, considering it a disgrace. (8) Those who were not ecclesiastics spent their time in visiting their estates or chacras when they resided during harvest, leaving commerce to the chapetones. (9)

Chapetones in some parts of Spanish America did not consider commerce or even the mechanical trades a derogation. In Lima they were the owners of the estates and plantations, in civil and military employments, and in commerce. Many distinguished Europeans there on business married and remained. (10) Some came especially to Caracas to make their fortunes. (11)

6. Humboldt IV, 258-9.

7. Depons III, 85-6.

8. Juan and Ulloa, "A Voyage to South America, " 447.

9. Juan and Ulloa, 450.

10. Juan and Ulloa, 578-9.

11. Depons III, 86.

Europeans came to America for only two reasons: government commissions, or hope of gain. (12) The government officers showed a haughty superiority to the natives. Those coming for gain were mostly escaped sailors who amassed fortunes, married well, and remained. They were admitted into high society; and constantly talked of the social life in Spain where they in reality could not have been admitted. These often purchased orders of knighthood. Afflicted with an extreme superiority complex they would solicit Spaniards with neither trade nor fortune to marry their daughters, in preference to creoles. They formed a separate society and were seldom seen with creoles. (13) Most of the Chapetones, often making their fortunes in some sea-port, went back to Spain, or moved inland to increase their fortunes. At Cartagena they carried on the whole trade and lived in opulence. There they disdained anything below merchandise, and as a result, many failed to earn a comfortable living. (14)

Praise for these people is scarce from the travelers there. Betagh condemns them as indolent and unambitious; gallant, but not brave; having nothing in view but accumulating wealth at the expense of those they should protect. (15) Their vindictive disposition was the cause of much trouble, leading them to law suits inherited by succeeding generations. They thus became prey to the harpies of the profession who perplexed the simplest cases and protracted justice in order to involve their clients with greater expenses. Nevertheless, they were continually on the watch to seize opportunities to engage in these law suits, so that there was no country in the world which abounded so much in law suits as this practice. This induced many Spaniards to enter the profession of law. (16)

12. Stevenson I. 293. Depons III, 85-6.

13. Stevenson I. 292-4.

14. Juan and Ulloa, 332-3.

15. Betagh, "Observations on the Country of Peru", 11-2.

16. Depons I, 139-41.

Creoles

Living in the greatest comfort generally, were the Creoles, the only whites who labored and applied themselves to agriculture, navigation, commerce, the fisheries, and so forth. (17) Vices and virtues went hand in hand among these descendants of Europeans. Like the Europeans, profits were their pole-star. Avarice was a vice natural to all. Those in Panama were more parsimonious than those in Cartagena, and the same selfishness and parsimony was found among the women, with the exception of some Spanish ladies. (18) "Though born with a genius capable of attaining whatever ennobles humanity; yet, from an education in the highest degree neglected, he becomes lazy, incontinent, and indelicate in his conversation; a hypocrite, and infected with a blind and malignant fanaticism. He tyrannizes over his slaves; but in general, through his inordinate love of pleasure, is himself enslaved by his mulatto and black females, who rule him with despotic sway. He is in the highest degree reserved and insidious; the sport of every unruly passion, immoderately puffed up with pride, and prepossessed against whatever is European; and, in an especial manner, of a hostile and mistrustful disposition towards the Spaniards. Under the oppressive yoke of such men the Indians have lived for centuries, and they consequently pant for the blessings of liberty." (19) These are the uncomplimentary remarks with which Helms dismisses the Creoles. Juan and Ulloa also point out the decadence of the Creoles and their probable cause. In early life they manifested great wit and penetration and genius to excel in mechanics. But decline sets in from the ages of twenty to thirty. It seemed to be a natural indolence: "and they forsake the sciences, leaving

17. Depons III, 181.

18. Juan and Ulloa, 377.

19. Helms, "Travels from Buenos Ayres, by Potosi, to Lima," 9-10.

the surprising effects of their capacity imperfect! The reason for this decline at least in Cartagena was that there was no outlet for their genius: no army nor navy, and few civil employments. "Nothing indeed is more surprising than the early advances of the mind in this country, children of two or three years of age conversing with a regularity and seriousness that is rarely seen in Europe at six or seven; and at an age when they can scarce see the light, are acquainted with all the depths of wickedness."

(20) They displayed great aptitude for the sciences, acquiring perfect knowledge of law with facility, read foreign books widely, studied geography, and were even beginning to be less ashamed to study commerce in 1801. (21) This aptitude seemed to be entirely lost, however, in later years. Stevenson strongly berates them for their fickleness. They were fickle and inconstant, always ready for a change. They would attend a penitential procession in their most penitent attire and grave looks in the morning, attend a bull fight in the afternoon, leave a circus in the evening to attend a missionary sermon, and then spend the remainder of the night at a dance or card party. "This instability was too visible, and often proved fatal during the period of the first revolutions in the city." (22) Juan and Ulloa declare they were entirely unfit for offices of trust, lacking diligence, fidelity and economy, and their conduct did not justify their being employed in the missions. (23)

In their private life they were lively, generous, happy-go-lucky, fond of dress and variety, not revengeful. They were kind parents, indulgent to their families, instilling respect in their children. In society they were loquacious, frank, courteous; in the home, remarkably hospitable. (24)

20. Juan and Ulloa, 334-5.

21. Depons I, 120-1.

22. Stevenson II, 297-8.

23. "Secret Expedition," 145.

24. Stevenson I, 295-7.

Stevenson says, "Conjugal and paternal affection, filial piety, beneficence, generosity, good nature and hospitality, are the inmates of almost every home." (25) And they carried their hospitality outside their homes. Stevenson speaks gratefully of the kind treatment received from the Creoles, while and after he was in prison, (26) and Ulloa praises their charity. (27) Dissipation was their chief vice; adultery rare, but concubinage common, the father usually legitimatizing his children by marriage or will. (29)

In education the Creoles were careful. Many sacrifices were made to keep the sons in college. They took up the church, law, or medicine as a rule. (30) The Creoles of Caracas especially felt disgraced at manual labor. "He believes that it is impossible to preserve one's dignity, and do honor to one's ancestors, except with a pen in hand, a sword by the side, or a breviary under the eyes," complains Depons. (31)

Mothers usually educated their daughters in sewing, embroidery, reading and writing, while masters taught drawing, dancing, and music. (32)

Creole women almost universally appealed to the Europeans there. Stevenson describes them in Guayaquil as "tall, genteel figures," with an "elegant gait" who "walk well and dance gracefully," and as lively and witty in conversation. They were the highest type of women in Spanish America and as free from levity in their private characters as from prudery in their public demeanor. (33) Juan and Ulloa are not so gallant in their characterization. They found the women of Lima to be genteel, of clear and comprehensive intellects charming conversation, just ideas, pure expression, and inimitably graceful in manner, but, aware of their

- 25. Stevenson I, 296.
- 26. Stevenson I, 297.
- 27. Juan and Ulloa, 335.
- 28. Stevenson I, 295.
- 29. Stevenson I 298.
- 30. Stevenson I, 298-9.
- 31. Depons III, 85.
- 32. Stevenson I, 299.
- 33. Stevenson II, 209.

own excellence, haughty, diplomatically gaining the ascendancy over their husbands, and having for their reigning passions show, mirth, and festivity. (34) Depons goes still further and divides them in Canacas into the women of fortune, and the unfortunates. The women of fortune were charming, mild, tender, seductive. All were uneducated, except by their parents who taught them prayers, bad reading, and worse spelling: "None but a young man, inspired by love, can decypher their scrawls." They had neither dancing, drawing, or music masters, and few had the first ideas of music. The unfortunates were clad in rags and steeped in vice until infirmity or age, not permitting licentiousness, reduced them to beggary. (35)

The men varied according to location. Those of Guayaquil were more enterprising and industrious than the people in the other colonies. (36)

By far the largest class in Indians Spanish America were the Indians, comprising approximately ninety per cent of the population. Because of their numbers and their consequent importance they will be treated separately in later chapters. It will suffice here to make a few general observations. Most of the Indians were in a state of practical but not nominal slavery. Slavery was prohibited by law, but the avarice of the whites found many ways to evade the letter of the law. So in spite of the beneficent intent of the Council of the Indies the Indians for the most part were kept in a state of abject servitude and miserable poverty. Ground down by their oppressors, their standard of living was low in the extreme: their houses mere shacks, their clothing the cheapest and the scantiest, and their food the meanest. Most of the Indians were kept on the plantations, and the wool growing estates, in the cloth manufactories,

34. Juan and Ulloa, 581-3.

35. Depons III, 87-9.

36. Stevenson II, 209.

and in the mines. Those who were in reality free spent their time in cultivating their small farms, tending flocks, fishing, in the mechanical arts, weaving cloth and laces, making earthenware, and as domestic servants. All except a few savage Indians had been converted to Catholicism, or "reduced" by zealous missionaries, zealous mostly for the wealth derived from Indian labor. These Indians, while conforming nominally to the rites of the Church, did so only because the rites of the Church delighted their senses. Those Indians not reduced lived in the hills away from the coast, and save for occasional plundering depredations and restricted trade, and possibly attempted reduction to Christianity, seldom came in contact with the general civilization.

The civilized Indians because of their taciturnity presented an enigma to the casual observer. Juan and Ulloa interpret it as indolence and stubbornness, Stevenson as timidity, Condamine as stupidity. Menonville found them industrious, Byron and Condamine, hospitable. Depons found that the apathy and indifference was noticeable mostly in those Indians under the corregidores.

Though treated abominably by the whites they patiently endured it and as they could not revenge themselves they tyrannized over other Indians. They were averse to the society of whites, fearing further oppression, and being in a mean social state in comparison, while regarding the whites as omnipotent and omniscient creatures.

No amount of ill-treatment caused any disloyalty to the government or to their masters. They took literally the promise that "the Lord loveth whom he chasteneth" and accepted blows as caresses, fearing the ill-will of the master when they were not forth-coming.

Negroes

Below the Indians were the African negroes. Most of these were slaves, faithful and honest. In the country they cultivated the haciendas or estancias, and in the city paid a quota of their wages to the masters. (37)

Menonville found them to be all that is bare and vile. He considered
37. Juan and Ulloa, 333.

~~them to be all that is base and vile. He considered~~ them constantly proud, passionate, vindictive, effeminate, base, and intolerably idle. Never once, he said, did he see a single negro on foot or carrying the lightest burden. They were humble from fear alone, calumniators, spies over the conduct of the Indians, "similar to those dogs which guard the weak and timid flock, they avenge themselves for the sufferings they endure from their vengeance, and frequently tear them to pieces." Menonville evidently had some unpleasant experiences with them for he remarks on their rudeness to travelers, their "depraved natures," "vile, wicked, and cowardly." In comparison with the Indian he places the negro far below, entirely unfit for liberty: "The negro by no means possesses that energy of mind, nor that love for his country, which are the origin of great enterprises; his heart, essentially corrupt, and dastardized by debauchery, is incapable of sublime feeling as his soul of grand conceptions." (38) This may have been true of the negroes in the limited part of Mexico where the French physician stayed so short a time, but Juan and Ulloa and Stevenson mention nothing of the kind in their accounts of longer sojourns in South America.

Even the negroes had their subdivisions. The negro creole was more athletic and robust, more virtuous and more vicious, more vengeful and less timid, and superior, according to himself, to the African slaves, rarely intermarrying with Africans. (39)

Slavery was almost a nullity in the Spanish colonies, and was confined principally to negroes. It was recommended in 1517 to Charles V by Barthelmy de Las Casas, priest, monk, and finally bishop of Chiapa, who thought slavery of Indians a crime; but of Africans, a necessity. In accordance with his recommendation, slavery of blacks was established. (40)

38. Menonville, 845.

39. Stevenson I, 307.

40. Depons I 155-6.

There were 218,400 negro slaves in Caracas in 1801; (41) about 8000 on the plantations of Chincha, Pisco, and Canete in Peru; and 3000 in the valley of Huaura; (42) 10,000 in Mexico, mostly in Acapulco and Vera Cruz, Mexico City having almost none. (43) Humboldt says there were four times as many in Caracas, which had a sixth the population of Mexico, (44) but Depons's figures make the ratio much greater. Humboldt considered the scarcity of slaves in Mexico a good thing. "The number of slaves there; either Africans or of mixed race, is almost nothing; an advantage which the European colonists have only begun rightly to appreciate since the tragical events of the revolution of St. Domingo." (45)

Betagh in 1720 found the negroes all being purchased from foreigners, particularly the English, and Dutch, at large expense. (46) Juan and Ulloa found in 1735 in Cartagena an office for the asiento of negroes. (47) It was evidently, unusual for Spaniards to engage in the trade. Depons in 1801 says the trade was not carried on by Spaniards, as it was repugnant, but that they purchased blacks when they were carried to them, and make contracts with foreign merchants to import certain numbers into certain places. (48) Then introduction from strange colonies was prohibited for fear of their bringing the seeds of revolt. (49)

Slaves were employed principally in mines and plantations, and mostly in the first half of the eighteenth century. Shelvocke mentions their carrying the guano for fertilization purposes. (50) Juan and Ulloa say mine owners purchased negro slaves to bring and wash the earth; (51)

41. Depons I, 159.

42. Stevenson I, 360, 431.

43. Humboldt I, 236.

44. Humboldt I, 236.

45. Humboldt I, 14.

46. Betagh, 24-5.

47. Juan and Ulloa, 359.

48. Depons I, 156-7.

49. Depons II, 250-1.

50. Shelvocke, "Voyage Round the World", 487.

51. Juan and Ulloa, 540.

that they cultivated the soil over all the improved parts of Valles; (52) worked in mines, on plantations, and in servile labor in the cities in Popayan; (53) in Cartagena were employed in husbandry and other laborious country works, (54) and in Panama in diving for pearls. (55) Humboldt says there was next to no slave labor in agriculture in Mexico, (56) and almost no slavery in the city, it never being used for domestic service, a singular contrast to Havana, Lima, and Caracas. (57) Mine labor there was entirely free. (58)

Laborers in mines of Peru received daily pay or bonus of twenty-four hours a week to extract ore for themselves, (59) but manual labor in the Lima mint was done by slaves superintended by white men. (60)

An elaborate account of the treatment of slaves is given by Stevenson in his description of a well-regulated plantation at Huaito. The negresses were kept separate from the men from eleven or twelve years of age until marriage. Great care was taken with child-bearing women, and when one reared six children she was given the choice of her own liberty or both her own and her husband's for half time, with payment for work done then. One day of rest was given every week to the father or mother for each child. Each married man, widow, and widower, was presented annually with a small pig. In order to promote marriage, illegitimate and tawny children were sold (61).

For food they were given maize flour boiled, with molasses added; beans; and meat once or twice a week. Two working dresses each year,

52. Juan and Ulloa, 540.

53. Ibid, 484.

54. Ibid, 359.

55. Humboldt

55. Ibid, 381.

56. Humboldt II, 356.

57. Humboldt I, 236.

58. Humboldt III, 246.

59. Stevenson II, 32-3.

60. Stevenson I, 280.

61. Stevenson I, 432-5.

blankets, and ponchos were given by the master. The houses were small, uniform, whitewashed buildings in a square enclosure. The slave began work at 7 a. m., took two hours off at noon, and worked till 4 or 6 p. m. He attended mass at 6 a. m., confession and communion once a year, and was taught prayers and catechism by the chaplain. No slave at Huaito was ever flogged without the consent of the mistress. Punishment was always public, the witnesses of the crime being present. For absenting himself, a slave was compelled to wear a chain around his leg; perform laborious work at the mill for a repetition; both for a second recurrence; and was sold if he were an habitual absentee. (62)

Taking it altogether, Stevenson regarded the treatment of these slaves superior to that accorded English slaves. He did not find it all so pleasant for the slave. At Barbacoas he found greater cruelty than anywhere else, the slaves being left naked and with only a sparing distribution of food. (63)

Depons regards the treatment of slaves in Caracas as less humane than that by the English and French. The law was silent as to food and clothing, the masters indifferent, the slaves ragged or naked, and with rations for a day scarcely sufficient for breakfast. In case of sickness they were left to die or recover as nature determined. There were no physicians in the country, and they were not called in the city until loss of property was feared. They were protected against incontinence by having the females locked up at night from the age of ten to marriage. Even this extreme vigilance did not prevent great licentiousness. The masters themselves often seduced the females daily. Their wives sometimes attempted a like practice with the males for revenge. (64)

62. Stevenson I, 431-7.

63. Ibid, 422.

64. Depons I, 159-63.

The royal ordinance of May 31, 1789, Depons says was not executed in Terra Firma. It provided for religious instruction, which was an exception in execution, being executed so well that the slaves were taught more prayers and catechism than most christians knew. The master acted as the inquisitor. The ordinance required comfortable food and clothing, and labor to be rated by a police judge, males being subject to labor between the ages of seventeen to sixty, and promiscuous labor of the sexes not allowed. "By such measures it is much easier to make monks than cultivators of the soil" is his evaluation of that law. Amusements were to be innocent, and the sexes separated in them also. Comfortable lodging with separation of the sexes was the final requirement. (65)

Juan and Ulloa say that in Lima slaves were punished by being sent to bakers who were obliged to receive them. There the punishment was severe and cruel, the slave working all day and part of the night with little food and less sleep. The most stubborn soon became weak and submissive, and dread of the place awed slaves within and without Lima. (66) In Guayaquil the slaves revenged their punishment by burning the thatched houses. (67)

The law offered several advantages to the slave. If the master abused a slave he could quit the domains by giving reasons. The master had to sell the slave at the purchase price, or at a diminution because of infirmity, fixed by estimate. The slave might redeem himself by paying the purchase price, or only \$300 in case the purchase price was greater. He then became a citizen. In case of chastisement causing loss of blood the master was reprimanded. Finally, there was a poor's attorney in the jurisdiction of every governor, who vindicated the cause of slaves applying for redress. (68)

65. Depons I, 160, 164-5.

66. Juan and Ulloa, 602.

67. Ibid, 393.

68. Depons I, 166-7.

The law required the master to sign a deed of manumission if the slave could emancipate himself at a fair evaluation. If the master refused, the slave could deposit the sum in a public treasury, and the receipt was a sufficient voucher for his liberty. (69) Slaves laboring at the arrival of the galleons at Cartagena sometimes bought their freedom with their increased savings. (70) Humboldt says the price of freedom was bought in Mexico for 62 pounds sterling to 83 pounds sterling, or that the slave might secure his freedom for cruel treatment if the judge did justice, but that this law was frequently eluded. (71)

Slaves were often emancipated simply through the generosity of the master, because they were his illegitimate offspring, or because religion favored emancipation. There were still many restrictions on their liberty, and they had to return to slavery in case of absconding for four months, unless the captor preferred money, in which case the police paid it and the prisoner became their property. (72)

An unenforced sumptuary law declared that their women were debarred from wearing gold, silk, mantles, or pearls. (73) They were not allowed to kneel on carpets in church, and could not have Indians in their service. (74)

Freedmen enjoyed numerous dispensations from the king. They could enter holy orders, and become candidates for civil employments. The party soliciting the dispensation had at least to be a mulatto. Money sometimes transferred whole families to the class of whites, and none might henceforth reproach them for their origin. All privileges attached

69. Stevenson I, 280.

70. Juan and Ulloa, 358.

71. Humboldt I, 241-2.

72. Depons I, 168-75.

73. Ibid, 174.

74. Ibid, 175.

to whites were thus obtained, but the only real advantage seems to have devolved upon the women who thereby acquired the coveted right of kneeling upon carpets in church. Few were ever called to public office. (75)

They exercised in the trades and professions without competition due to the indisposition of the whites. By a royal ordinance of March 14, 1797 they were admitted to medicine. (76)

Mixtures

In reality, the greater part of the population was of no one of these races, but of mixed extraction : European Africans, American Indian, and a little Malay element. (77) There were divisions and subdivisions, and almost every degree of proportion in color in the mixed castes. Each race intermarried with each other race, producing every shade from white to black, or white to copper. Almost innumerable distinctions were made, with a name for each combination. (78) Juan and Ulloa and Humboldt like-wise give definitions of castes with a few minor differences and additions. Juan and Ulloa define the offspring of whites and negroes of either sex as mulattoes, name the terceron as the descendant of a white and mulatto, the quarteron of a white and a terceron, and a quinteron of a white and a quarteron. The quinterones, they say are not visibly different from the whites. The Zambo they define as the child of a mulatto and negro, mulatto and Indian, or negro and Indian, all regardless of the sex of the parents. (79) Humboldt, also makes less distinction in the sex of the parents in his enumeration. According to him, the offspring of a negro and a Chinese woman was a Zambo and, that of a negro and Zamba a Zambo-prieto. (80) In those mixtures in which the color of the children became deeper than that of their mothers, the children were designated as salta atras, or retrogrades, (81) it being considered that they were

75. Depons I, 176.

76. Ibid, 182.

77. Humboldt I, 130.

78. Stevenson I, 289.

79. Juan and Ulloa, 332-3.

80. Humboldt I, 244-5.

81. Juan and Ulloa, 333; Humboldt I, 245.

"back-leaps," because, instead of advancing toward being whites, they went back toward the negro race. The children of a negro and a quinteron were Zambos de Negro, de mulatto, de terceron, etc. All were mutually jealous and offended if called by a lower degree. (82) The principal cause for the mixtures was that few Spanish women came to America, and that the Spanish men who came were often in straightened conditions at first, and, starving, were helped by free negro and mulatto women whom they then married in gratitude. (83) Spaniards also seduced the colored girls, which was an easy matter, the virtue of the girls being too frail to resist. (84) Marriages between white girls and colored men were due to the prevalence of illegitimate births among the whites. The babes were exposed and often picked up by colored people. The boys were put in convents but the girls were kept in the home. Naturally, they were outcasts of the whites, and consequently they married colored men. (85)

These castes produced individuals of merit in medicine and surgery, and Indians showed at the pulpit and bar, but the Spanish laws caused the failure of many. (86) The mestizoes imitative ability ^{was} great, but ingenuity seems to ^{have} been entirely lacking. They were often overseers on the farms and estates of the nobility, painters, sculptors, mechanics, lapidaries, jewellers, and silversmiths, but Stevenson says of them: "Lack of inventive genius is certainly visible in all their performances, exact imitation being their principal study, and in this they most assuredly succeed. (87)

82. Juan and Ulloa, 223.

83. Ibid, 336.

84. Depons I, 178.

85. Ibid, 178-81.

86. Stevenson I, 288-9.

87. Stevenson II, 298.

Juan and Ulloa also remark on their ready application to arts and trades of the greatest repute: painting and sculpture, in which they excelled, leaving the meaner sort of labor to the Indians. (88) A few kept shops, (89) and some at Lima were engaged in agriculture and in making earthenware. (90) These people mixed to a considerable extent with the whites. They were kind, affable, and generous, (91) partaking of many of the virtues of the whites but exceeding them in their vices. They were void of fixed determination, fond of diversions, docile, kind, obliging, honored by attention, (92) but incurably indolent and slothful, and "continually drinking while they are they are the masters of any money." (93)

Mulattoes for the greater part, were mechanics, pursuing gain as did the others. Some were domestic servants, free or slave. (94) Juan and Ulloa regard them as less civilized than the natives, as vicious, haughty, and turbulent, (95) but Stevenson is much more complimentary. (96) He says they were not so robust as their parents, were of delicate constitution, but of superior mental qualities to the negro, and the educated ones were not inferior to the whites. They were often well-educated, as they accompanied their masters to school and attended them at college. Many become surgeons. All were fond of dress and parade; the women were pretty, witty, and showily dressed. Often they were confidential servants of the wealthy, their manumission being decreed if criminal connection with the master was proved.

- 88. Juan and Ulloa, 447.
- 89. Ibid, 450.
- 90. Ibid, 579.
- 91. Stevenson I, 307.
- 92. Stevenson II, 298.
- 93. Juan and Ulloa, 447-450.
- 94. Ibid, 579.
- 95. Ibid, 583.
- 96. Stevenson I, 307-9.

The quarterones and quinterones, like the mulattos, were handsome, mild, and obliging, but lacking in their imagination. (97)

With scathing language are the Zambos denounced. Stevenson declares they were robust, morose, vicious, cruel, revengeful, unforgiving, lazy, stupid, provoking, and the "worst mixed breed in existence;" (98) and Depons writes in even stronger language: "The name of Sambo, signifies in the country, a good for nothing, idler, cheat, thief, and even an assassin. Of ten crimes that are committed, eight always appertain to this cursed class of Sambos. Immorality is their characteristic. It is not perceived in the same degree, either in negroes, mulattoes, or any other race, pure or mixed." All their tastes, inclinations, and faculties turn to vice. (99)

Rivalries and Dissensions

In such a heterogeneous group it is to be expected that there were some intense rivalries, and even fierce hatreds. The surprising part, until one learns the cause, is that the worst hatred existed between two factions of the same race: the Europeans and the Creoles. This is attributed to the bestowing of all offices on the Europeans, who emigrate to that country and to the excessive vanity and overbearing manner of the creoles to the forlorn and penniless condition of the Europeans. The Europeans were in reality the lords of the soil. They became regidors so soon as they were married, immediately became ordinary alcaldes, and in ten years were at the head of chief cities, esteemed and applauded. "The man who occupies this position was once crying his wares in the streets, with a pack upon his shoulders, dealing out finery and trinkets, which he had bought on credit, to set himself up in trade; but the fault of this is in the Creoles

97. Stevenson I, 309.

98. Ibid, 309.

99. Depons III, 151-2.

themselves, for if they would enter into on extensive trade; while they have means for it, they would not waste a fortune in the little time that an European needs to acquire one. If the Creoles would eschew vicious practices, and maintain their own wives with honor and decency they would not give occasion to their own countrywomen to treat them with aversion and hatred; and if they would regulate their conduct by the principles of virtue, they would always have on their side the favor and esteem which strangers carry with them; but as nothing of this kind is congenial to their nature, the root of envy strikes too deeply to allow such sentiments to gain access to their minds, nor do they reflect that it is they themselves who give to Europeans all the esteem, authority, and advantages which they enjoy," (100) is the way Juan and Ulloa dispose of the root of the whole difficulty. It was true, as inferred by the above quotation, that the Europeans came and soon accumulated a fortune by the aid of relatives and friends, and by hard labor and industry. The outcome was that within a few years they could form alliances with ladies of distinction. But the creoles still remembered their first condition, and upon the slightest provocation, exposed it. The Europeans espoused the cause of their injured countrymen, and the creoles that of their native women. The Europeans, knowing of the mixed blood of the creoles, taunted them with it when the creoles boasted of their noble origin. "In such cases it is amusing to observe how they become mutually the heralds of each other's low birth, so that it is needless to investigate the subject for one's self; for while each one strives to unfold and present to view his royal descent, depicting the illustrious origin of his family in such a way that it cannot be confounded with others of the same city, he brings to light all their defective titles, and the foul blot which stain the purity of his

neighbor's. (101) The vanity of the creoles kept them from engaging in trade and allured them to the practice of vice, so they soon lost their inheritance by waste and neglect. The Europeans availed themselves of the advantages neglected by the creoles and soon amassed an estate by engaging in trade. The creole women for this reason preferred to marry Europeans, causing envy to be aroused. (102) The government was suspicious of the creoles and bestowed the great places exclusively on the natives of Spain. (103)

This feeling between the two classes of whites had become so intense that there was a perpetual jealousy and hatred between the Chapetones and creoles. "The most miserable European... thinks himself superior to the whites born in the new continent" and the natives retaliated by preferring to be called Americans instead of Spaniards. (104) The creoles made extravagant declarations. Many said that if the blood of the Spaniards, their fathers, could be drawn from their veins, they would let it out, that it might not be mixed with that which they have received from their mothers--an absurdity, as Juan and Ulloa point out, for if all their Spanish blood were drawn out no other would flow in their veins but that of negroes or Indians. (105) "From the very birth of the children of foreigners, or from the time that the first glimmerings of reason, however faint, begin to appear, and as soon as reflection draws aside the veil of innocence, the workings of hatred to Europeans begin to exhibit it themselves...." (106)

Spaniards, on their part declared that they would love their own

101. Secret Report, 173-4.

102. Ibid, 174-5.

103. Humboldt I, 204.

104. Ibid, 205.105

105. Secret Expedition, 177.

106. Ibid, 177.

children better if they had been born in Europe! (107) Immediately after the Revolution a Peruvian officer said that he hated his father and mother, because he was born in America, and that if he knew in what part of his body the American blood circulated, he would let it out. A Spaniard said to Stevenson that he had six children, but if he thought they would ever be insurgents he would go to their beds and smother them." (108) Cities and town were theatres of discord and perpetual wrangling. "To be a European...is reason enough for avowing one's self an enemy to the Creoles; and to have been born in the Indies is a sufficient cause for hating Europeans." This mutual ill will was not weakened by more frequent intercourse, by family ties, or by any other motives which ordinarily promote harmony. Quite the reverse was the condition, for the closer the contact the greater the discord; renewed discussion rekindled the smothered rancor, and "the fire gains strength, and the conflagration becomes inextinguishable." "The towns are the open theatres of the two opposing parties; irreconcilable enmity disgorges its venom on the seats of justice, and even in the monasteries, the sparks of discord are kindled to a raging flame. Private dwellings, likewise, where the ties of parentage bind together both Europeans and Creoles, become the storehouses of anger and recrimination, so that, upon due consideration it would be tame to describe the scene as the purgatory of minds, since it comes to be a hell of living beings, who are kept in a state of perpetual disquiet, by numberless occasions of discord, which serve as fuel to the flames of hatred." This was worse in the cities of the mountainous district, because on the seacoast, intercourse with strangers diverted their attention. (109)

107. Stevenson I, 293.

108. Stevenson III, 137.

109. "Secret Expedition," 170-2.

This feeling rapidly changed after the Revolution. Stevenson illustrates:

"The most astonishing difference in the behavior of the Spaniards was now observable. The haughty Maroto, who, when in Lima with his regiment of Talavera, despised and insulted every one, now that he had neither an officer nor a soldier left, was humbled, and the bow of a negro or an Indian was most courteously answered by this vaunting coward." (110)

A paradoxical treatment was accorded the Europeans by the creoles. When they first arrived in America, all were treated with the same friendship and courtesy, although many were of mean descent and little known. Servant and master were given the same honors at the table. This was the very reason that Europeans so soon reached the highest post of ambition. They received the highest courtesy for the mere reason that they were white. Juan and Ulloa deprecate the results of this "ill advised courtesy." "Disastrous consequences result to the Indies from this abuse. The origin of it is, that as few families there are legitimately white,-- for this distinction is confined to the most distinguished,--the mere circumstance of being white entitles one to a position which ought to belong only to a higher order of nobility, and, therefore, being European merely by birth, apart from every other consideration, they are supposed to merit the same courtesy and esteem which are lavished upon more distinguished individuals, who go with an appointment from government, the honor of which ought to distinguish them from the bulk of immigrants." They then passed to the other extreme and denounced and vilified the Europeans in a mass, "just as they had obsequiously cringed to them at first; and they do not scruple to revile them as a worthless, low-born race, as if there were no degraded condition, no ignoble origin, and no

infamous blot which might not be attributed to them; whence it is that those on whom the reproach falls avenge themselves by bringing to light the flaws which are incident to their own families, and these being closely allied with each other, all are in danger of being consumed by the raging flames." (111)

In addition to this overwhelming antipathy of the Europeans and creoles for each other were the continual dissensions between the coast people and the table land. The coast people accused the mountaineers of coldness and want of vivacity and the table land reproached the coast with levity and inconstancy in their undertakings. This was especially the condition in Mexico where it resulted in rivalry between the merchants of Mexico and Vera Cruz. (112) Then there were political intrigues, and new viceroys found themselves placed among different parties of lawyers, clergy, proprietors of mines, and merchants, each of which aimed at rendering its adversaries suspected, by accusing them of a restless and innovating disposition and a secret desire of independence and political liberty. (113)

Spain looked on this turmoil complacently, even with a sense of satisfaction, for she regarded them as factors in her security. (114) "Seeking security in civil dissensions, in the balance of power, and in a complication of all the springs of the great political machine, the mother country foments incessantly the spirit of party and hatred among the casts and constituted authorities. From this state of thing arises a rancour which disturbs the enjoyments of social life," But Spain, laments

111. "Secret expedition," 179-81.

112. Humboldt IV, 54.

113. *ibid.*, 55.

114. *ibid.*, 55.

Humboldt, (115) was blind or impervious to this fact, having apparently adopted as her slogan that a house not divided against itself cannot stand.

This fierce hatred was found all over Spanish America with one notable example in Concepcion where the creoles and Spaniards "live together in that harmony and friendship, which should be an example to the other parts of these provinces; where the comforts of society are greatly lessened by the finds arising from a mean pride and jealousy."

(116)

116. Juan and Ulloa, 668.

CHAPTER II

THE INDIANS

Relative Importance

Spanish America had that feature in common with India and China that the indigenous element was so overwhelming in numbers, that in spite of any amount of influence and pressure from the outside, the people as a whole remained essentially static. The Indians were so preponderating in numbers that, although they had been brought under Spanish control and civilization for the most part, yet they still retained their peculiarly Indian characteristics. It was to these Indians that Spain owed all the wealth from Spanish America. They performed all the labor in producing the gold and silver because the Europeans and negroes were not robust enough for the climate. (1), and as a result of the forced labor on the plantations, grazing estates, and in the mines, produced all the wealth of the Indies. (2)

En Masse View

The Indians were a heterogeneous race due to migrations from the north to the south between the sixth and the twelfth centuries. (3) They had at least a score of different languages as dissimilar as those of Greek and German or French and Polish. Fourteen languages in Mexico had tolerably complete grammars and dictionaries, the Aztecs alone having seven printed grammars. (4) In Peru they spoke Quichua, the national language of the Incas, except in the cities. Some of them understood Spanish, but did not know enough to know that the persons with whom they spoke did not understand Quichua. The town Indians spoke Spanish. (5)

1. Helms, 17.
2. "Secret Expedition." 49.
3. Humboldt I, 137.
4. Ibid, 138-9.
5. Juan and Ulloa, 520.

Although Humboldt praises the advanced state of their languages, Condamine criticizes them in the opposite extreme. He claims that the languages were very poor, and "universally barren of terms for the expression of abstract or universal ideas, an evident proof of the slight progress of intellect among these people." There were no equivalent words for expressions denoting time, duration, space, entity, substance, matter, corporeity, virtue, justice, liberty, gratitude, or ingratitude. (6) This certainly is a striking accusation accompanied by more striking proof. The absence of abstract and universal terms showed the essentially materialistic, individualistic state of the civilization of the Indians.

Although perhaps lacking in any conception of the spiritual, the Indians had well-developed material institutions. They were divided socially into three classes: the descendants of the old peasantry, the remains of the great families, and those who cultivated the lands formerly cultivated by their vassals. Politically they were divided into the tributary Indians, who showed the caciques their traditional respect; and the nobles or caciques, who oppressed the tributary Indians heavily. (7) In Mexico there were some wealthy Indians whose wealth was derived from plantations of the maguey, more properly called vineyards. They went bare-footed and wore the coarse brown Mexican tunic, as the lowest Indians dress. Nevertheless they received great consideration among the tributary Indians. (8) All the Indians, whether high or low, rich or poor showed vulgarity of manners and want of civilization, according to Humboldt, who attributes it to their state of insulation, (9) for there they were maritime people, keeping away from the Europeans who occupied the interior of that country. (10)

As a whole the Indians were in a state of abject poverty and practical

6. Condamine, "Abridged Narrative of Travels Through the Interior of South America," 222.

7. Humboldt I, 179-80.

8. Ibid, 185.

9. Ibid, 180.

10. Ibid, 132.

slavery. Shelvocke refers to it as servile slavery under the Spaniards, (11) Humboldt that they were a "picture of extreme misery," living from hand to mouth, none enjoying a mediocrity of fortune, and that those few with colossal fortunes concealed them under the appearance of poverty. (12) Juan and Ulloa and Stevenson picture their life as worse than that of the African slave. Juan and Ulloa say it is "far more degraded and miserable than that of the African slave" because they are goaded on every side with the utmost cruelty until more service is exacted from them than could be obtained from the meanest slave. (13) Stevenson tells of the state in which he found them at San Juan in Chimbo: "I here beheld the South American Indian reduced to the most abject state of servitude and bondage, compared to which the slave belonging to the plantations on the coast of Peru, is free indeed....Alas! these beings are the degraded original proprietors, on whom the curse of conquest has fallen with all its concomitant hardships and penury." (15)

It was not intended or known in Spain that such was the condition of the Indians. Spain had laws for the amelioration of the Indians, but they were of no avail because of intrigue and artifice. (16) The great distance from the mother country seemed to be the cause of their ill-treatment, coupled, of course with the avarice of the American administrators. Most of the travelers praised the Spanish laws but condemned the officials. The oppression of the Indians was not authorized by the Spanish monarchs who set out in the Recopilacion de leyes de India the

11. Shelvocke, 451.
12. Humboldt I, 185.
13. "Secret Expedition," 11-2.
14. Stevenson II, 266.
15. Helms, 17.
16. Ibid, 16-7.

duties of civil, military, and ecclesiastic officers in regard to the Indians. The ecclesiastics were designated to guard against and to inform the authorities of usurpation and oppression. The governors were as rapacious as the under-officers, and their avarice was too great to be restrained by laws and enactments at this distance from Spain. (17)

The coming of the Spaniards had affected the Indians to their harm, improving them in no respect, and resulting in degradation in others. Shelvocke found them down on the island of Chiloe, naturally of fierce and warlike dispositions, but with their spirits curbed and broken, due to the oppressions of the Spaniards and the artifices of the Jesuit missionaries. (18) Menonville found them naturally simple, mild, and ingenuous, but when near Spaniards sly, subtle, and even knavish and idle. He considered the neighborhood of European Spaniards "a pest, a plague equally unfortunate and prompt of diffusion. (19)

Manner of Living

In their practical life the Indians adopted some Spanish customs and retained many of their old practices. Some on the coast of Peru lived in one-story houses of sun-dried brick, or canes covered with clay, sometimes extending to the length of ten or twelve houses. Their furniture consisted of a low table, a few pots and pans for cooking, and calabashes for eating and drinking. (20) Those in the interior lived in huts with but one room with a fire in the center, and no windows, (21) promiscuously with their dogs, hogs, poultry, cuyes, pots, jugs, and cotton for their wives to spin. Their beds were of sheepskin, with no pillows. They never

17. Stevenson II, 73-4.

18. Shelvocke, 449.

19. Menonville, 820.

20. Stevenson II, 18.

21. Ibid, 28.

undressed, and slept in a squatting position. (22) Those Indians in the meta service also lived in rude stone huts thatched with long grass. (23) In their dress some men imitated the Spaniards, (24) others did not. They all wore trousers or drawers, waistcoat, sometimes a jacket, light poncho, and straw hat. A poncho was a straight piece of cloth doubled with a hole in the top for the head, and two in the side for the arms. Usually, none but alcaldes wore shoes and stockings. Some of the drawers of white cotton edged with lace, others of blue wool. The waistcoats were of black cotton, the ponchos of serge, the hats made by natives. These were worn always, even in sleep. The women dressed also in bag-like garments, usually a long tunic and a shawl, sometimes a blue flannel petticoat and a white shirt, with a lace- or embroidery-trimmed cotton cloth for the head. Their jewelry consisted of ear-rings and one or more rosaries. They seldom wore shoes except to church, and never stockings. The hair was plaited, maids and widows in Peru wearing one plaited lock over each shoulder and the married women wearing only one braid. Widows dressed in black. Higher class and wealthy Indians, that is the barbers and phlebotomists, carefully distinguished themselves with finer lace-trimmed drawers, a shirt with lace, lace ruffles around the neck, silver and gold buckles on their shoes, and a fine cloak adorned with gold and silver lace. The women similarly bedecked themselves. (25) Those Indians on the plains of Mexico found no use for clothing of any description, because of vanity, modesty, or comfort. (26)

The maintenance of the meta Indians consisted entirely of the maize and herbs which grew wild, and the scanty wardrobe of coarse fabrics woven by their wives. (27) Others ate the same food as the Spaniards. All were passionately fond of chicha, a liquor made from maize. They would eat large quantities of capsicum to stimulate their thirst, and make a meal out of twenty or thirty pods, with a little salt, a piece of bread,

- 22. Juan and Ulloa, 519.
- 23. Ibid, 267.
- 24. Ibid, 558.
- 25. Ibid, 448. Stevenson II, 305-6, 391-3.
- 26. Humboldt I, 145.
- 27. "Secret Expedition," 50.

and two or three quarts of chicha. (28) Drinking seemed to be their one great passion. Humboldt says that in Mexico they had innumerable beverages, one for each elevation of altitude. (29) Stevenson claims that the Indians of Peru were not prone to drunkenness, (30) that in general they were even abstemious, and inclined to gluttony and drunkenness only at feasts, being habitually intoxicated on such occasions. (31) The women abstained almost entirely, and were (32) never intoxicated. (33) Juan and Ulloa state that in Quito the Indians drink to excess, the women and young men abstaining, "it being a maxim among them, that drunkenness is only the privilege of masters of families, as being persons who, when they are unable to take care of themselves, have others to take care of them." When they celebrated their solemnities every acquaintance was invited and supplied with a two-gallon jug of chicha. "When tired of intemperance, they all lie down together, without minding whether near the wife of another, or their own sister, daughter, or more distant relation; so shocking are the excesses to which they give themselves up on these solemnities, which are sometimes continued three or four days, till the priests find themselves obliged to go in person, throw away all the chicha, and disperse the Indians, lest they should buy more." (34) They had great alacrity only for those

- 28. Stevenson II, 315.
- 29. Humboldt II, 399.
- 30. Stevenson I, 371.
- 31. Ibid, 391.
- 32. Stevenson II, 21.
- 33. Stevenson I, 391.
- 34. Juan and Ulloa, 518.

occasions when liquor circulated briskly, for "with this they begin the day, and continue drinking till they are entirely deprived both of sense and motion." (35) Humboldt comes to the rescue of the Indians by claiming that drunkenness among the Indians was less than was generally believed, some of them showing an aversion to brandy, and others being very sober. It was most common in Mexico where the maguey or agave were cultivated on a great scale. In Mexico city the police sent around tumbrils to take up the drunkards stretched in the streets. They were taken to the guard-house, iron rings were put around their ankles, and they were made to clean the streets for three days. (36)

When the Indians were not drinking or idling they pursued their occupations. Those not in the meta service were often fishermen, or they mined on a very small scale; tended their flocks; cultivated their fields; acted as domestic servants; made fringes, gold and silver lace, epaulettes, and embroidery; were tailors; in the market business; mechanics; butchers; weavers; shoemakers; bricklayers; barbers; mask makers; etc. Those in New California maintained themselves by dressing stag skins. Many painted images and carved statues of saints. (37) Stevenson found some who took up holy orders, who shone at the bar, and in the audiences. (38)

With some of the Indians it was the women who did all the work. The Esmeraldas spent their time hunting and attending to their small plantations. The women assisted on the plantations and accompanied their husbands on their long fishing and hunting trips. They often helped the men, but the

35. Juan and Ulloa, 518.

36. Humboldt I, 149-50.

37. Humboldt II, 302; Humboldt I, 172; Juan and Ulloa, 465, 466, 470, 471, 513, 602; Stevenson I, 303, 361, 374; Stevenson I¹, 267, 296, 300, 301, 348, 353; Helms, 34-5.

38. Stevenson I, 389.

men never helped the women; they would have considered themselves degraded if they would "add a piece of wood to the fire, assist in unlading a canoe of plantains, in distilling rum, or perform any office connected with household concerns." (39)

Commenting on the reports of a nation of Amazons Condamine says that "if ever such a nation had existence, there is most reason to conclude it must have been in America, where the frequent wanderings of the women, who often accompany their husbands to war, and the hardships of their domestic life, might not only originate such an idea, but likewise furnish them with numberless opportunities of shaking off the yoke of their tyrants, of forming an independent establishment, and of avoiding that vilifying condition of slavery, so little removed from that of beasts of burden, in which they had previously lived." (40) Humboldt adds that Indian mothers often killed their female offspring to preserve them from the awaiting misery. (41)

How different is this from Menonville's picture of an Indian family in Mexico: The father, mother, and eight children lived in a hut fifteen feet square. "The poor Indian, tired with labor, and half starved, presented a mild and benignant physiognomy: he showed me some little attention, but overflowing with affection, he smothered his children with kisses, while the tenderest love beamed in his looks, which were constantly directed to his wife, save when from courtesy they were turned from ^{me} ^[sic]...he gained by his work but two reals, I gave him in addition two, but profit seemed to interest him little. Avarice finds rarely entrance in the heart of the child of nature, awake to the feelings of a husband and a father!" (42) Stevenson, also, found the Peruvian Indians faithful to their marriage vows, kind parents,

39. Stevenson II, 386.

40. Condamine, 234.

41. Humboldt I, 250 n.

42. Menonville, 803.

and dutiful children. "Chastity is more common and infidelity more uncommon, among the Peruvians than in most countries of the old world." (43) This is testified by Stevenson and Juan and Ulloa who say that there was no syphilis, (44) and that venereal diseases so common among the other people were scarcely known to them. Juan and Ulloa, however, believed this to have been due to the quality of the juices of the body, not to any particular chastity on the part of the Indians. (45) Depons even claims that they practiced incest whenever convenient. (46) Other diseases which attacked the Indians were smallpox, which worked great havoc, and from which few escaped, due to the malignity of disease and the lack of physicians and nurses; a spotted fever, cured by the application of excessive heat and their beloved chicha; (47) consumption and pleurisy. (48) They had fearful and wonderful means of curing diseases. Those of Peru were well acquainted with the application of medicinal plants. They applied the oil of the castor bean to the abdomen in case of dropsy, chewed two or three of the beans as a violent purgative, and treated deafness by pouring diluted wine into the ear, (49) They stopped fevers by scarifying the flesh with a sharp knife and sucking the blood if the flow was not abundant. The inflammatory fever was treated with a clay plaster: if it peeled off, death was the inevitable result. (50) Still more strange were some of the practices of the Esmeraldas who secured a poison from a vegetable on the banks of the Marañon containing prussic acid which they used in pills as purgative. (51) What may seem also a poor remedy was the dissolving of resin of red sandal wood in rum to heal wounds. (52) Nevertheless, in spite of, if not because of, this medical

43. Stevenson I, 390.

44. Ibid, 405-6.

45. Juan and Ulloa, 524.

46. Depons I, 239.

47. Juan and Ulloa, 524-5.

48. Stevenson I, 405.

49. Stevenson II? 7-11.

50. Ibid, 102.

51. Ibid, 375-6.

52. Ibid, 401.

science many Indians lived to be very old. Longevity was common among the Peruvians, (53) there being many centenarians due to the sameness and simplicity of their food. (54) The same was true of the Mexican Indians, at least of those subject to European dominations. (55) Many women reached a hundred years with their strength preserved to the last. (56) Humboldt believes that the longevity would have been greater if they constitutions were not weakened by drunkenness. (57) Drunkenness, along with small pox, work in the mines, and social life were believed to the cause of the decreasing Indian population in Peru. (58)

No amount of instruction had succeeded in making the Indians turn from some of their heathen customs. They particularly delighted in the feasts of the saints when they provided an immense meal of meat, and vegetables and chicha served by the women on mats on the ground and eaten with spoons and calabashes. The men courteously joked with the mistress about her love affairs. After they left the women ate in another room. (59) Many of these feasts terminated in the drunken brawls mentioned previously. At the time of the Corpus Christi feast dancing companies were seen in the village during the week. When two of them met the result was a contest of cudgels. (60)

Marriage came early. Stevenson attended the wedding of a son and a daughter of two caciques. The son was eleven, and the daughter thirteen years old. The alliance was contracted "por rason de estado," i. e., the preservation of ability, as this made the children admissible into colleges, divinity, law, and physic. (61) Humboldt says that many Indian women preferred the vivacious Congo negroes to Indians or Europeans having a distaste for the apparent phlegm of the Indian. (62) Juan and Ulloa point out the low moral

53. Stevenson II, 405.
 54. Juan and Ulloa, 525.
 55. Humboldt I, 148.
 56. Ibid, 151.
 57. Ibid, 406-8. 149.
 58. Stevenson I, 406-8.

59. Stevenson II, 21.
 60. Stevenson I, 402-3.
 61. Ibid, 176.
 62. Humboldt I, 162.

state accompanying the marriages of the Quito Indians, typical of all. A virgin was never the object of choice, for it was a "sign that she who has not been known to others can have nothing pleasing about her." The young man obtained the consent of the father of the object of his affections, and immediately they began to live together as man and wife, the man assisting her father in cultivating his chacara. He often left his bride after three or four months, perhaps for the above reason; if not, they married. The ceremony to them consisted wholly of the nuptial benediction which had to be given to them at the time they joined hands; otherwise they separated on any caprice. Punishment or persuasion had no effect. Wives were often changed because of familiarities with another, in which instance the injured husband and wife concerted a revenge and could not be separated. (63)

Burials were solemnized with excessive drinking. The whole Indian nation drank to the honor of the deceased for four or five days. (64) During this time the corpse was laid on the ground in the house, the relatives wailed around him, asking him why he left so soon and other questions, and enumerated his kindnesses. His widow sang over him, recounting his courtship tales and intimacies, concluding finally that he had been bewitched by some one else who loved him. The relatives then continued the wail until the burial. (65)

The vice of gaming, so popular with Spaniards, did not attract the Indians. They had only one game called pofa, i. e., a hundred which they used at their revels. (66) What propensity they had is due to their leisure, sloth, and idleness. (67) They never smoked tobacco, a universal custom

63. Juan and Ulloa, 521.

64. Ibid, 518.

65. Stevenson II, 21-22.

66. Juan and Ulloa, 518-9.

67. Ibid, 451.

among Spaniards. (68)

General Culture

Sharp disagreements are encountered in the evaluation of the mental, moral, and social state of the Indians. Stevenson and Menonville respect them highly; Juan and Ulloa and Helms demean their condition, but blame the Spaniards; and Depons, Condamine and Humboldt consider their low state for the most part a natural racial characteristic. Of the Peruvians Condamine says, "We must needs allow that these people have greatly degenerated from their ancestors," and of the other nations, "they are not known to have ever emerged from their pristine barbarism." (69) He emphasizes their insensibility. He questions whether it was dignified to apathy or sunk to stupidity. But this quality, he asserts, was generally prevalent, and caused by their paucity of ideas which extended no farther than to their wants." Pusillanimous and timid in extreme, unless when transported by drunkenness; inimical to toil; indifferent to every impulse of glory, honor, or gratitude; wholly engrossed and determined by the object of the moment, without concern for the future; destitute of foresight and reflection; and giving themselves up, when nothing prevents them, to a childish joy, which they manifest by leaping, and loud bursts of laughter, with no apparent object; they pass their lives without thoughts, and see old age advance, yet unremoved from childhood, and preserving its faults," is the picture drawn by Condamine. (70) He goes on to say in no uncertain terms; "Were this the picture merely of the Indians of some provinces of Peru, who may be regarded as slaves, the want of civilization might be ascribed to the degeneracy incident on their servile state; for the degradation to which slavery is capable of reducing man, is sufficiently exemplified in the present condition of the Greek nation: But

69. Condamine, 222.

70 Ibid, 221-2.

the Americans of the country of the Missions, and the savages free from all control of Europeans, showing themselves equally limited, not to say stupid, with the others, the reasoning mind cannot but feel humiliation, contemplating how little man, in a state of nature, and destitute of instruction and society, is removed in condition from beasts." (71) Humboldt likewise, speaking of their drunkenness, says, "It is hoped that this evil will diminish, as civilization makes more progress among a cast of men whose bestialty is not much different from that of brutes." (72)

Similar to this is the opinion of Depons: "The Indian is singularly distinguished in nature, by an apathy and indifference, which is not to be found in any other being. His heart, shut against pleasure as well as hope, is only accessible to fear. Instead of manly boldness, his character is marked with abject timidity. His soul has no spring, his mind no vivacity. As incapable of conceiving, as of reasoning, he passes his life in a state of torpid insensibility, which shows that he is ignorant of himself and of every thing around him. His ambition and desires never extend beyond his immediate wants." (73) Depons found this applicable mostly to those Indians in villages under a curate or corregidor, which indicates that the Spanish administration was, to some extent, the cause.

This is plainly stated to be the cause in the secret report of Juan and Ulloa, who are silent as to cause but verbose as to condition in the account of their travels. According to them the Indians "still retain a few sparks of the industry and capacity of the ancient Indians of Peru...while they are

71. Condamine, 222.

72. Humboldt 1, 150.

73. Depons 1, 239.

utterly destitute of the knowledge of certain sciences which ~~were~~ were common among thier ancestors; and... they are equally degenerated from their wisdom in making laws, and their regular observance of them." Again is found reference to their brutal natures: "such is their stupidity that, in some particulars, one can scarce forbear entertaining an idea that they are really beasts, and even destitute of that instinct we observe in the brute creation. While in other respects, a more comprehensive judgment, better directed schemes, and conducted with greater subtilty, are not to be found than among these people. This disparity may mislead the most discerning person: for, should he form his judgment from their first actions, he must necessarily conclude them to be a people of the greatest penetration and vivacity. But when he reflects on their rudeness, the absurdity of their opinions, and their beastly manner of living, his ideas must take a different turn and represent them in a degree little above brutes. (74) They were indifferent to things both temporal and eternal, and their tranquillity was immutable. "In their mean apparel they are as contented as the monarch clothed with the most splendid inventions of luxury....(75) They had no regard for clothing, for riches, or for authority. The alcalde was no more dignified than was the common executioner. They ate simple food, and had only contempt for the enjoyments of life (76). "Immutability" is Juan and Ulloa's chief attribute of the Indians: "Fear cannot stimulate, respect induce, nor punishment compel them." They were "proof against every attempt to rouse them from their natural indolence...so firmly bigoted to their own gross ignorance, that the wisest measures to improve their understanding have been rendered abortive; so fond of their simplicity and indolence, that all the efforts and attention of the most vigilant have miscarried. (77)

74. Juan and Ulloa, 516.

75. Ibid, 516

76. Ibid, 516.

77. Ibid, 516-7.

In the secret report the cause is explained. It boldly declares that the Indians were phlegmatic and indolent, in a great measure, because of their treatment from the Spaniards, (78) for "when their own interest is at stake, natural indolence presents no obstacle to exertion." (79) This weakness is not exclusively Indian, but is inherent in all men. (79) All their gain went to the corregidores, curates, and plantation owners. "In view of this, who will tax the Indian with sloth, and not rather the Spaniard with impiety, avarice, and oppression." (80) Proof of their natural ability and industry was evidenced by their public works prior to their conversion: aqueducts, canals, bridges, causeways, roads,--the best in all the world, 400 leagues long, the sides protected by walls,--all neglected by the Spaniards; also in the great care with which they cultivated the lands belonging to them, and their labor at home in leisure time. (81)

Helms says that the Indians were obedient and patient, of excellent understanding, but melancholy, timid and suspicious because of the abject state to which they were reduced. With better education and milder treatment he declares that they would have become one of the best nations on earth. (82) Shelvocke also laments that "they seem naturally of fierce and warlike dispositions; but the oppressions of the Spaniards, and the artifices of the Jesuits, who are the missionaries in these parts, have curbed and broken their spirits. (83)

Stevenson loyally rallies to the defence of the Indians. He contends that the "aspersions of historians are unmerited," (84) referring to Ulloa and others. He found the Indians of Catamarca possessing a great fondness for theatricals, and spending hard labor to learn the parts in unfamiliar

78. "Secret Expedition," 71-2.

79. Ibid, 72.

80. Ibid, 73.

81. Ibid, 73-4.

82. Helms, 33-4.

83. Shelvocke, 449.

84. Stevenson II, 169.

Spanish. (85) He discredits Ulloa's reference to them as "brutes;" (86) saying that their "seeming" indolence and indifference was because of there being no reason for exertion: there was no market for their produce, and there was a plentiful supply of necessities by nature. (87) So they had no means of acquiring wealth, and no need for industry. They were not stupid, as he illustrates by the following story: An Indian who was accused of stealing a horse threw a poncho over its eyes and asked which was blind. "Left," was the answer. Removing the poncho the Indian retorted, "None. Horse not yours." (88)

In industry the Indians showed great mechanical skill, but were entirely imitative. (89) Humboldt says "I know no race of men who appear more destitute of imagination. When an Indian attains a certain degree of civilization, he displays great facility of apprehension, a judicious mind, a natural logic, and a particular disposition to seize the finest differences in the comparison of objects. He reasons coolly and orderly, but he never manifests that versatility of imagination, that glow of sentiment, and that creative and animating art...." (90) Their barbers and phlebotomists were equal to the most expert hands in Europe. "The shoemakers, on the other hand, distinguish themselves by such supineness and sloth, that very often you have no other way left to obtain the shoes you have bespoken, than to procure materials, seize on the Indian, and lock him up till they are finished." (91) The Indian demanded his payment in advance, and immediately invested in chicha and was never sober while it lasted. (92)

Such was the experience of Juan and Ulloa, almost identical with that

85. Stevenson II? 169.

886 Stevenson I, 382.

87. Ibid, 378.

88. Ibid, 379.

89. Humboldt I, 172-3.

90. Ibid, 170.

91. Juan and Ulloa, 447.

92. Ibid, 446-7.

of Stevenson who writes that butchers, weavers, shoemakers, and bricklayers demanded money in advance, fulfilling spent it for rum, and often had to be sent to jail before fulfilling agreements. (93) "Slothful and indolent" is the dictum of Stevenson, (94) and "indolent and slothful" that of Juan and Ulloa. (95) Stevenson also remarks on the dexterity of the Indian barbers. (96) Juan and Ulloa found the Indians of Quito slow but persevering, taking two or three years to weave one piece. In fact those industries requiring the most patience were left to the Indians. But their indifference and dilatoriness was blended with sloth so that neither self-interest or duty induced work. Absolute necessities were left to the women to do. They spun and made the half shirts and drawers for their husbands, cooked the food, ground the barley, roasted maize, and brewed chicha while the husband sat "squatting on his hams," never moving from the fireside unless to drink or to come to the table or to wait on an acquaintance. The only domestic service they did was to plow the chacarita: the sowing and the rest of the culture was done by the women. The master had to have his eye on the Indian continually to keep him at work. (97)

The Indians of Valles were a happy exception. The women were industrious, all were haughty and of good understandings, the improvement being due to the knowledge of the Spanish language. They usually succeeded at what they did, were not so superstitious or excessively given to vice as those of Quito. They possessed a moderation and a love of order, even in their propensity to intemperance. Juan and Ulloa generously conceded that "all the Indians of Valles from Tumbes to Lima were industrious, intelligent, and civilized beyond what is generally imagined." (98)

93. Stevenson II, 300.

94. Ibid, 300.

95. Juan and Ulloa, 447.

96. Stevenson II, 301.

97. Juan and Ulloa, 517.

98. Ibid, 558.

As to morals Stevenson and Helms speak highly of the Indians; Humboldt is apologetic; and Depons, Juan and Ulloa are harsh in their criticism. Stevenson speaks of their chastity, cleanliness, and general abstemious, and of their particular attachment to truth and honesty. (99) Helms says that, compared to creoles, the Indian converts were human, just, and unselfish, with a quick sense of right and wrong. (100)

Humboldt believes that the better moral faculties of the Indians perished during the conquest when the depositories of historical, mythological, and astronomical, knowledge were exterminated, and the hieroglyphic paintings burned. The people, deprived of means of instruction, plunged into ignorance. Missionaries, ignorant of the Mexican language, could substitute few new ideas. The cultured women allied with the conquerors, and only the scum was left. (101) "How can any great change take place in the Indians when they are kept insulated in villages in which the whites dare not settle, when the difference of language places an almost insurmountable barrier between them and the Europeans, when they are oppressed by magistrates chosen through political considerations from their own number, and, in short, when they can only expect moral and civil improvement from a man who talks to them of mysteries, dogmas, and ceremonies, of the end of which they are ignorant," says Humboldt in their defense. (102)

Juan and Ulloa berate them for their drunkenness and incest, which was common because of their "monstrous drunkenness" and lack of "distinction between honor and infamy, whereby their brutal appetites are under no restraint." (103) Depons says they practiced incest without restraint, lying and perjury whenever it answered the purpose, that they had no sense of right and wrong and of right to property, and that they never labored unless compelled by hunger.

99. Stevenson I, 390-1.

100. Helms, 34.

101. Humboldt I, 155-6.

102. Ibid, 158.

103. Juan and Ulloa, 518, 521.

So low were they considered in Terra Firma that the evidence of six Indians was equal to that of one white person. (104)

Whatever their vices the Indians as a rule were a hospitable people. Byron found them so. (105) Condamine relates a touching story of their kindness to a lost white woman. (106) Stevenson says that while timid and diffident, they were kind and hospitable, docile, obliging, and faithful. (107)

Summing up the Indian character, Menonville declares them to have been phlegmatic, mild, submissive, faithful, laborious, humble from reflection or attachment, partial to Spaniards and abhorrent of negroes, frequently intermarrying with Spaniards, but never with negroes, possessing a natural benignity of soul, prepossessing in their manners, and hospitable to every one. "True bravery exists only in the worthy soul; and who can boast a more noble soul, one consequently susceptible of real courage, than the inhabitant of America; so little yet removed from the pristine state of nature? Let them the Indian unfold the banners of freedom." (108)

Humboldt, on the other hand quotes the arguments of conservative lawyers as to the advisability of giving the Indians their liberty. They claimed that the whites would have everything to fear from their vindictive spirit and arrogance, they recalled recent examples of revolts, and declared that they would perpetuate insolation, barbarity of manners, misery, and hatred against the other casts. (109)

Their attitude toward the whites was one of mingled fear, distrust, and awe. Juan and Ulloa tell of an incident while they were on a surveying

104. Depons I, 239-40.

105. Byron, "The Narrative of the Hon. John Byron," 383.

106. Condamine, 265.

107. Stevenson I, 376, 390.

108. Menonville, 845-6.

109. Humboldt I, 199-200.

trip in the mountains of Quito. Indians approached them with supplicating gestures. The interpreter discovered that an ass had been stolen and they had come to the whites, "as persons who knew everything," to commiserate the loss and to tell them how to recover the beast. (110) Stevenson believes the distrust was possibly a result of privations by the Spaniards, and possibly natural. They were shy with strangers, particularly the women. (112) Their maxim was "convince me that you are my friend, and rest secure." Some were averse to the society of whites whom they did not permit in some villages. (113) This shyness was due, according to Stevenson, to the universal oppression by the whites, to their abject state in society, to their lack of accommodations for travelers, and to their ignorance of the Spanish language. If they were in easy circumstances they were equally kind, generous, and hospitable with creoles and Spaniards. (114)

Byron found a cordial hatred for the Spaniards. He says, "We told them we were English, and at that time at war with the Spaniards, upon which they appeared fonder of us than ever....They are so far from being in the Spanish interest, that they detest the very name of a Spaniard. And, indeed, subjection, and such a laborious slavery, by mere dint of hard usage and punishments, that it appears to me the most absurd thing in the world that the Spaniards should rely upon these people for assistance upon any emergency." (115) He tells that a cacique buried what he had brought from a wreck in order to conceal it from the Spaniards "who would not have left him a rusty nail if they had known of it." (116)

Humboldt found the Mexican Indian taking his revenge on his fellows,

- 110. Juan and Ulloa, 428.
- 112. Stevenson I, 376.
- 113. Ibid, 360-1.
- 114. Stevenson II, 79-80.
- 115. Byron, 384.
- 116. Ibid, 382.

while patiently suffering the vexations to which he was exposed from the whites." They opposed to them only a cunning, veiled under the most deceitful appearances of apathy and stupidity. As the Indian can very rarely revenge himself on the Spaniards, he delights in making a common cause with them for the oppression of his own fellow citizens. Harassed for ages, and compelled to a blind obedience, he wishes to tyrannize in his turn." (117)

The Indian alcalde exercised greater severity because he was supported by the priest or the Spanish subdelegado. (118)

Ignorance, reverence, and stern justice were observed respectively by Stevenson, Juan and Ulloa, and Menonville, in the attitude of the Indians to authority. Stevenson declares that they were destitute of active love for their country, and incapable of exertion except by orders of a superior, a trait inherited from the monastic model of government of the Incas. (119)

The secret report represents them as having submitted to imposts heaped on them by caprice without having their minds irritated, or affected otherwise, except by grief, not inclined to revolt, indeed "they are so fond of attention and caresses, that they account it an excess of kindness on the part of a master, when he throws them the fragments of what he has partaken of himself, esteeming as they do a morsel of bread bitten by his mouth, or the licking of a plate from which he has eaten, more than a handful of viands which he has not touched? It is regarded by them as a mark of esteem on the part of those whom they serve to have assigned them a place near to themselves, to enjoy the privilege of lying upon the floor, near to the foot of their master's bed; even any circumstance, however trivial, which argues a feeling of regard, is to them a matter of satisfaction and boasting." (120) They had such a

117. Humboldt I, 169.

118. Ibid, 169-70.

119. Stevenson I, 401.

120. "Secret Expedition," 97-104.

veneration for the king that they always prefixed the title of Lord, and uncovered their heads, a ceremony not taught or practiced by the parish priests or governors, or any Spaniards. (121) Menonville shows the Indians themselves in authority, relating the following story: A topith had over-charged him for the use of some horses after an ordinance had set the price, The Indian officers reprimanded him "first, for having exacted more than the ordonnance prescribed; and secondly, for having stated the sum he had received at two reals less than what it really was. While they were speaking, I minutely observed...the features of these simple officers: they exhibited not the least symptom of rage or indignation, not even the least emotion. Immutably as the law, they judged and decided by its rule, and never did senator, counsellor, or judge, with all their sumptuous paraphernalia of office, in silk and ermined robes, in scarlet or in black, in coronets, caps, or periwigs, ...look more august or majestic than did, on this occasion these poor and tattered Indians." They restored the over-charge to Menonville, giving the topith his just fee. (122)

The Indians and the Church

Not the same respect was shown for the church. To some it was even disrespected; others found it a form of delightful entertainment; and still others showed outward respect only from fear. Depons found that the Indians of Terra Firma disrespected, and even burlesqued religion. (123) Humboldt says of those of Mexico: "The natives know nothing of religion but the exterior forms of worship. Fond of whatever is connected with a prescribed order of ceremonies, they find in the Christian religion particular enjoyments. The festivals of the church, the fire works with which they are accompanied, the processions mingled with dances and whimsical disguises, are a most fertile

121. "Secret Expedition," 97-104.

122. Menonville, 834.

123. Depons 1, 241-2.

source of amusement for the lower Indians." (124) The Esmeraldas Indians were nominally Christians, but seldom conformed to the ceremonies of the church. Instead they still retained their old superstitions, and continued their offerings to departed friends and to spirits of the air. (125) Juan and Ulloa also found superstition and fortune telling common. Remonstrances of priests and their own experiences could not cure it.

It was difficult to get them to become Christians, and even after they have embraced Christianity they were so "superficial and fickle, that if they attend divine service on Sundays and holidays, it is merely from fear of punishment; for otherwise there would be scarce one Indian, especially of the meaner sort, among the whole congregation." They wax indignant over this story told by a priest: "An Indian had, for some time absented himself from the service of the Church; and the priest being informed that it was owing to his drinking early in the morning, on the following Sunday, when he had been particularly ordered to make his appearance, charged him with his fault, and directed that he should receive some lathes, the usual punishment of such delinquents, be their age or sex what it will, and perhaps the best adopted to their stupidity. After undergoing the punishment, he turned about to the priest, and thanked him for having chastised him according to his deserts; to which the priest replied with some words of exhortation to him, and the audience in general, that they would never omit any duty of Christianity. But he had no sooner done, than the poor Indian stepped up to him and desired that he should order him a like number of lathes for the next Sunday, having an appointment for a drinking match, so that he could not be present." (126) They say, "This may serve as a specimen of the little impression made on them, notwithstanding all the assiduity of the missionaries; and that though con-

124. Humboldt 1, 168.

125. Stevenson II, 391-2.

126. Juan and Ulloa, 520.

tinually instructed, from the first dawning of reason till the day of their death, they are found to continue in a strange ignorance of the most essential points of religion, and though I with pleasure allow, that there are many who, in the culture of their minds, sanctity of manners, and delicacy of conscience, equal the most wise and circumspect; yet the bulk of them, either by that gross ignorance which clouds their intellects, and renders them insensible of their internal concerns, or their natural depravity, are hardened against religious exhortations. For though they readily grant everything that is said to them, and never offer to make the least objection; yet they secretly harbour suspicions of some evil design, and leave room for mental reservations, which ~~spoil~~ spoil it all. I am little inclined to lay any false charge to this or any nation, and especially with regard to such an important subject: and in confirmation of what I have said, shall relate some further particulars.

"Every Sunday in the year, the doctrinal priests instruct their parish in the articles of Christianity with indefatigable zeal: also, when any Indian is sick, they never fail to visit and exhort him to prepare for a comfortable passage into eternity, adding whatever they judge may conduce to the opening the eyes of his understanding; pathetically expatiating on the justice and mercy of God, the nature of death, the certainty of an approaching judgment, and his present danger. After speaking thus a considerable time, without a word from the patient, or the least sign of emotion in his countenance, the good man proceeds to remind him of his sins, and exhorts him to a sincere repentance and to implore the mercy of his creator; as otherwise, his soul will be punished to all eternity. The Indian at length answers, with a serene faintness, 'So it will be, father: meaning, that things will happen as he has predicted; but does not understand in what these threatened sufferings consist. I have often heard priests of those towns, and men of parts and learning, talk with great concern on this subject. Hence it is that there are very few Indians to whom the holy encharist is administered; nor

would those of the house, where a sick person lies, ever give notice of it to the priest, were they not afraid of the punishment which the law in these cases inflicts; and even as it is, they often neglect this duty, and the patient dies without receiving the sacrament." (127)

When an Indian confessed to a priest the priest had to repeat with him the Confitear from beginning to end, then he had to affirm that the Indian had committed the fault, that he (the priest) knew it, and had proofs. The Indian, astonished, agreed, and added further circumstances, supposing the priest endured with supernatural knowledge. They were entirely indifferent to death, even by execution. One sentenced to be executed was less concerned than the priests performing the kind offices. His appetite was ravenous, and his attention, child-like, diverted by trifling objects. They participated in bull fights with alacrity and resolution due to the effect of barbarism and want of thought. These Indians, of Quito, they insisted were not more deficient than those of Valles, Lima, Chili, or Arauco, although they were inferior to the Paraguay Indians. (128)

Perhaps this lack of devoutness and comprehension can be understood by an explanation of the treatment of the Indians by the Church. Ever since the conquest the church had been carrying out a systematic "reduction" or conversion of the native Americans. The Jesuits were especially active until about 1770 when an unexpected order from the court of Madrid expelled them from their colleges and missions. They were arrested, transported to the pope's dominions, and replaced by secular clergy. (129) Juan and Ulloa write of the famous missions of Paraguay shortly before the middle of the century: "Within a century and a half, the epochs of their first establishment, they have been the means of bringing into the bosom of the church many Indian

127. Juan and Ulloa, 520-1.

128. *ibid*, 522-3.

129. Condamine, 265.

nations, who lived in the blindness of idolatry, and the turpitude of the savage customs transmitted to them by their ancestors." (130) A glowing account is given of their industry, government, criminal code, defense, education, churches, houses, charitable institutions, and commerce. The inhabitants of Peru were included in order to keep the Indians in a state of simplicity, for fear that the bad example of the Peruvians would contaminate them. (131)

The Indian converts were styled Fideles, as opposed to Barbaros, Infidels, or Bravos. (132) The means used were schools for the instruction of the young Indians in Spanish and for the instruction of the converts. Some were taught Latin. There were also schools for reading and writing and for mechanical trades. Thus, because of the "zeal, address, and exemplary piety of the Jesuits a regular well-governed republic of rational men had been established" among people of "order, reason, and religion." They enthusiastically write, "These Indians, in their customs and intellects, are a different sort of people....They have a knowledge of things; a clear discernment of the turpitude of vice, and the amiableness of virtue; and act up to these sentiments: not that they have any natural advantage over the other: for I have observed throughout this whole kingdom, that the Indians of its several provinces through which I travelled are alike." (133)

Not so cheerful a picture, however, is given in the secret report. There they say that few missionaries sent from Spain joined the missions; instead, the Jesuits put most of them in colleges, and the other orders used them in convents, professorships, the pulpit, attorneyships, or in the management of farms. The missionaries were at first dissatisfied with conditions, but they gradually lost their zeal for the conversion of the Indians, (134) the

130. Juan and Ulloa, 635.

131. *Ibid*, 637-41.

132. Helms, 33.

133. Juan and Ulloa, 523.

134. "Secret Expedition", 142-6.

lack of zeal being due to the lack of income. (135) Depons relates this same change in the missionaries. He says that the early missionaries were men of "greatest devotion, the purest zeal, and the most meritorious resignation." (136) Of those at his time he says: "It is doubtless their intention, on leaving Spain, to devote themselves to the spiritual conquest of the Indians, without anticipating any reward for their labors except the crown of the martyr or the recompense of the apostle. But on their arrival in America, finding the lives of their brethren rather fashioned according to the spirit of man than the spirit of God, the frailty of their natures deems it more convenient to follow than to furnish an example." (137)

With the exception of the Franciscans, the missionaries kept the Spaniards out of the villages, making it impossible to learn the particulars of their lives. "But their assiduity to conceal the details of their administration, the actual nullity of reduction and conversion among the savages, the tardy civilization of those Indians who for successive generations have been confided to their ministry--these furnish grounds for the opinion that neither the cause of religion, nor national sovereignty derive any material advantage from their labours," declares Depons. He regards the missionaries as profiteers who were forbidden to exact compensation from the Indians, but who sold rosaries, scapularies, and little images of the virgin and of the saints at a thousand per cent profit, perpetually menacing the Indian with the wrath of God if he did not buy. The law also prohibited gratuitous labor by the Indian, but certain missionaries obtained it by alternate menaces and promises. The Indians often complained of the missionaries before the bishop and captain general at Caracas, who were called to answer. (139)

135. "Secret Expedition, L69.

136. Depons II, 105.

137. Ibid, 108.

138. Ibid, 109-10.

139. Ibid, 110-1.

For the most part the Indians were hard to convert. Some were licentious, and hardened by association with fugitive Spaniards and mestizo criminals, and they preferred hunting to cultivating. Many who visited relatives in the Christian towns could not withstand the order and decency, and so embraced the Christian religion. (140) The main causes of difficulty in reduction were their natural opposition to change, the ill treatment to which they were exposed by coming in contact with Spaniards, and the change from a loitering, easy life to one laborious and constrained. "All these circumstances together conspire to render the instruction of the Indians difficult, and to make them regard the Christian religion with little esteem, and even aversion, it being the first step in the ladder by which they ascend to the theatre of their laborers and sufferings." (141)

This "instruction" was very elementary and mechanical. On Sundays the Christian doctrine was rehearsed a short time previous to saying mass. All the Indians gathered in the cemetery or square in front of the church and sat upon the ground, arranged according to age and sex. The manner of catechising was thus: a blind Indian was employed by each curate to repeat the doctrine to the rest, rehearsing it with them sometimes in the language of the Inca, and sometimes in Spanish (which they did not understand). This lasted half an hour, and comprised all their religious instruction--"a method from which they derive so little benefit that old men of seventy know no more than the little Indian boys of the age of six, and neither these nor those have any further instruction than parrots would obtain if they were taught...." (142) The only object of the curate was to make every one bring the little presents required. A blind Indian was also employed on each plantation for the same purpose. The Indians were collected two or three days in the week in the farm-yard, usually at three in the morning, so as not to lose time from labor. (143)

140. Juan and Ulloa, 636.

141. "Secret Expedition, 140-1.

142. Ibid, 132-3.

143. Ibid, 133-4.

Depons regards the Indians as having experienced leniency at the hands of the Church. The inquisition before its abolition had no right over the Indians. The council of Lima decreed that ecclesiastical censure could not be inflicted on the Indians. Little instruction was required for baptism; their hair was not cut before baptism; confession needed to be only an acknowledgement of guilt after there had been absolute proof of sin (they were too ignorant for one to expect more); one confession a year was sufficient; penances were slight; mass hearing was necessary only half so often as for Spaniards; and their fast days were reduced. (144) Juan and Ulloa point out that these privileges were not what they seem. In Quito, a nunnery, St. Clair, was established by royal foundation, for daughters of caciques. As few Indian women took the veil, Spanish women were admitted, who thereupon refused admission to the Indian women, except as maid-servants. The courts and protector failed to extend or secure justice or redress. "The result is the same in every thing relative to their privileges and immunities, for the disadvantage is always on their side; this infringement of their rights depending on the want of patronage on the part of the protector." (145) Many Indian men were parish priests, but only girls entered convents. (146)

Possibly the worst extortions were by the parish priests and the monks. The priests employed several methods by which they enriched themselves by reducing the Indians to poverty. Fraternities were a popular method. At church festivals images filled every corner of the churches of every village. Each had its corresponding fraternity. The celebration of the saint's days was postponed until Sunday, in order that the Indians need not be drawn from their tasks. Some saint's festival was celebrated every Sunday and holiday, and there was a fee at each festival, to be paid immediately after it. The

144. Depons I, 233-7.

145. "Secret Expedition, 91-2.

146. Humboldt I, 180.

charge was \$4.50 for high mass, and the same for the sermon (which consisted of four words in praise of the saint). The Indians were forced to defray the expence of the procession, of the wax and the incense, and bring offerings to the curate of chickens, guinea pigs, eggs, sheep, and hogs. As a consequence the family was left destitute. If the Indian was slow, blows were used. One curate in a not lucrative curacy collected every year over 200 sheep, 6000 hens and chickens, 4000 guinea pigs, and 50,000 eggs. During the All-Souls' month festival the same offerings were required as at ordinary feasts, and they were put on the graves. The curate's servant collected them and they were sold by the curate. Wine, which was scarce, was diluted and hired out by the curate first to one Indian and then another. On Sundays when "doctrine" was to be read before mass the Indian women each took an egg to the curate and each man brought a bundle of sticks. Every afternoon the Indian boys and girls brought a truss of hay to feed the priest's horses and cattle. (147)

"But all which has been said hitherto scarce deserves to be named in comparison of what takes place in curacies held by monks, for it appears as if in these the spirit of oppression had been carried to its utmost bounds," say Juan and Ulloa before relating the cruelties of those people. (148)

The monk's concubine supervised the women and children in a manufactory, assigning tasks in spinning wool or cotton or weaving. The aged were given hens and required to deliver at a certain time ten or twelve chickens for each one, feeding them at their own expense, and replacing those which died. The men cultivated the monk's farm on Sundays and holidays with their own cattle. During Lent one monk kept the men plowing and sowing in the fields while his lady kept the women weaving in the corridors of the yard. Even the choir was kept busy weaving, while mass was saying. The people were

147. "Secret Expedition, 108-13.

148. Ibid, 113-4.

kept in the church much as the Indians in the mills. Even when an Indian died his body was neglected until the whole amount of the interment fee was paid. The curate made himself heir to the entire property of the deceased because of an enforced sumptuous funeral. Complaint availed nothing because the curate needed only to present an account of the burial expenses. (149)

The Indians and the Government

The Church was not alone in this abuse of the Indians, assert some of the travelers. Depons enumerates a number of "lenient" laws of Spain, which Humboldt says were abused. Spain did not allow the Indians to carry arms, to use horses, to learn the trade of an armorer or to dwell where they might learn their manufacturing, repairing, or handling. They had to live together in villages, and could not pass from one village to another. All these measures were used to keep the Indians in dependence. But, Depons explains, Spain had taken care "to modify her laws, with the intention of rendering her new vassals happier than her own subjects!" They chose magistrates from their own class who prevented injustice from chiefs and did the work of the corregidor. An Indian was allowed to retain possession of his land when he submitted to Spanish authority. Indians were punished more severely for crime. The caciques and their descendants enjoyed all the privileges of the Spanish nation. They were exempted from the alcavala on all they sold on their own account, and easily obtained dispensation from paying their annual tribute if the weather was inclement, and for other reasons. One great advantage, as Depons believes, was that they were considered as minors in all civil transactions. This means that their contracts could be cancelled by them at any time, and that their property could not be purchased except at judiciary auction or sheriff sales (150).

As severe in his condemnation of Indian minority as is Depons in its

149. "Secret Expedition, 116-9.

150. Depons 1, 226-33.

praise, Humboldt denounces it as unjust and unwise. He says it deprived the Indian of his most important right, produced insurmountable barriers between the Indians and the other castes, with whom all intercourse was almost prohibited. "Thousands of inhabitants can enter into no contract which is binding; and condemned to a perpetual minority, they become a charge to themselves and the state in which they live." It opposed the progress of national industry, caused mutual hatred between Indians and Spaniards, and resulted in indolence, indifference, and apathy, unaffected by hope or fear. Furthermore, many of the magistrates were grossly immoral, and the Indians suffered more at their hands than would have been the case under Spanish magistrates. (151)

The subjugation of the Indians began with the conquest when their lands were sequestered by the Spaniards. At that time the townships were laid out with certain portions reserved for the purpose of being allotted to the cacique and the other Indians belonging to the township. But by this time avarice gradually curtailed them to such a degree that the remaining tracts were circumscribed within such narrow limits that the greater part had been done in three ways: by violence, compulsion by owners of neighboring estates to sell at any price they chose to give, and by inducing to surrender under false pretences. The end was to enlarge the estates of the owners and to compel the Indians thus disabled to perform menial service. The result was that the Indian was forced to sell himself on an estate that the master might assume payment of the tribute money; hence the whole country was gradually being unpeopled through poverty, anguish, and unremitting toil. (152)

The exact method by which the Indian became practically the slave of the Spaniard was in evasion of the law of Charles III prohibiting the encomienda.

(153)

151. Humboldt 2, 188-94.

152. "Secret Expedition, 86-91.

153. Humboldt 1, 183.

The men were forced to serve their imperious masters for a limited time. If his labor was approved the master managed to advance him money and to oblige him to serve until the debt was liquidated, by which time another was contracted, and so on ad infinitum. The annual stipend amounted to \$18 to \$20. The father died indebted to the master, and the children were attached to the estate for the payment, "and thus it was that they became worse than slaves, except in the name." (154) Stevenson here becomes indignant at Ulloa's aspersions: "I would now ask Don Antonio Ulloa who are the brutes?" He says the Indian "dreads to finish his task early, fearful of an increase of labor; he dares not appear cheerful, because it might be called impudence by his overseer; he dares not be cleanly or well clothed, because the first condition would be considered a negligence of his duty to his master, or an attention to his own comforts, and the second the result of theft. Then what, let me ask, is left, but misery in appearance, and wretchedness in reality? I remember what the pious Dr. Rodrigues said to me at Quito:--'Not half the saints of the Romish Church, whose penitent lives placed them in the Calendar and on our altars, suffered greater privations, in the hopes of enjoying everlasting glory, than one of these Indians does through fear of offending a cruel master, or for the purpose of increasing his wealth.'" The government made no attempt to educate the Indians. (155) It imposed upon them the annual repair of bridges, which was in reality a week of feasting with little repairing accomplished. (156) Stevenson found those Indians still cultivating their chacras, or plots of ground distributed to them, keeping their land in the best condition and paying more attention to the crops than anywhere else. He says the chacras were more than adequate for the tribute, paying usually six times that sum. (157)

154. Stevenson I, 382-3.

155. Ibid, 383-7.

156. Stevenson II, 26-7.

157. Stevenson I, 375.

The meta, to which those Indians surrendering their land were reduced, was the source of all the wealth of the Indies and all the poverty of the Indians. The villages annually furnished for the plantations, the breeding of cattle, the manufactories and the mines a number of Indians, which were replaced at the end of the year by others until their next turn, according to the law which, however, was no longer observed. (158) The master paid wages as settled by the equity of the king. The change each year did not take place in the factories because of the need for training. Instead, the families settled there and the sons were instructed in weaving from one generation to another. The earnings there were larger because of the greater skill and capacity required. In addition to the yearly wages the Indians got land and cattle to improve. They lived in cottages near the mansion house, forming a village usually of over 150 families. (159) Stevenson says those in factories got \$14 a year, those tending sheep received \$10 a year, and both a liberal application of the whip and other corporal punishment. Their homes were huts of rude stones thatched with long grass. (160)

The Indian in meta service on the plantation earned \$14 to \$18 a year and was bound to labor 300 days a year and exempt 65 days for Sundays, holidays, illness, etc. From the salary a tribute of \$8 was deducted; 2 dollars and 2 reals were deducted for baize for a shirt, leaving 7 dollars and 6 reals for maintaining the family and contributing as the curate required. The piece of ground allotted him was insufficient to support his family so the owner of the estate gave him a half bushel of corn each month at double the usual price (because the Indian could purchase of no one else), 6 reals, amounting to 9 dollars, the total being one dollar and 6 reals more than he could earn, with the result that the Indian was held to labor the next year, and the children

158. "Secret Expedition, 50-2.

159. Juan and Ulloa, 525.

160. Stevenson II, 266-7.

were also held for payment. Some of the terrible abuses exposed in the secret report are almost incredible. The Indians were forced to buy meat of dead animals from the owners, to pay inexorable fees to the church for interment, were ordered by the curate to contract debts to celebrate church festivals; even their usual supply of maize was cut off in unfruitful years in order to sell it at an exorbitant price. At the same time the Indians wages were not raised. (161)

On the wool growing estates the Indian received \$18 a year before the tribute was deducted. He had control of the entire flock and was responsible for every sheep. Often he was forced to entrust them to his wife or small child while he cultivated the wheat field. His wages were low; his hut, tiny; his food, oatmeal or maize and chicha. (162) The Indian of the grazing estate was assigned a certain number of cows for which to care, and was required to turn in a certain number of cheeses every week, the least deficiency in weight being charged to him, which put him in greater bondage at the end of the year. (163)

The meta compelled the Indians to go where hands were wanted in the mines. Many deaths resulted because of the change in climate, fatigue, defective nourishment, and want of sleep. This was true only of Peru, according to Humboldt, who found no trace of the meta in Mexico. (164)

Worst of all the meta service was that in the obrages, or manufactories, where weaving was done on hand looms. Vicious means were used to put the Indians into the obrages. The manufacturers advanced small sums of money to the most miserable Indians who spent it in intoxication. They were shut up in the workshop under pretense of paying the debt by work. They allowed an Indian only 1½ reals a day, and paid it in meat, brandy, and clothes, on which the

161. "Secret Expedition, 52-6.

162. Ibid, 59-62.

163. Ibid, 57.

164. Humboldt I, 123-4.

manufacturer gained 50% to 60%. The most industrious workman was thus kept forever in debt. Humboldt irately declares that this miserable condition deserved the attention of the government. (165) The corregidor also sent Indians to the obrages because of crime. Half of their pay went to the corregidor, and the rest was insufficient for maintenance, so he became indebted to the owner and reduced to bondage. (166)

Of the conditions in the manufactories, Juan and Ulloa say, "The management of those factories, the labours performed in them by the Indians, ...and the merciless punishment inflicted upon those miserable objects, surpass every thing which it is possible for us to describe." Work began before dawn. The Indian was given a piece of weaving by the owner who closed the door until noon when the women brought a scanty allowance of food, and again until night, when the owner went around and cruelly punished those chargeable with neglect. Punishment was by the hundred lashes, fetters, and instruments of torture. The excessively bad treatment of those sentenced by the corregidores brought death in a short time. They were not taken to the hospital until ready to die, and they often died before reaching it. The Indians considered a sentence to the factory worse than all other punishment. Relatives immediately bewailed the death of those thus sentenced. (167) It was the "grave of their freedom" for a great variety of trifling delinquencies. Indians were often tried by their hair to the tails of horses to be conducted to the workshops. (168) The condition in the workshops is extremely unhealthy and undesirable. Free men, Indians, and people of color were confounded with criminals compelled to work there by justice. All were half naked, ragged, meagre, deformed, in this dark prison where the double doors were always shut and the workmen not

165. Humboldt III, 463-5.

166. "Secret Expedition, 65-6.

167. Ibid, 63-7.

168. Ibid, 68.

permitted to leave. Those who were married were allowed to see their families only on Sundays. (169)

The Laws of the Council of the Indies did not permit such cruel treatment, but the Council was probably deceived as to the character of the work and the sufficiency of the salary. The laws actually inculcated compassion and kindness, is the opinion of Juan and Ulloa. (170)

A variety of punishments were accorded the meta Indians. They were scourged in the workshops and on the plantations, by meta Indians and by parish priests, who thus exacted any service from them. Overseers on plantations, in case of any wrong or neglect, required the Indian to lie flat on his face, remove his thin drawers (his only clothing), and count the lashes inflicted. He then got up, and was required to kneel before his persecutor, kissing his hand, saying, "May God bless you!" Wives, children, and even caciques were punished in this manner. Another favorite method of punishment was to scald the Indian by shaking sparks of fire on his flesh simultaneously with the rod. The greatest degree of ignominy for the Indian was to have his head shaved, which was sometimes done. Of these punishments Juan and Ulloa say, "In a word, the most insatiable spirit of revenge has never been able to invent any species of punishment which the Indian does not receive at the hand of the Spaniards." They say, "The perpetual hunger, and nakedness, and poverty, as well as the interminable oppression and barbarous chastisements which they suffer, from the period of their birth to their death, are penances more than sufficient to make amends in this life for all the sins which can be imputed to them. The Indians are so accustomed to this punishment that they do not fear it, but do fear a truce from it, having been taught that the Spaniards "do it because they love them," believing that their caresses were stripes and blows. (171)

69. Humboldt III, 463-4.

70. "Secret Expedition, 67-8.

71. Ibid, 78-81.

The very name of Spaniard (or Viracocha, meaning all not Indian), consequently struck terror to the Indian. Mothers frightened their little children by saying a Viracocha will catch them. Indians on the road would hurl themselves into ravines to prevent exposing themselves to the approach of a dreaded Viracocha. (172)

The great injustice of this system is set forth by Juan and Ulloa. While only the man drew a salary, the whole family of an Indian was forced to work planting corn, potatoes, and other seeds; weeding, harvesting and shelling the corn, and so forth. They contend that the meta was not necessary to keep the Indians from idleness, for on the plantations where the meta was not required the Indians labored industriously for small salaries. (173) They claim that the Spaniards had exaggerated the indolence of the Indians in order to render the use of the meta indispensable, applying it to their own emolument with the result that many perished, and the aged and infirm were totally neglected, and tribute money decreased, exhausting the royal treasury. (174)

But the end to the sufferings of the Indian is not yet. By the corregidor system of distribution, or repartimientos, the corregidores arbitrarily constituted themselves the creditors, and consequently the masters, of the industry of the natives, furnishing them, at extravagant prices, with horses, mules, and clothes. Humboldt says this system was prohibited by Charles III, (175) but Stevenson in the nineteenth century still found the Indians of Quito the most ~~enfeebled~~ debased because they were the most under the repartimento. (176)

It originated by the corregidores' urging an order or edict because of the laziness and slothful habits of the Indians, and in order to have them "supplied with the comforts of life." Stevenson says that it was "certainly the most oppressive law that was ever enacted. The corregidor monopolized the whole trade of the province or district, distributed goods among the

172. "Secret Expedition, 82-3.

173. Ibid, 69-71.

174. Ibid, 76.

175. Humboldt I, 183.

176. Stevenson II, 344.

inhabitants, particularly the Indians, dictated prices and time of payment, and rigorously exacted the debts. No person could resist receiving or paying for the goods, although the Indians were during the repartimiento exempted from the alcavala. The abuse of this institution became so great as to be almost beyond description. Unsuitable, unfashionable articles and spiritous liquors were forced on the inhabitants at enormous profit and Gauzes were sold in cold countries. One corregidor bought a case of spectacles cheap and ordered that a pair of spectacles was a necessary ornament to all Indians presenting themselves to the governor! (177)

Juan and Ulloa characterize this system as "a system so iniquitous that it appears to have been imposed upon that race by way of punishment, for nothing more oppressive can be imagined." (178) If properly managed, they believed no harm would have resulted. As it was, the corregidores of Peru purchased supplies of merchants in Lima who raised the prices, knowing of the enormous profits made by the corregidores in the sale. The corregidor in person took the census of the Indians, and apportioned supplies, setting his own prices as suited his caprice, leaving them to the cacique to distribute. The remonstrances of the cacique as well as the Indians were in vain. The Indians had to purchase all their supplies in the shop of the corregidor. Any complaints to the viceroy because of exorbitant prices caused punishment as sedition. They also give examples of the supplies: the most unsalable in the Lima shop, because the corregidor bought on credit and had to take what was given him; expensive velvets, silks, satins, silk stockings; mirrors; padlocks, with nothing of value to protect; razors (for beardless Indians!); pens and blank paper, when many had no written language; playing cards, which could not be read; tobacco, which no Indian ever used; combs, rings, buttons, books,

177. Stevenson 11, 37-8.

178. "Secret Expedition, 21.

plays, lace, ribbon; wine, brandy, olives, and oil, which likewise they never used. This system was practiced in many places because the corregidores struck terror into the Indians. (179)

Humboldt blamed the corregidor system for the lack of progress in Choco which remained "a thick forest without trace of cultivation, without pasturage, and without roads." (180)

Taxation for the Indians was a comparatively simple thing, considering the number of taxes levied there. They were exempted from direct imposts, and from the alcavala. (181) Their principal tax was the tribute from the Indians whose forefathers did not voluntarily resign themselves to Spanish authority. Stevenson says that it was an annual tribute from Indians of the ages of eighteen to fifty years, and that it varied from two dollars and a half to seven dollars a year in different provinces. (182) Humboldt says it was paid by the males between ten and fifty. (183) The tribute could be redeemed by advancing a sum proportionate to the age and to the annual tribute. It caused much discontent among the Indians. (184) Juan and Ulloa say that the collection of the tribute money was "an iniquitous system carried on in contempt of the principles of justice and the dictates of humanity." (185) The corregidores forced the young to pay tribute before the specified time, (given as eighteen years), and exacted it after the age of fifty-five, and frequently until after the age of seventy. None were exempt except those incapable of earning a livelihood. Wives, fathers, and brothers were bound to make up the deficiency of a minor, to save him from being whipped. Second payments were often demanded.

179. "Secret Expedition, 21-40.

180. Humboldt III, 386.

181. Humboldt I, 186.

182. Stevenson I, 196.

183. Humboldt I, 187.

184. Stevenson I, 196.

185. "Secret Expedition, 12.

from Indians who lost their receipts, and failure to pay caused them to be put into a factory until they died, which was usually sooner; or until some land holder advanced the money and hired the indian out to service to recover it. (186) Humboldt says of the tribute: "Of all the reforms proposed in the administration of the finances of the colonies, the most desirable [sic] are the suppression of the tobacco system, and the abolition of the tribute over the Indians." (187)

The Indian also paid several parochial duties: for baptism, for certificates of marriage, for interment, a general impost, and voluntary offerings, amounting in all to about a hundred and forty francs. (188)

The hand of the law indeed was not kind. After the corregidor so cruelly treated the Indians he bribed the judge who audited the accounts. During the dar residencia, a period at the end of his term when he answered complaints of his subjects, Indians who brought complaints were urged to avoid the expense of a lawsuits, or were told that the judge had been lenient in not afflicting chastisement upon them for crimes alleged against them by the corregidor, and the judge, as mediator, caused both to drop their charges. (189) Those who should have been the protectors of the Indians only exploited them, and here lay the origin of the evils of Indian administration. The Indian protectors all had a fixed determination to accumulate wealth, and they were not ordinarily acquainted with the language of the tribes for whom they were employed, an acquisition which was quite necessary, for the Indian language abounded in idioms, figures, and allegory. (190) Judges sought lawsuits between Indians, and with fines and costs took a mule, cow, or any other animal. "These acts of extortion, which have no limit, have reduced them to a condition so

187. Humboldt IV, 211.

188. Humboldt I, 187.

189. "Secret Expedition, 458.

190. Ibid, 95.

deplorable that the state of the most miserable beings that can be conceived is not to be compared with that of these Indians." (191)

Needed Reforms

Humboldt, Depons, and Juan and Ulloa agree that a reform in Indian administration was needed. Humboldt says that the horrors shown the whites in a recent insurrection showed the need of their being rescued from their present barbarous, abject, and miserable condition. (192) Juan and Ulloa suggest filling the vacancies of fiscal advocates, together with the titles, authority, and privileges, with the eldest sons of caciques. (193) They also believed that instruction in the Spanish language would have given the Indians knowledge of things for which they had no word in their own language and thus improve their reason and make them better citizens. (194) Depons, characteristically, had an elaborate plan for management. He would have abolished all festivals because of drunkenness; authorized the magistrate to prescribe the kind and quantity of provisions to be raised; divided the villages into four plantations or more for the cultivation of coffee, cotton, indigo, and cocoa; defined the work day as from sun rise to sun set, with time off for meals and rainy weather; had the buildings placed in the center of each plantation with the expenses advanced by the king and refunded in four equal annual installments; exempted the produce from the alcavala and tithes for at least ten years; divided the profits among the Indians; and had common establishments under able persons. This guardianship would have lasted for ten years and then the lands would have been divided. (195) So would Depons have ushered in the Indian Utopia among an ignorant people under a corrupt government.

191. "Secret Expedition, 21.

192. Humboldt 1, 202-3.

193. "Secret Expedition, 96.

194. Juan and Ulloa, 524.

195. Depons, 1, 244-7.

CHAPTER III

AGRICULTURE

Importance

The importance of agriculture Humboldt believes was overlooked by the casual observer. He declares that it was the principal source of Mexican riches, (1) and, measured by the tithes, was double in 1803 what it was in 1779. (2) He explains, "The cultivation of the soil, notwithstanding the fetters with which it is every where shackled, has lately made a more considerable progress, on account of the immense capitals laid out in land, by families enriched either by the commerce of Vera Cruz and Acapulco, or by the working of the mines." (3)

Mines encourage rather than hinder agriculture, he believed, because mines in arid regions draw agricultural industry there to supply provisions. The high prices indemnified the cultivator for the privations to which he was exposed, and even when the mines were exhausted the cultivator, attached to the spot, remained. (4) Agriculture was just as important where there were no mines, and was better attended to in such places. Humboldt says that many branches of agriculture had undoubtedly attained a higher degree of perfection in province of Caracas than in New Spain, because, having fewer mines, its inhabitants turned their industry more to vegetable productions. (5)

The great fertility of the soil enhanced the potential importance, at least, of agrarian life. Humboldt optimistically declares, "The vast kingdom of New Spain, under a careful cultivation, would alone produce all that commerce collects together from the rest of the globe, sugar, cochineal, cacao, cotton, coffee, wheat, hemp, flax, silk, oils, and wine." (6) Depons was just as

1. Humboldt II, 356.
2. Humboldt I, 109.
3. Humboldt III, 99.
4. Humboldt II, 359-60.
5. Humboldt I, 9.
6. Ibid, 79-80.

enthusiastic about Cumana: "A million of cultivators, in the province of Cumana, would give to Spain as much as she draws from all her other possessions; for there is not a country, that unites in the same degree as Cumana, richness of soil, to the benefits of flooding, the convenience of transporting its commodities, and the advantages of situation to windward of all Terra-Firma." (7)

The Land System

Land grants before 1735 were by viceroys and governors, from 1735 to 1754 by the king only, and after 1754 by the audiences. (8) Most of the plantations were of considerable size, with indefinite boundaries. Prices were low and settlements peaceable. (9) Fields were divided by clay walls which were easily made and durable. (10) Land for cultivation was always inclosed. (11) Byron found these estancias around Santiago very pleasant, generally having fine groves of olive trees and large vineyards. (12)

All was not well with the land system of Spanish America. Humboldt points out three abuses. He said that property was in the hands of a few powerful families who lived on the central table land and were forced by no agrarian law "to sell their mayorazgos if they persist in refusing to bring the immense territories which belong to them under cultivation." Other large commons were condemned to pasturage of cattle, and to perpetual sterility. Many of the ~~mountains~~ Indians disgustedly resorted to agriculture on the summits of the mountains. The extension to Indians of agriculture by missionaries, under the mayorazgo system caused degradation and extreme poverty, being "more prejudicial to industry than the mortmain of the clergy." (13) Mortmain was at the end of the colonial period a comparatively unimportant factor. Decrees forbade the

7. Depons 111, 161.

8. Depons 11, 138-9.

9. Stevenson 1, 95.

10. Stevenson 11, 4-6.

11. Shelvocke, 450.

12. Byron, 400-1.

13. Humboldt 11, 209, 361; 111, 101-2.

sale or gifts of lands to ecclesiastics, communities, or fraternities, but did not forbid the bequeathing of the same,--Depons believed for fear of being disobeyed,--so legacies and pious rents still succeeded in giving ecclesiastics ownership or control over a considerable part of the landed estates. (14) Humboldt says that the wise law prohibiting convents from possessing real property infringed, but the clergy had not actually acquired much property, especially since the expulsion of the Jesuits. Their real wealth was in tithes and capitals laid out on the farms of small cultivators, which he says were useful directed, increasing the productive power of the national labor. (15)

"Pious donations" were usually given by those who were denied entrance into a convent, purposing to pay homage to the divinity and property to the monasteries, and resulted in robbing the earth of means of increasing its production. The memory of a dead person was tainted if he did not leave a part of his property to prebends. Depons says, "The convents and churches, must, therefore, possess the purest and most unembarrassed riches of Terra Firma." (16)

Pious legacies and prebends are by Depons given as one of the causes of decline of cultivation in Terra Firma. Another was the mass of mortgages. It was the custom of Spaniards never to alienate property. They must appear rich, therefore borrow money and pay interest. The property was sequestered and passed on to another under the form of a sale, and again menaced with the same fate. The manner of regulating plantations was another cause of decline. The planter lived in the city and regulated his living on the proceeds of the most prosperous year. He visited the plantation once a year on a pleasure trip. The actual oversight was by an overseer who was a negro, mulatto, or white

14. Depons II, 141-2.

15. Humboldt III, 102.

16. Depons II, 118-20.

from the Canaries, as creoles disdained the work. "Neither emulation nor intelligence are esteemd in these administrations," is Depons's criticism. He laments that negroes were not introduced. They were kept out for fear of their carrying the seeds of revolt, but as the birth rate did not balance the death rate and the freedoms given, the evils could not be removed but by facilitating the introduction of the blacks. (17) He says in Guiana that "upon the most productive land in the world, there are seen but a few plantations badly worked...." (18)

Agricultural Products

Great grazing estates produced an abundance of horned cattle, milk, butter and cheese. Sheep in general were neglected, but hogs multiplied. Turkeys and ducks were common. Humboldt ~~II~~ says geese were nowhere to be found on the new continent, but Depons speaks of a ten per cent tithe on green geese. Silk worms were gradually being annihilated, wax was important in Yucatan, and cochineal especially in Oaxaca. (19)

The principal vegetable productions in Terra Firma were cacao, indigo, cotton, coffee, sugar, and tobacco. The cacao Depons believes was the best in America, the indigo the best except in Guatemala, and the sugar of secondary grade with little export, but the greatest home consumption. Most of Mexico was too cold for sugar, coffee, cacao, indigo, and cotton. (20)

In Mexico of the alimentary plants the manioc and potatoes were most important, and next came the batate, oca, and pimento, rice, and all the garden stuffs and fruit trees of Europe: turnips, salads, cabbage, onions, pease, cherries, prunes, peaches, apricots, figs, grapes, melons, apples, pears, oranges and citron trees were plentiful. Olives were not cultivated in order

17. Depons II, 246-53.

18. Depons III, 262.

19. Humboldt III, 48-63; Depons III, 22.

20. Ibid, 293-4; Humboldt III, 2.

not to excite the jealousy of Spain, there being only one plantation of them. For making beverages there were maize, manioc, bananas, mimosa, ananes, maguey, and sugar cane. The maguey was important for revenue, and next to maize and potatoes, most useful to mountaineers. (21) Plants supplying raw material were sugar cane; cotton; flax and hemp; coffee, cacao trees; vanilla, and sarsaparilla produced on the eastern slope of the Cordillera; jalap in Calapa; tobacco, which would have been important if its trade had been free, but limited to the environs of Orizaba and Cordoba and the partidos of Huatusco and Songolica in Vera Cruz; and indigo, which was greatly neglected, the plantations on the western coasts being insufficient for the home manufactures of cotton cloth. (22) The cotton on the western coast was the finest, sugar cultivation was increasing, and the vanilla forests of Quilate produced 900 millares annually. (23)

Peru produced maize, wheat, barley, maize, rice, indigo, flax, hemp pease, beans, lentils, quinoa, potatoes, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, camotes, ocas, all kinds of garden vegetables; apples, pears, peaches, guinds, almonds, apricots, grapes, melons, pine-apples, plantains, bananas, oranges, limes, cocoanuts, and other intertropical fruits. (23)

Plant Cultivation and Preparation

Cacao, the most important vegetable product of eastern Terra Firma had been previously cultivated in Mexico, but was now being almost totally neglected. (24) In Caracas it was cultivated on the borders of rivers, the land being drained by ditches. The trees were planted in trinagles or squares fifteen to sixteen feet apart, and mingled with eritrine and bananas to keep them from the obnoxious rays of the sun. The trees were trimmed to the height of four

21. Humboldt II, 452-79.

22. Humboldt III, 36-44.

23. Humboldt IV, 278.

23. Stevenson II, 97; 110; 184, 210-3; Bouguer, 286-7.

24. Humboldt III, 22.

feet where three stems were allowed to grow, the leaves being stripped and the suckers removed. There were two principal crops, but some harvest all year. It was gathered by the negroes and Indians of sharpest sight, carried by the most active and robust, and the grain shaken out by the aged and maimed. It was dried in the sun after the fourth day until perfectly dry. The first "precaution" was to gather it in the decline of the moon, but Depons believed a better way would have been to build hermetically sealed apartments heated under the floor by a pan of coals. Vinegar bottles slightly stopped were used to prevent worms, and Depons says they should also have been used in stores. He says the cacao establishment entailed the least expense of any, as one slave could care for a thousand plants yielding a thousand pounds at least. The buildings and utensils are also cheap. (25)

Indigo, neglected in Mexico, but cultivated in Guatemala and Terra Firma, required more care, as scrupulous weeding was a necessity. It was cut only one inch from the ground, to allow shoots for a second cutting. In the process of fabrication three large vats of mason work were used, one emptying into the next. The plants were compressed in the highest vat and allowed to ferment for ten to thirty hours, and then passed into the next vat where it was violently agitated to separate the carbonic acid and to reunite the blue sediment. The water was poured off and the sediment emptied into the third vat. It was put in sacks where the water was expressed, then dried in the sun, but cut into pieces an inch square before it was perfectly dry. It was packed into hundred-pound packages for commerce. It was put in sacks of coarse linen covered with beef's hide and hermetically sealed. Depons regarded this an excellent way to ~~preserve~~ pack, store, and carry the product. The labor was assigned to "negroes who know nothing, or to whites who are equally ignorant." (26)

Cotton in Mexico was of excellent quality and poor price because it adhered

25. Depons 11, 147-62.

26. ¹bid., 166-8.

closely to the seed, and had to be shipped out to be cleaned, there being no machines there for that purpose. The price of carriage was so high that it did not pay to grow it. The best land, on the east, was uninhabited. (27) In Cartagena there were many trees, both cultivated and spontaneous, and cotton was spun and made into cloths for negroes of haciendas and country Indians. (28) In Terra Firma it was carefully weeded and pruned, and replanted every year. It was harvested the seventh month. Mills were becoming general on cotton plantations, some possessing twenty to twenty-five. Hydraulic power was used in the vallies of Aragoa. Both wooden and iron rollers were used. The wooden ones were less expeditious, but better. The iron rollers were quicker, but the cotton inferior because the grains were bruised and the stalks broken. The packing and baling Depons says was better than the French, English, or Dutch, in small packages of a quintal, compressed to about fifteen by ten to twelve inches, covered with ox-hide protecting them from all damage. He was so partial to this method that he says it was "certainly recommendable to universal adoption." If it became wet, however, the hide stained the cotton, making it difficult to be spun. (29)

Coffee was barely produced and barely used in Mexico, although it could be made to succeed. (30) In Terra Firma it was extensively cultivated. The land was cleared and planted in parallel lines in grains or shrubs procured from under old trees caused by the fall of ripe fruit, but should have been procured from a nursery. The plants were usually trimmed. Other vegetables were grown between the coffee trees. The harvest was a simple process. The coffee was gathered by negroes, in coarse linen bags with hoops in the top, and emptied into large baskets. A negro could collect at least three bushels in a

27. Humboldt III, 18; II, 202.

28. Juan and Ulloa, 353.

29. Depons II, 177-81.

30. Humboldt III, 22.

day. It was dried by two methods. The first was to dry in the sun on sloping terraces or inclined platforms. Three weeks was necessary for the process. The skins were then removed by mills or mortars. An inferior method was to separate the pulp from the grain at once by a mill, soak it in water for twenty-four hours, and then place in the sun when it was promptly and perfectly dried. It was the most expeditious method, but the coffee lost some flavor and weight. The pellicule was stripped by the use of mills, which were being simplified and perfected every day. Mills of varied mechanism did the winnowing, and it was bagged and sent to the nearest part. The negligence in weeding, and in gathering both ripe and green, and the defective preparation Depons expected to be of short duration because of the information being propagated, emulation established, activity revived, interest revealed, and ambition manifested. (31)

Sugar production in Mexico was making rapid progress. Most of the works were on the ascent of the Cordilleras, which was not so favorable as the coast, but more thickly populated. There were many fine plantations on the plains of San Gabriel, more than in Terra Firma. The sugar was almost all manufactured by free Indians. It was expensive because of the mule carriage to Vera Cruz, but new roads under construction from Mexico to Vera Cruz were expected to diminish that obstacle. The profits were also diminished by the enormous cost of establishing plantations. Some of the plantations were watered. Leguminous plants were cultivated alternately with the sugar cane. (32) Depons describes the cultivation in Terra Firma: When it was to be passed through the mill it was lopped off a foot from the top. It was planted in the rainy season in holes fifteen inches long, ten wide, and six deep, made by male negroes and the most robust negresses, who made sixty to eighty holes a day. Sometimes the ground was plowed previously, and then a double number of holes could be made in a day. Three cane plants were laid in each hole and covered with three inches of earth with no pressure. This work was done by children or frail hands. Weeding

31. Depons 11, 181-96.

32. Humboldt 111, 5-17.

was by hoe. It was cut near the root and near the cluster of leaves at the summit by a bill, or serpe, five times before being replanted. No special time was set aside for the cutting. It was done during the whole year, all the different operations going on at once. Mills made of an iron cylinder turning another on each side by means of iron or wooden teeth were worked by water or by mules. The liquid passed from the mills through a canal to the largest of five cauldrons. These cauldrons were in line in mason work over a stove or kiln in or outside the sugar house. The cane that had passed through the mills, or wood, was used for fuel. Ashes was put into the first cauldron and the acid parts were precipitated to the surface and removed by a negro in each cauldron, usually beginning with the second. In the last the syrup was boiled down and drawn off by two or three negroes with ten- or twelve-foot ladles into a cauldron under the ground beside the fifth cauldron. This was stirred with a large wooden spatula, and then transferred to another where it formed a crust, and then put into large earthen moulds by means of copper pans by a negro. After an hour it was stirred in this mould to keep the grain homogeneously mixed. It was purified by placing the forms on planks, the stopper of the forms being taken out to allow the water to drain. In the claying process the sugar in the forms was mixed with a trowel, a paste of black earth put on the top, and the water draining therefrom took with it the molasses into the earthen pots. To dry it it was drained for twelve days after the earth was removed, taken out of the moulds, and exposed to the sun. This method, Depons says was dirty, wasteful, and inferior to the French, which he also describes. (33)

Tobacco cultivation was carefully supervised. The director general of tobacco at Caracas allotted land from the chosen places to applicants, the quantity of land allotted being determined by the abilities and number of cultivators of the

applicant. He had to sow all the land with tobacco and nothing else, deliver every leaf raised to the king, and was paid according to the quality. Tobacco was sowed in inclosures, weeded carefully by hand, and in forty or fifty days transplanted to holes in the ground, covered for a time with banana leaves for shade. It was weeded frequently, the bud and sprouts cut off, and the leaves gathered as they ripened and put on mats to be taken to the factories. In the dry preparation, cura seca, the leaves were dried for several days under sheds on bars, then cut from the stalk and wound into balls which were placed on beds a foot thick and covered with branches, stalks, and skins, and allowed to ferment, then rolled anew and fermented again. It was exposed to the air until cool, and wound over morning and evening for three or four days, and finally unrolled and made into long rolls and hung up in the shade, sometimes by a fire, to dry. Black tobacco, cura negra, was treated like the cura seca, except that the fermentations were in the sun until the color was black. The liquor was pressed out by a weight and boiled to syrup; carried around by women in a box and taken with a spoon as a sweetmeat. Each kind of tobacco was divided into three classes, and payment was according to the quality, in the presence of the factor, the book-keeper, administrator of the magazines, inspector, cultivator, and commissary general. There were great abuses practiced, but the law was unable to prevent them. (34)

Maize, not so important commercially as the above products, was the principal harvest of Peru, and a necessity as food. It was indigenous, existing in five varieties, one of which was the principal food of the mountaineers of several provinces. It was considered a delicacy at Lima and along the coast, and always taken by the mountaineers on journeys, either roasted or as coarse flour. It ripened in fifty days to five months. The inhabitants made it into bread, puddings, cakes, rusk, porridge, sugar, and into chicha by the Indians. Their old men and women were employed to chew the grain in the

process of making it into chicha. (35) In Mexico maize was as important as in Peru, more important and extensive than banana or manioc. It was the principal food for people and animals, and its failure meant famine. It produced wealth more quickly than wheat. Although it would yield two harvests, only one was generally taken. It was sowed in the middle of June to the end of August. The people ate it either boiled or roasted, made into bread, or gruel. The Indians make chicha. (36)

Wheat was produced first in Mexico in 1528 by a negro slave of Cortez who found a few grains in the rice supplied to the army. (37) In 1802 Humboldt found the harvest to be 17120 17.2-fold. The flour entered into competition with that of United States at Havana, and he predicted its being sent to Bordeaux, Hamburg, and Bremen at the completion of the road from Ferate to Vera Cruz, as the quality was the very best. (38) Wheat arrived in Lima in 1535, brought by a Spanish woman. In Peru it was sowed in furrows and plowed in, irrigated three or four times; cut, thrown in a heap and trodden out by horses; and cleared from the chaff by throwing it up to the wind. There Stevenson says the yield was 50- to 70-fold. (39)

vanilla was important only in Mexico, and its cultivation there neglected in spite of the excessive price in Europe. Its cultivation was in the hands of a few persons called habilitadores because they advanced money to the cosecheros, the Indians employed in the harvest, who were thus under the direction of the undertakers who drew almost the whole profit. They did not pay the Indians in money, but in barter at a very high price. Brandy, cacao, wine, and cotton cloths were the principal objects. The whole of the vanilla product was produced on an extent

35. Stevenson 1, 366-72.

36. Humboldt 11, 391-9.

37. Stevenson 11, 3.

38. Humboldt 11, 420-34.

39. Stevenson 11, 3; Juan and Ulloa, 466.

of ground of a few square leagues, and all that was sent to Europe was produced in the intendancies of Vera Cruz and Oaxaca. Slips were planted at the foot of trees up which the plants climbed. On the Misantla River the subdelegate proclaimed that the harvest was permitted to the Indians who cut from March to the end of June. They sold the fresh vanilla to whites, mestizoes, and mulattoes, who alone knew how to dry it and sort it for transportation to Europe. The fruits were heated on cloths in the sun, wrapped in woolen cloths for evaporation, and then dried in the sun. At Colipa during the rainy season they were dried on cloth-covered frames over the fire. Cadiz preferred the method at ventila where they were pricked with pins and hung on strings to dry. (40)

The banana occupied the same place in the torrid zone as was occupied in Western Asia and Europe by cereal gramina, wheat, barley, and rye; and in Bengal and China by rice. It produced the most in mass to the area of any plant. Suckers were planted, and in the tenth or eleventh month the fruit in three more months, so the only care given by man was to cut the stalks of which the first fruit had ripened, and to give the earth once or twice a year a slight dressing by digging around the roots. The bananas were preserved like figs by exposure to sun. Meal was extracted by slicing green bananas, drying them in the sun, and pounding them. The flour was used much as rice or maize flour. (41)

Humboldt quotes from the botanist Aubert on the ^{manioc} better known as cassava maniae: "the maniac is one of the finest and most useful productions of the American soil, and that with this plant the inhabitant of the torrid zone could dispense with rice and every sort of wheat, as well as all the roots and fruits which serve as nourishment to the human .

40. Humboldt III, 27-36.

41. Humboldt II, 366-80.

species". It was cultivated similar to potatoes, harvested in seven to eight months after the slips were planted, and made into bread. (42) Potatoes were grown in the highest and coldest parts of the Andes and Cordilleras, and are preserved by exposure to the frost, or drying in the sun. (43)

The Guinea pepper, or *aji*, was grown in Chiloe, and sent over all Peru. The ground was fertilized by the dung of cormorants from Iquique, and the production was 500-fold. The plants were first grown in seed beds, then transplanted in winding lines, guano (the dung) being laid at the root of each plant, more being added at blossom time, and still more when the pods were formed. It was watered at the same time to keep the salts in the manure from burning the plants. (44) This seasoning was an important component of many dishes.

Early in the eighteenth century Juan and Ulloa found *cachineal* being cultivated in Loja of Quito, (45) Bouguer found it also in Peru, (46) and Stevenson in the nineteenth century in the province of Ambato. (47) In 1777 Menonville says that it was cultivated greatly in Mexico, and that it was contraband. (48) Menonville's travels were for the express object of securing *cachineal*, and he tells of many narrow escapes in getting away with it to carry it to France for transplanting. By Humboldt's time, and in Menonville's before him, *cachineal* cultivation was confined almost entirely to Oaxaca because the *incomenderos* forced a sale at low price. Puebla and New Galicia shared it formerly. (49) In

42. Humboldt II, 382-91.

43. *Ibid.*, 448.

44. Shelvocke, 461.

45. Juan and Ulloa, 477-8.

46. Bougues, 287.

47. Stevenson II, 272.

48. Menonville, 885.

49. Humboldt II, 194; III, 62-3.

Oaxaca it produced in 1804 400,000 kg. annually. (50) Scarcely forty years before the nopals in Yucatan were cut down mysteriously. The Indians blamed the government with desire to raise the price, and the whites blamed the Indians with discontent with the price. (51) The nopals, on which the cochineal lived, grew on the slopes of mountains or in ravines where trees had been cut and burned. Some plantations were large, but the most was produced in small nopaleries of Indians of extreme poverty. The ground was cleaned twice a year. After three years, branches of tuna de Castilla with recently hatched cochineals were bought and kept in huts until the cocci grew more, then distributed in the nopaleries, and carried into the mountains during the rainy seasons. Harvests occurred sometimes three times in a year. The Indians killed the mother cochineal by throwing them into boiling water. They heaped them in beds in the sun, or placed them on mats in ovens. A jury in Oaxaca examined the bags of cochineal to see that no other material was added, before they were sent out of the province. (52)

Of the fruits the tomato held an unusually high place. It was much cultivated, used in the kitchen and for confectionery and called the "love apple." (53) Strawberries grew wild covering many plains, and were used to cover triumphal arches in Peru. (54)

Olive plantations near Lima were never pruned. Their only cultivation was the clearing of holes at the foot of the trees for receiving water, and cutting down the shoots every three or four years to form a passage for gathering fruit. Grape vines grew on the ground, but were pruned and watered. (55)

50. Humboldt IV, 279.

51. Humboldt III, 63.

52. Ibid, 63-79.

53. Stevenson I, 170, 226.

54. Stevenson I, 101; II, 27-2.

55. Juan and Ulloa, 598-9.

Summary

It has been seen that much of Latin America was very fertile, and manure never used. At Concepcion the deposit of mountain water contained so much animal water that the soil was well adapted to vegetation. (56) Where manure was necessary it was carried by llamas from the Island of Iquique to all the coasts of Peru. This manure was called guana, the excrement of sea birds. Several ships loaded with it every year for Arica where it was used in growing capricum. (57)

Canals dug by the Incas conducting water to the fields were kept up by the Spaniards in Peru. (58) They were also common in Mexico. (59) In Terra Firma streams of water were often turned to water plantations, although it resulted in innumerable law suits. (60)

Grafting was unknown in Mexico, (61) and Bouguer says that in Peru they could not "convey the sap of one tree into another." Neither did they see the utility of pruning. Agriculture in all Spanish America he considered extremely neglected; "they ignorantly renounced many advantages it would cost them little to benefit from." He found them entirely ignorant of gardening and the real fertility, and letting all the trees grow wild. (62)

Labor on the plantations was largely by the meta service, elaborated on in connection with the Indians. In the first half of the eighteenth century Shelvocke and Juan and Ulloa found negro slaves doing the work. (63) Stevenson says in the nineteenth century that there were about 8000 negro slaves on the plantations of Chincha, Pisco and Canete in Peru, and 3000 in the valley of Huaura. (64)

56. Stevenson 1, 171.

57. Shelvocke, 462-87; Juan and Ulloa, 600; Stevenson 1, 357.

58. Juan and Ulloa, 597.

59. Humboldt 11, 412-3.

60. Depons 11, 140-1.

61. Menonville, 824.

62. Bouguer, 299-300.

62. Bouguer, 299-300.

63. Shelvocke, 487; Juan and Ulloa, 484, 598.

64. Stevenson 1, 360.

Depons found negroes on the sugar, coffee, indigo, and cacao plantations, and Indians also on the cacao plantations, and says there were 218,400 negro slaves in Caracas. (65)

Humboldt says there was next to no slavery in Mexico; that the cultivators were poor but free Indians under neither corvees nor villanage. The "soil nourishes him who cultivates it." (66) The price of labor in the cold regions in Mexico was two reals de plata a day, and in the warm regions, two and a half, which Humboldt considered moderate compared to the money in circulation. The ratios to the price of labor in France was 10 to 6; United States, 10 to 13; and Bengal, 10 to 1. The translator says the last number of each group should be doubled. (67)

From the accounts of the cultivation of the various plants it has been seen that few implements were used. Juan and Ulloa say there were iron instruments in Quito, (68) and Depons found hoes and knives in Terra Firma. (69) Humboldt says: "Nowhere does the proprietor of a large farm more frequently feel the necessity of employing engineers skilled in surveying ground and the principles of hydraulic constructions. However, at Mexico, as elsewhere, those arts have been preferred which please the imagination to those which are indispensable to the wants of domestic life. They possess architects, who judge learnedly of the beauty and symmetry of an edifice, but nothing is still so rare there as to find persons capable of constructing machines, dikes, and canals. Fortunately, the feeling of their want has excited the national industry, and a certain sagacity peculiar to all mountainous people, supplies, in some sort, the want of instruction." (70)

65. Depons II, 158; 168; 191; 202-5; I, 159.

66. Humboldt II, 355-6.

67. ^{ibid}, 432, 433 and note.

69. Depons II, 202-8.

68. ~~Depons-II~~, Juan and Ulloa, 461.

70. Humboldt II, 410-1.

Depons outlined his plan for encouraging agriculture in Terra Firma. He would have passed laws giving public respectability to the cultivator. Then he would have established chambers of agriculture in the chief cities to occupy themselves with expedients to simplify labor by machinery, put all idle hands to work, perfect the manufacture and preparation of produce; and decide disputes relating to the watering of lands, damages by animals on neighboring plantations, payment of wages to workmen, and bad treatment of slaves. He would have made a position on the chamber one of honor with the title of seigneurie. Furthermore, he would have established printing presses to disseminate information. Then would have come an efficient agricultural system. (71)

71. Depons 11, 353-6.

MINING

Importance

Next to agriculture, mining was the most profitable industry of the Indies. Gold mines were the chief riches of Peru and the greatest part of Spanish possessions on the continent, the output being the measure of the value of a province. Ramifications extended through the whole of the country. (1) The principal mines of the Indies were in Mexico, Peru, Chile, Buenos Aires, and New Granada. None were wrought in the captaincies general of Guatemala, Havana, Porto Rico, and Caracas. (2) Silver was the more plentiful, the ratio to gold being forty-six to one, as compared with the forty-to-one ratio of Europe. (3)

Mexico had about five hundred mining places and three thousand mines. (4) In the order of their riches the mines were those of Guanajuato, Catorce, Zacatecas, Real del Monte, Balanzas, Guarisamey, Sombrerete, Tasco, Batopilas, Zimopan, Fushillo, Ramos, and Parral. That of Guanajuato produced a fourth of that in Mexico and a sixth of that in America, and the first three a half of that of Mexico. (5) Zacatecas had the greatest wealth in mines in two hemispheres in Veta Negra de Sombrerete. (6) Silver annually exported from Vera Cruz equalled two-thirds of that annually extracted from the whole globe. (7) The total output of gold and silver in 1803 was triple that half a century before, and six times that a hundred years previous. (8) Mexico, Humboldt declared, would furnish

1 Juan and Ulloa, 537.

2. Humboldt III, 336.

3. Ibid, 399.

4. Ibid, 118.

5. Ibid, 138; Humboldt IV, 279.

6. Humboldt II, 187.

7. Humboldt III, 146.

8. Ibid., 289; IV, 280.

every metal without even the exception of mercury." (9) Some day he expected Mexico to be able to supply the old world with mercury, instead of receiving it from Europe. (10) Copper, tin, iron, lead, zinc, a little manganese, coal, salt, and soda were all found there, but for conventional reasons the main attention was to gold and silver. (11) Mines were the second source of natural wealth, the proportion of gold and silver to agricultural products in 1803 being seventy-four to ninety-six. (12) Humboldt says, "The mines have undoubtedly been the principal sources of the great fortunes of Mexico." (13)

The enormous increase in the last part of the century he considered to be due to the increased population on the table land, the progress of knowledge and national industry, freedom of trade conceded in iron and steel necessary for the mines, the fall in the price of mercury, the discovery of the mines of Catorce and Valenciana, and the establishment of the Tribunal de Minería. (14)

Yet, instead of being struck with the actual value of the produce, Humboldt was surprised that it was not much more considerable, but believed that the industry would continue augmenting as the country became better inhabited, as small proprietors enjoyed more fully their natural rights, and as geological and chemical knowledge became more generally diffused. Several obstacles were removed after 1777 when the Supreme Council of Mines with its sittings in the palace of the viceroy at Mexico was established, with the proprietors of the mines united into a corporation. He ventures, "We are tempted to believe, that the Europeans have yet scarcely begun

9. Humboldt I, 79-80.
10. Humboldt III, 305.
11. Ibid., 105, 296-323.
12. Ibid., 98, 104.
13. Humboldt I, 227.
14. Humboldt III, 289-90.

to enjoy the inexhaustible fund of wealth contained in the New World!" "Europe would have been inundated with precious metals, if they had worked at the same time and with all the means afforded by the improvements in the art of mining, the mineral depositories of Bolanos, Batopilas, Sombrerete, Rosario, Pachuca, Moran, Zultepec, Chihuahua, and so many others which had been long and justly celebrated." He named the extravagant advances of the tribunal general, the high imposts, and the expensive mercury as causes of the retardation. (15)

Helms said almost the same thing earlier: "In short, so much do rich ores abound here, that the mines, if worked with a moderate industry and knowledge of metallurgy, might yield considerably more than the quantity necessary for the supply of the whole world: and it is perhaps a fortunate circumstance, that the ignorance of the miners and the oppressive measures of the Spanish government have prevented more from being drawn from this inexhaustible source than actually has been obtained, and from general experience appears to be required, as a circulating medium in commerce and for other purposes: otherwise, gold and silver must long ago have been depreciated to an inconvenient degree." (16)

Silver, Betagh believed, was the peculiar wealth of Peru, scattered over it in small quantities of excessively hard metal, and in softer veins between rocks. He says it was the standard of riches in other countries, but a natural commodity in Peru. (17) Helms says that Peru could produce four times as much from her mines as Mexico, but did not. (18) The principal silver mines of Peru were in Potosi, Pasco, and Chota, from Cuzco to Potosi and along a continuous succession of the frontiers

15. Humboldt III, 323-35.

16. Helms, 75.

17. Betagh, 17, 19.

18. Helms, 104.

of Chile. (19) The mine of Potosi was second only to Guanajuato in Mexico. (20)

In the viceroyalty of La Plata Helms says there were thirty gold mines, twenty-seven of silver, seven copper, seven lead, and two of tin. (21)

Administration

Humboldt gives an account of the administration of the mines under the Supreme Council of Mines established in 1777. Following this was a school of mines and a compilation of a new code of laws. The Supreme Council was a tribunal, and under it were Disputaciones de Minería in thirty-seven districts. The proprietors of mines sent representatives to the provincial councils, and the two general deputies of the Tribunal General were chosen from the deputies of the districts. There were also apoderados, who were representative proprietors of the body of miners at Madrid to treat with the ministry over mining questions. Colegio de Minería students were instructed at the expense of the state and distributed by the Tribunal among the head towns of the disputaciones. Humboldt found things to ^apraise and to condemn in this system. While it preserved public spirit in a scattered community, and the Supreme Council could collect considerable sums with facility for any great or useful undertaking, he believed that the director did not possess enough influence on the progress of operations in the provinces, and that the proprietors were too jealous of their liberty (so-called), and not enough enlightened as to their true interests. (22)

The Supreme Council received as income two-thirds of the royal

19. Humboldt I, 70-1; Betagh, 14.

20. Humboldt III, 373.

21. Helms, 18.

22. Humboldt III, 324-5.

right of signorage. Its expenses were the salaries of its members, the support of the school of mines, and a fund for assistance or advances to the proprietors of the mines, a plan Humboldt believed to be more liberal than wise, because extraordinary advances necessitated borrowing; and half the revenues went to pay interest on that capital. In 1803 it was in such condition that it could no longer make these advances. (23)

Much money was also lent and lost by the proprietors themselves in their rash business methods: "The working of mines becomes a game in which they embark with unbounded passion. The rich proprietors of mines lavish immense sums of quacks, who engage them in new undertakings in the most remote provinces. In a country where the works are conducted on such an extravagant scale, that the pit of a mine frequently requires two millions of francs to pierce, the bad success of a rash project may absorb in a few years all that was gained in working the richest seams. (24)

A mine belonged to the first discoverer who presented a petition to the magistrates for ownership, presenting a sample of ore to the Tribunal de Minera, and work. It was immediately granted, and the subdelegado marked off a piece of ground twelve hundred by one hundred feet, and yielded it to the discoverer who chose a hundred and sixty square yards of surface. The discoverer took possession by rolling himself on the ground, digging-holes, throwing stones, and shouting three times, "Possession." The same quantity was chosen for the king and sold to the best bidder. Other persons bargained with the proprietor for veins of half the size and worked them for themselves. After the king's duties were paid the rest belonged to the owner or leaser. Varying duties were

23. Humboldt III, 325-7.

24. Humboldt I, 226.

paid, Humboldt placing the average in all Spanish America at $1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the silver and 3% of the gold. (25)

Helms says the mines of Peru were mostly opened by deserters from the army and navy, with plunder as the object, not observing the laws and regulations, and keeping the mines in wretched condition. He compared Peru in 1789 to Mexico where ownership was by royal and private banks practicing strict obedience to the laws, (26) but Humboldt in 1803 says all the mines were owned by individuals, and the only government mine was that of Huancavelica in Peru, long abandoned. (27) At any rate, much metal did not pay duty. Betagh in 1720 said that vast quantities of gold and silver went from Lima over the continent the north way, or south by way of ships, and that iron was put in the masses to increase the weight, or it was dipped while red hot in water to make it heavier. (28) Shelvocke at the same time found silver shipped in marmalade boxes, and in bricks plastered over with clay. (29) Helms says much was clandestinely exported in 1790; (30) and Humboldt says that although Ulloa believed ~~two~~^{two}-fifths of the gold was smuggled out of Chile, it was only a fourth, that a sixth of the silver of Buenos Aires did not pay duty, that a fifth or fourth of the silver from the mines of Pasco and Cheta in Peru went out by way of the Amazon River to Brazil, and that smuggling in New Granada was increasing. (31) Stevenson says lumps of silver often had baser metals in the inside. (32)

Methods and Processes

The extraction and separation of the precious metals was by means

- 25. Betagh, 18; Stevenson II, 32; Humboldt III, 328.
- 26. Helms, 102-4.
- 27. Humboldt III, 327-8.
- 28. Betagh, 8, 16.
- 29. Shelvocke, 511-2.
- 30. Helms, 141.
- 31. Humboldt III, 390-3.
- 32. Stevenson II, 34-5.

extremely simple and complex. Humboldt says most of the gold of Mexico was from alluvial ground, by means of washing, a great deal collected from sands, some lumps of native gold were found, there were veins in gneiss or micaceous slate, gold mixed with silver in almost every silver mine, and rotten veins with the metal in such small particles that nearly naked miners were required to bethe before leaving to prevent any from being carried away. (33)

Gold extraction in Peru was by a variety of methods. Many Indians collected gold dust from the sands of streams for the collection of tribute. For other purposes they would rather trample it under foot than take the pains of collecting and cleaning it. They were afraid to get more than for their tribute for fear of being forced to labor in the mines. (34) These washing places were extremely numerous. The Indian lavaderos dug in the corners of brooks, let in a fresh stream to carry away the mud, and kept turning up the mud. When the golden sand appeared, the stream was turned away. They dug the earth up with mattocks and it was carried mule-back to basins joined by small channels. A stream of water was let in to carry away the gross. The Indians threw out the stones, and only black sand and gold remained. This method was less expensive than mining, which required iron, crocos, mills and quick-silver. (35) Bouguer says much gold in Peru was separated on the spot, in trenches with water, and the final washing in a dish or basin. Mercury was used to separate it from platinum. (36)

The lack of heterogeneous mixtures in the Popayan mines made the use of mercury unnecessary. The ore was dug out of the earth, laid in

33. Humboldt III, 147-9.

34. Juan and Ulloa, 540, 618; Condamine, 217; Stevenson II, 351.

35. Botagh, 19.

36. Bouguer, 36.

a reservoir. When it was full, the water was conveyed through a conduit and the whole stirred. The lightest parts drained out through another conduit. The sediment was then gathered up in wooden buckets, the waters changed and stirred, and the less ponderous parts gradually separated. Grains of gold like sand or a little larger remained. Another reservoir collected the water from the first, and a third from the second, where the same process occurred. (37)

Stevenson describes the manner of working on a large scale the Playa de Oro near Quito. An embanked reservoir was formed at the highest part of the stratum to collect rain water; rubbish was thrown to the lateral limits of the stratum, and slaves picked the ground, throwing aside large stones. Water was allowed to run over the ground while the slaves formed a puddle with water and earth. This process was repeated until the stratum began to appear. Water was then conducted along the sides by small channels and continually stirred so the earth was carried off. When the whole was nearly washed away the laxa (stratum of indurated clay) was swept; and gold mixed with sand, iron sand, and platinum was swept into the channel and collected by a board across it near the reservoir and allowing a little water to run to clean out all crevices. The first quantity was taken by canoe to the house of the miner, and the process repeated. At the miner's house it was dried and separated by a loadstone or magnet from the iron sand. The gold, platinum, and sand was placed in a shallow trough and a small stream of water run over it, keeping it in motion. The sand was washed away, and the gold separated from the platinum by picking the platinum with a stick, pen, or piece of wire. Stevenson says the platinum was invariably thrown away because

of the enormous duty imposed on it. (38) An observation of Humboldt's, "It is in absolutely false assertion, that platina has ever been found near Carthagena or Santa Fe,...and in Peru," is of interest in relation to this. (39)

In Peru the meta compelled the Indians to go wherever hands were wanted. It caused death due to change in climate, fatigue, defective nourishment, and want of sleep. (40) Stevenson says the Indians and mestizoes performed the labor, along with vile characters and banditti, paid daily, or by a bonus of twenty-four hours a week in which the ore extracted was their own property. The most prevalent form of dishonesty was to hide the rich veins to be extracted on these days. (41)

Juan and Ulloa found the work done by negro slaves in Quito. (42) Humboldt gives the number in 1778 in Antioquia as 4896; Choco, 3054; and Cauca, 8000. (43) Stevenson disapproved of negro slavery in the mines, preferring that they should be superseded by free Indians, who would have to be patiently and kindly treated until they were convinced of the benefit of this labor to them. (44) Humboldt found no slavery or meta whatever in the Mexican mines. (45)

Large mines were under the oversight of administrators. The mine of Valenciana in Mexico paid an administrator 2500 pounds sterling. Under him were an overseer, under overseers, and nine master miners. They visited subterraneous operations daily, carried on the backs of men, on a sort of saddle. In this same mine 1800 workmen were in the interior, and 1300 men, women, and children working in the carriage of ores to

38. Stevenson II, 423-9.

39. Humboldt III, 151.

40. Ibid, 123-4.

41. Stevenson II, 32-3; 61-2.

42. Juan and Ulloa, 540.

43. Humboldt III, 384-6.

44. Stevenson II, 352.

45. Humboldt I, 24.

the places where they are to be tried. ⁴⁶ These people were paid the best of all miners, receiving from a pound to a pound and four shillings for a week of six days. Nevertheless, dishonesty was common. They ^{make} use of a thousand tricks to steal very rich specimens of ores." "As they are almost naked, and are searched on leaving the mine in the most indecent manner, they conceal small morsels of native silver, or red sulphuret and muriate of silver in their hair, under their arm-pits, and in their mouths; and they even lodge in their anus, cylinders of clay which contain the metal. (47)

The tenateros were the "beasts of burden of the mines of Mexico," carrying from about 250 to 375 pounds for six hours, ascending and descending several thousands of steps in pits inclining at forty-five degree angles. They removed all the ore on their own backs, carrying the minerals in bags made of the thread of pita. One met files of sixty from the ages of ten to over sixty bending over, using a staff a foot long, walking in zig-zag fashion to aid respiration in the current of air entering the pit. Three of them carried ore to the place of assemblage to be blown up by one man. (48)

In order to keep account of the ore extracted, at the place of assemblage of the great shafts, two chambers were dug in the wall, in each of which two despachadores were seated at a table with a book before them containing the names of all the miners employed in the carriage. As the tenatero brought his load the despachadores lifted it and judged its weight. If the tenatero believed it to be lighter he said nothing, but if he believed it to be heavier he demanded it to be weighted in the balance, and the weight thus determined was entered in the book. The tenateros were paid according

47. Humboldt III, 246-7.

48. Ibid, 238-40.

to the weight of ore carried and the part of the mine they came from, regulated from the book of the despachadores. (49)

The mechanical apparatus in the mines of Mexico was, on the whole, good, Humboldt believed. The pointrole was well executed, but the mallet might have been less heavy. Forges, small and movable, were placed in the interior of the mines to re-forged the point of the pointroles when they were unfit for working. There were sixteen in the mines of Valenciana, and at least one or two in the smallest mines. Blasting with powder was wasteful because of the deep holes and large masses of rock. The lining with wood was carelessly performed, and wood was becoming more scarce. The mason work in the shafts and galleries, and the walling with lime, was excellent. The shafts and galleries, however, were of too great dimensions, entailing needless expense. Cables were attached to six or eight horse baritels, but he believed casks on wheels running on conducting beams would have been better, as they could ascend and descend in the same shaft. Lack of communication between the works rendered the work extremely expensive, necessitating too many tenateros to carry the ore to the place of assemblage. Mules in the interior drew the water up the steps in machines by means of bags attached to ropes which rolled on the drum of a horse baritel. This was expensive, as the bags, made of hides, rubbed against the walls of shafts and soon wore out. Humboldt hoped for a pump apparatus moved by horse baritels or hydraulic wheels. He says wood was too scarce, and coal undiscovered yet, so steam engines could not be employed in inundated mines. He thought subterraneous surveyors should have drawn up plans to use in draining the mines to prevent accidents. (50)

49. Humboldt III, 248-91

50. *ibid.*, 233-7; 239-44.

Helms was critical of the tools and methods at Potosi. In their ignorance the directors scarcely gained two-thirds of the silver in the paco-ore, destroying one or two for every mark of pure silver gained. Stamping, sifting, washing, quickening, and roasting the ore were conducted in a slovenly, wasteful, and unscientific manner. The tools of the Indian miner were badly contrived and unwieldy; the hammer a heavy square piece of lead weighing twenty pounds; the iron a foot and a half long, so incommensurate that it could not be used in narrow places; and the candles of thick tallow, wound with wood, vitiating the air. (51)

Amalgamation was three and a half times as common as smelting. It gained the ascendancy in times of peace, as war caused a scarcity of mercury. No general principle was followed, the same substance being smelted in one place and amalgamated in another. The abundance of mercury was often the determining factor, although rich ores were usually smelted and meagre ores amalgamated. (52)

Betagh found it in its simplest form in Tiltil, Chile, where the gold and stones were ground to powder, mixed with quicksilver, and washed in a sharp stream of water which left only the gold and quicksilver. This was strained in a linen bag and heated to evaporate the rest of the mercury. (53) In Peru Stevenson says the ore was carried in bags to the mouth of the mine, muleback to the mill, run by a water wheel or mules and bullocks, where it was separated by grinding and washing. The ore was then amalgamated with mercury by treading. The superfluous mercury was strained off through a coarse linen or hair sieve, and the remaining quicksilver

51. Helms, 46-7.

52. Humboldt III, 251-6.

53. Betagh, 22.

evaporated by heating in a furnace, (54) essentially the operation described by Betagh. He says the powder was mixed with water and moulded under pressure, and then quicksilver added and moulded in, the amalgam usually being made in eight or ten days. Sometimes, to hasten the process, it was put on a brick pavement and heated from below. When all the silver was taken up the mercury was washed off, the Indians stirring it with their feet in three basins in succession. Mercury incorporated with the silver remained in the bottom. It was strained through woollen bags to remove excess quicksilver, moulded between wooden planks, and heated again, the mercury being evaporated and condensed to be used again. (55)

Ores were separated from the sterile rocks in Mexican mines by the master miners, or quebradores. It was done at the places of banes de triage where women worked, under the bocardes, or under the tahonas or arastras. The tahonas were machines, executed with greatest perfection, which triturated under very hard stones the metalliferous ore. The ore passed through these tahonas was amalgamated ordinarily. (56) From five to six thousand persons were employed in amalgamation or preparatory labor, many passing their lives walking barefooted over brayed metal, moistened and mixed with muriate of soda, sulphate of iron, and oxide of mercury. (57) Dry braying was done under the bocards, eight of which worked together, by hydraulic wheels or big mules, as in Peru; then usually sent to the mills (arastras or tahonas) from twelve to fifteen of which were ranged in a row under one shed, also moved by water or mules. If the silver ores were very poor in gold, mercury was poured into the trough of the arastras. The product, called schlich,

54. Stevenson II, 33-4.

55. Betagh, 15-6.

56. Humboldt III, 249-50.

57. Humboldt I, 127.

was carried into the court of amalgamation which was carefully paved with flags. Muriate of soda, sulphate of iron and copper (magistral), lime, and vegetable ashes were used. Salt was mixed with the metallic powder and left several days to dissolve and be equally distributed. If the metals were oxidating, lime was added to cool the mass; if it was too cold, magistral was used. After some days mercury was incorporated with the metallic powder in proportion to the quantity of silver expected, and magistral added according to the temperature. It was stirred by running about twenty horses or mules around, or setting workmen to tread the schlich. Either lime or magistral was added frequently, according to the temperature. This process lasted from two to five months, then the metallic muds were thrown in vats of wood or stone in which small mills with perpendicular sails turned. The earthy and oxidized parts were carried away by water, and the amalgam and mercury remained in the bottom of the vat. The amalgam was separated from mercury by being pressed through sacks and moulded into pyramids and covered with a bell-shaped crucible. The silver was then separated from the mercury by distillation. This method Humboldt believed to be advantageous in that it required no edifices, no combustibles, no machines, and almost no impelling force, but disadvantageous because of the slowness and expense of the process. From twelve to fourteen ounces of mercury were lost for each marc of silver extracted. Born's method of hot amalgamation which lost less mercury, was little used. Sometimes silver already formed was added to the amalgam. This hastened the process and entailed less loss of mercury. (58)

Peru followed the same process in amalgamation, but Humboldt says they used less care and intelligence than at Guanajuato and Zacatecas. Only two districts of mines there used Born's method of amalgamation in casks with success, viz: Real de Requayán Huailas and Tallenga in Caxatambo. There

was always much loss of mercury. (59)

Because of the enormous amount of mercury used and wasted in amalgamation, the facility of procuring it, rather than the abundance and intrinsic riches of the ores, determined the quantity of gold and silver extracted in a year. (60) There were many indications of mercury in the Cordilleras, there were mines in Antioquia, Quindiu, and Quito in New Granada, and at Pataz, Conchucos, Guamalies, Huanacavelica, and Guailas in Peru. Native mercury was rare, cinnabar being the usual form. (61) Spanish America consumed 3,281,581 lb. yearly, obtaining it from Peru and Europe. (62) The court of Madrid had a monopoly on the selling of all mercury. When the price was low, the working of the mines increased. The impartial distribution of the mercury, Humboldt thought, was necessary for the prosperity of the mines. He says the viceroys, to whom the distribution was entrusted by the general superintendency of mines in Spain, were partial, favoring the richest and most powerful individuals. So long as its commerce was not free, he believed its distribution should have been in the hands of the Tribunal de Mineria which should judge the amounts necessary for the different places. (63)

Smelting, where it was practiced in Mexico, was badly managed, and want of wood made it desirable to diminish it. (64) Helms speaks of the ignorance of the directors of the smelting houses in the great mines at Potosi. (65)

The product remaining after amalgamation or smelting was called plata

59. Humboldt III, ~~257-76~~ 350-2.

60. Ibid, 287-8.

61. Ibid, 299-312.

62. Ibid, 281, 299.

63. Ibid, 281-5.

64. Ibid, 251-2.

65. Helms, 46.

de pias, which was carried to the royal office, melted, the royal fifth paid, and the bars stamped with the arms of the crown, the place where they were cast, the weight, quality, and fineness,--unless it was smuggled out of the country without this process. (66) The Lima mint was the principal one of the western part of South America. All the gold of Chile and silver from elsewhere was sent there to be coined. (67) The royal mint at Potasi, Helms criticized severely. He says it was badly conducted, the overseers displaying gross ignorance in roasting and calcining copper, spending a whole month and then often spoiling it for use as alloy. Helms was ordered by the governor to introduce a new process, so he erected a chemico-metallurgic laboratory in the mint and showed that copper could be brought to a greater degree of fineness in four and a half hours and at a twentieth the former expense. Helms's helpers also dug conduits that of 1778 being too high to free many pits from water, and erected machinery. Helms erected amalgamation works and gave lessons in metallurgy to six pupils. He expected a flourishing condition as the water was drained, but the want of timber retarded the work. (68)

Abandoned Mines: Causes

Flooding seems to have been the chief difficulty and even the cause of abandonment of mines. There were two remedies: pumps and machines, and passages through the side of the mountain for water to run out. (69) In the mines of Pasco, Peru, which Humboldt says were "the worst wrought in all Spanish America," water was very abundant, and drawn off by pumps moved by men "so that, notwithstanding the depth of these miserable excavations, which go by the name of pits and galleries, the drawing off the

66. Stevenson III, 33-4; Betagh, 15-6.

67. Juan and Ulloa, 573, 685.

68. Helms, 44-50.

69. Betagh, 17.

water from the mines is excessively expensive." (70)

Helms says in Puno province a silver mine was filled with water, and that capital and skill were lacking to drain it. Another mine near Andaguaylas was also full of water. (71) Juan and Ulloa say that gold abounded in Laricaxas, but a mine was overflowed and could not be drained, although much labor and expense had been spent. (72) The silver mines of Oruro, formerly very rich, they found decaying because they were overflowing and could not be drained. (73) The mine of Paucac-Colla was of prodigious richness, but waters broke in, and labor and expense failed to drain it. (74) Humboldt found the same difficulty in Mexico at Moran where he says a mine flooded for forty years could not be drained by machines. (75)

Mines were abandoned for many and seemingly trivial reasons. One in the Latacunga jurisdiction sunk in a storm. (76) Helms feared the immense silver vein in Jauricocha near Pasco would fall in because of the innumerable holes made in it by adventurers. (77) Some were abandoned because a considerable depth had been reached or because the veins were less abundant in metals. (78) The hardness of the ore and the loss of mercury in amalgamation closed the silver mine in Conchucos, Peru. (79) Some in Choco were abandoned because of the presence of platina, which was so difficult to extract. (80) Indian revolts necessitated the abandonment of Dorien mines in Terra Firma, (81) and at Mecos in Quito. (82) Want of the mines sufficient workers was responsible for the closing of the mines of Zariema, (83) and want of proper assistance and instability of the undertaker for the mine of Sarapullo in Latacunga. (84) The quicksilver mines near Cuenca were suppressed because

70. Humboldt III, 341-2.

71. Helms, 61-2, 71.

72. Juan and Ulloa, 631.

73. Ibid, 626.

74. Ibid, 632.

75. Humboldt III, 223.

76. Juan and Ulloa, 540-1.

77. Helms, 97.

78. Humboldt III, 334.

79. Stevenson II, 55.

80. Juan and Ulloa, 540.

81. Ibid, 382.

82. Ibid, 539.

83. Ibid, 539.

84. Ibid, 541.

the miners had been supplying themselves with contraband mercury. Only Huancavelica Juan and Ulloa found worked. They claimed that this prohibition in turn was the principal cause of the decay of silver mines in the province of Quito. (85) The owner's death was the cause of an abandoned project on the Maop river. (86) Some mines in Terra Firma were neglected for the more profitable pearl fishing. (87)

The height of the ridiculous is told by Humboldt about the metalliferous bed of the mine of Santa Barbara near Huancavelica. It fell in about 1795 because an intendant removed the pillars supporting the roof to increase the produce. The intendant claimed that he acted with the consent of the master miners, but the master miners said he did it to ingratiate himself with the Court of Madrid by procuring much mercury in a short time. Instead of working the bed in other places, they carried on a lawsuit for eight years and were still waiting for the decision of the court when Humboldt left Lima. In the meantime the mine was closed, but the Indians were allowed to work other cinnabar veins near them. (88)

Attempted Renovations

All efforts to relieve the slovenly, haphazard, wasteful methods seemed to be failures. Following a depletion of currency in Lima due to its export to Spain, the viceroy, La Croix, whom Helms called an intelligent, disinterested, and generally beloved Netherlander, requested the king to send over to Peru skilful German miners and mineralogists possessed of the requisite talents and knowledge, and in the meantime erected, at the expense of the proprietors of the mines, a supreme tribunal of the mines, on the plan of the similar tribunal in Mexico. Helms was sent, on his arrival in Peru

85. Juan and Ulloa, 543.

86. Stevenson, 351.

87. Juan and Ulloa, 382.

88. Humboldt III, 316-7.

he found that the members who composed this supreme court were entirely destitute of mineralogical knowledge, and they did not expend a single penny for promoting the working of any of the numerous mines under their jurisdiction. The proprietors loudly complained, but their complaints received no attention. The government not only left them to themselves without any support, but likewise depressed them by vexatious processes and chicanery, and by executions on the slightest refusal, by which many had even been driven from their homes. "The sub-delegates, or judges in the mining districts, are more especially the greatest villains, who enrich themselves by their unjust acts of tyranny, and continually accuse the subjects of sedition and rebellion; while the viceroy, who resided in the capital, and ~~ere~~ is a stranger to the extensive region committed to his care, gives himself little trouble about the burthens and oppressions under which the people groan." (89)

The viceroy of Lima sent Helms to Huancavelica to introduce the Idrian instead of the Almodena furnaces into the royal quick-silver works. The governor attempted to force him to buy the materials from himself, but Helms made his own bricks. Then the governor attempted to force on him useless laborers and overseers, and finally ordered work suspended on the ground that the Idrian furnaces were unfit for the intended purpose. The viceroy refused the plan for erecting machinery for pounding and washing the ore on the ground of expense, which Helms says was only half that annually lost to the king by the old management. (90) "The Viceroy absolutely refused any pecuniary assistance from the funds appropriated to the improvement of the mines; and would not approve of the plan for raising the necessary supplies by loan. All I could obtain was a commendatory epistle in praise of my

89. Helms, 86-8.

90. Ibid, 88-92.

zeal. I therefore resolved to remain no longer in Peru-- a land morally and physically pernicious to me; where I had sacrificed my health to the conscientious discharge of duty; having been obliged, in the execution of the most dangerous and laborious commissions, to act not only as director of the smelting houses, but likewise as carpenter, smith, and mason; and where I had endeavored by every means to dispel the incredible ignorance and barbarism prevailing in the mint and mining departments, by erecting laboratories, and reading lectures with suitable experiments." (91)

Even this was not enough; "But the overseers and officers of the mines, whose want of skill and malpractices I exposed, counteracted with all their might the royal commissions, by their secret cabals and basest clunnies. In writing and in conversation they described the Germans as arch-heretics, German Jews, and cheats; as men, in short, who, it was to be feared, would corrupt the morals of the honest miners and overseers; and tried every means to render them suspicious to the proprietors of the mines, fearing lest, by listening to our instructions, they might be induced to examine too narrowly into the conduct of their ignorant and dishonest servants." (92)

"They even excited the Indian laborers against us, by insinuating that the foreigners had come solely for the purpose of working the mines by machinery, and would thus deprive them of the means of subsistence. In this opposition they were encouraged and joined by a numerous band of merchants in the principal cities; as I had spoken loudly against the enormous usury of from 30 to 40 per cent by which they oppressed the workers of the mines, and made every effort to put a stop to their rapacity." (93)

91. Helms, 99-100.

92. Ibid, 100.

93. Ibid, 100-1.

Humboldt tells the same story: "This King [Charles III] and his successors have shown a praiseworthy desire of imparting to the colonies all the advantages derived by Europe from the improvement in machinery, the progress of chemical science, and their application to metallurgy. German miners have been sent at the expense of the court to Mexico, Peru, and the kingdom of New Granada; but their knowledge has been of no utility, because the mines of Mexico are considered as the property of the individuals, who direct the operations, without the government being allowed to exercise the smallest influence." (94) He says the defects in management of mines were known to the Tribunal de Minería of Mexico, to the professors of the school of mines, and even to several native miners, but the people were not fond of innovations, and the government possessed little influence on the works because they were generally the property of individuals. (95)

94. Humboldt III, 233.

95. *Ibid.*, 245.

CHAPTER V

COMMERCE and INDUSTRY

History

Gradual concessions to the colonies marked the commercial history of the Indies. In 1561 trade with the Indies was confined to one fleet a year, in two groups. No foreign ships were permitted to trade with the colonies, and the colonies were not permitted intercolonial trade except in conjunction with the arrival of the fleet. The northern division called the "flota" went to Vera Cruz, and the southern or "galleons" to Porto Bello where the annual fair disposed of the produce. In 1713 the English were allowed to send one ship a year to Porto Bello. With characteristic proficiency they managed to ship an enormous amount of goods by touching at Jamaica where the space ordinarily given to fuel was packed with merchandise. Then with a load she could barely carry the ship entered the Porto Bello harbor. Because of the English policy of free trade, her goods sold cheap, greatly damaging Spanish commerce. (1) In 1748 the register ships superseded fleet ships, making rapid and frequent trips. An "edict of free trade" in 1778 opened fourteen ports. Depons says that this time the purchases and sales of Mexico were in the hands of a few commercial houses exercising an exclusive monopoly. "There was then a fair at Malapa, and the supply of a vast empire was there managed like that of a palace under blockade. There was no competition; and the price of iron, steel, and all the other objects indispensable for the mines were raised at pleasure." Exportations after this decree ~~that~~ took a rapid rise, but it only became really beneficial in 1786 when several commercial houses were established at Vera Cruz with success. Humboldt explains the significance of the 1778 regulation: "In affairs of commerce, as well as in politics, the word freedom expresses

1. Juan and Ulloa, 369-70.

merely a relative idea; and from the oppression under which the colonists groaned in the times of the galleons, the registers, and the fleets, to that state of things in which fourteen ports were nearly at the same time opened to the productions of America, the passage was as great as from the most arbitrary despotism to a liberty sanctioned by law." (2)

Commerce Before 1778

Commerce was what draw~~s~~ most immigrants to the colonies. Commenting on the barrenness and unwholsomeness of Peru, Betagh says, "Yet, when one considers, that it is not the love of ease, but the thirst of wealth, that draws people hither, the difficulty is very easily resolved; and we see at once, how much the hopes of living rich, gets the better of the hopes of living; as if the sole end, for which a man was created, was to acquire wealth, at the expense of health and happiness." (3)

In the age of the galleons these ships from Spain awaited in the bay of Cartagena for word of the arrival of the Peru fleet at Panama, and then sailed for Porto Bello, and at the end of the fair there they returned to Cartagena Bay, stocked up, and put to sea. The bay was quiet during their absence. (4)

On the first stop traders from the inland provinces of Santa Fe, Popayan, and Quito brought flocks and money entrusted by commissioners for goods and provisions needed in the respective countries. Their money was gold and silver specie, ingots, dust, and emeralds. The fair at Cartagena caused the opening of shops, and an enormous profit from the letting of lodgings and the labor of slaves, who sometimes earned enough to purchase their freedom. Maize, rich, cotton, live hogs, tobacco, plⁿains, birds,

2. Humboldt IV, 97-101.

3. Betagh, 19.

4. Juan and Ulloa, 332.

cassava, sugar, honey, and cacao were brought in and exchanged for goods for apparel. At the same time a negro asiento office was doing a brisk trade. (5)

Porto Bello was thinly inhabited because of its bad climate, but at the time of the galleons it became one of the most populous places in South America. Its fair was the rendezvous of the joint commerce of Spain and Peru. In Porto Bello as in Cartagena the concourse of people raised the rent of lodging to an excessive degree. A tent was made of ships, sails to receive the cargo. Merchants of Peru brought mules laden with chests of gold and silver. Ships brought goods of Peru, as cacao, quinquina, Vicuna wool, and bezoar stones; and provisions from Cartagena. The merchants of Peru in the presence of the commodore and the president of Panama settled the prices and announced them, precluding all exchanges of money, and the goods was disposed of. The time of the fair was limited by the king to forty days because of the unhealthful place. All transactions between Spain and the colonies took place at the fair. The Spanish trader could not send goods beyond Porto Bello, and Peruvians could not send remittances to Spain for purchasing goods there. (6)

Acapulco was a miniature Porto Bello for the western coast, there being only one other secure harbor on the west, Chequetan. One or two annual ships left Manila in July and arrived in Acapulco in December, January, or February; started back in March, and arrived in Manila in June. Acapulco, unhealthful and destitute of fresh water, was almost deserted except at the arrival of the Manila galleon. At its arrival the town was thronged with people from all Mexico. The cargo was landed and disposed of, and

5. Juan and Ulloa, 357-9.

6. Ibid., 366-70.

silver and goods taken on board. Silver was the principal return. Other articles included sweetmeats, European millinery, and Spanish wines. These made desirable cargoes for prize ships, which watched closely for the departure of the ships for Manila. (7)

Panama's importance commercially was due to its being the place where the treasure from Peru was first landed at the time of the galleons. This commerce was of advantage to the inhabitants in the letting of houses, freight of vessels, and hiring of negroes. It was the thoroughfare for all ports to Peru, in the South Sea, and from thence to Spain, importing from Peru and Guayaquil vegetables and animal produce and exporting negro slaves or only money, and sending to Guatemala the produce from Peru not finding a market, in return for tar, naphtha, and cordage. (8)

Lima was the center of products and manufactures of the other provinces. The wealth of the southern provinces was brought to Lima, and embarked on board the fleet which sailed at the time of the galleons from Callao to Panama. The proprietors committed their treasure to the Lima merchants who trafficked with it and their own at the fair. The same fleet brought back European merchandise purchased at Porto Bello. It was sent mule-back from Callao to Lima, except the less valuable, which was carried in ships. On the arrival in Lima the merchants remitted to their correspondents what they were commissioned to purchase, and stored the rest in warehouses to dispose of to traders, or sent a part to inland provinces who pay in bars of silver which was coined at the mint in the city. A weekly fair at Callao for all parts of the country took care of the imports and exports. From Mexico came snuff, perfumes, ambergrise, musk, porcelain ware, naphtha,

7. Anson, "Voyage Round the World," 407-10, 425.

8. Ibid., 380.

tar, iron, and indigo; from Terra Firma, leaf tobacco and pearls; from Guayaquil, tobacco for limpians, timber for houses and ships, and a little cacao; from Paraguay, tea; from Nasca and Pisco, wine, brandy, raisins, olives, and oil; from Chile, wheat, flour, lard, leather, cordage, wines, dried fruits, and some gold. From provinces of Peru were exported copper and tin bars, canvas, cordovan leather, soap, Vicuna wool, and Paraguay tea. Lima had ten or fifteen houses of trade, many of the traders possessing 100,000 to 300,000 crowns, and many inferior traders with less. The reason for the paucity of fortunes was the expenses of paying the fortunes of the daughters, and establishing the sons. The city, Juan and Ulloa, say might have been considered an academy where many repaired to perfect themselves in the various sorts of trade. They were persuasive and artful, but punctual and honorable in performing contracts. (9)

Quito manufactured cottons in return for silver, gold, silver fringes, wine, brandy, oil, copper, tin, lead, and quicksilver. Traders brought European goods there from Cartagena. Excessive freights made it impossible to export wheat except to Guayaquil. The dry goods was sent to Barbaças and exchanged for gold which was sent to Lima where it brought a higher price.

(10) Guayaquil had considerable transitory trade, reciprocal between Quito and Lima. (11)

Chile carried on considerable commerce with Peru, Valdivia sending ten or twelve ships there every year, and Concepcion eight or ten ships. There was also trade with Buenos Aires in linen and woollen stuffs, ponchos, sugar, snuff, wine, and brandy for European goods and silver; with Paraguay which sends bullocks and cows to all South America; and with the wild Indians who took hardware, toys, and wine by barter for ponchos, horned

9. Anson, "Voyage Round the World," 604-6.

10. Ibid, 461.

11. Ibid, 412-3.

cattle, horses, and Indian children of both sexes. Barter was necessary because the Indians refused to open the mines. (12)

Betagh gives an interesting account of distribution in Peru by pedlars, whom he says disposed of almost all the commodities of Europe, going on foot, having come from Panama to Paita by sea, making Pinra the first stage to Lima, selling the goods on the way. Some went through Catamarca, some through Trujillo. They went back to Panama by sea, perhaps carrying cargoes of brandy with them. Expenses were low because Indians found lodging for the pedlars and provender for the mules. Every white face could command this, and Indians felt honored to comply. These pedlars were often sons of old Spaniards in declining circumstances, sent to America to make quick fortunes in this way. (13)

Writing on the eve of the edict of free trade Menonville summarizes conditions: "By erroneous calculations the Spanish government annihilates the commerce, the population, and comforts of its subjects; hence flow discouragement, inactivity, and wretchedness, the infallible precursors of weakness, uncleanness, disorders, and death." (14)

After 1778: Era of "Free Trade"

The edict of free trade in many ways remained a scrap of paper. Complaints continued to be made, called by Humboldt "just complaints respecting the restriction of commerce," complaints against "principles, whose falsity and injustice are universally acknowledged." (15) Stevenson says that "the peasant who at the time of my residence in Chile, 1803, if possessed of a dollar, would bore a hole through it, and hang it to his rosary...." (16)

12. Betagh, 20-25; Juan and Ulloa, 684-6.

13. Betagh, 4.

14. Menonville, 765-6.

15. Humboldt III, 490.

16. Stevenson III, 164.

Evidently the principle of free trade was not then affecting the individual colonist.

In 1797 neutrals were allowed to trade in all but prohibited articles, Spanish trade being destroyed because of war. Spain lost her navigation at that time, but saved the produce of her colonies. This, however, was revoked in 1800 because of complaints of Spanish merchants, and at the same time other general and particular permissions were revoked. Trade stopped again because merchants were unable to regain the exclusive commerce they once had. (17)

Commerce with foreign colonies was permitted directly since 1774, but only under the Spanish flag. Spanish colonies might receive articles not furnished directly from the mother country. Prohibited articles of import from foreign colonies were: plantation utensils, new negroes, gold, and silver, and no vessel could carry other than these to foreign colonies except by permission of the intendant, which was difficult to obtain. Cacao went to the mother country, but other produce could be sent to foreign colonies. Contravention of these rules merited confiscation. Temporary limitations were often made. In 1803 the export from Terra Firma was limited to mules, which Depons says was hard on the cultivators of inferior coffee, turning them from agriculture. (18)

Traders with Spanish America were all Spaniards by birth or naturalization. A schedule of 1790 required that productions and merchandises of America could not be consigned to strangers, but Depons points out that it was only the evasion of this law by idle Spaniards who lent their names to commerce by strangers, which gave activity to the trade of the mother country. (19)

Sixteen Spanish ports were opened to America in the latter part of the

17. Depons II, 308-10.

18. Ibid., 300-7.

19. Ibid., 285-6.

eighteenth century. Almost all the America ports receiving ships from the mother country also sent ships directly to Spain. (20) Humboldt classified the ports of Spanish America in order of the importance of their trade in 1804 as follows: Vera Cruz and Havana with 5,000,000 piasters exports, and 15,000,000 imports; Lima with 8,000,000 exports and 12,000,000 imports; Cartagena with 7,000,000 exports and 5,000,000 imports. Buenos Aires, la Guayra, Guayaquil, Porto Bello finished the list with considerably less trade. (21)

Harbors of sea ports were defended by forts, and often by garrisons of regular troops. (22) The ports were classified as major and minor ports, the major ports paying all the duties specified in the tariff, i.e., the royal and municipal duties, and the minor ports only the municipal duties because they were less frequented, and the delays in sending goods there caused trouble and loss. (23)

Interesting changes were observed in the commercial centers. Helms noticed a decline in trade in all South America in 1789: "So late as thirty years ago, Lima was one of the richest and most flourishing cities in Spanish America. But since that time the markets have been so over-stocked with European goods, that the capitals of most of the commercial houses became invested in piece and other goods, and all ready money by degrees emigrated to Cadiz; which necessarily occasioned an excessive fall in the value of European articles of merchandise....Thus the merchant gradually lost the capital which he had risked in trade, and was totally ruined. The same can be said to be the case in all the other commercial cities of the Spanish

20. Depons II, 280-1.

21. Humboldt IV, 117-21.

22. Depons II, 57.

23. Ibid., 281.

colonies in South America." (24)

Stevenson does not mention any particular sluggishness in trade thirty years later. He says Callao was the principal port of Peru, hence, Lima the general market for foreign and home commerce. Traders from the provinces then brought products for exportation and purchase manufactures, both foreign and domestic, and raw materials for mining and agriculture. The imports were all European manufactures, especially English, as window glass, brass furniture, linen and cotton materials, silver, earthenware, and kitchen utensils. France sent linen, lace, silk, and broadcloth; Spanish products brought over were iron, broadcloth, Barcelona prints, linen, writing paper, silks, and ordinary earthenware; Italy supplied silks and velvets; the Philippines, coarse cottons and nankeens; and Germany, linens, common cutlery, and glass. Manila occasionally sent a vessel to Lima, also. The demand was always for the best and most modern. Of home manufacture there were hats, shoes, and cordovans. Return from the Lima market included principally: silver, gold, tin, bark, cacao, cotton, vicuna wool, sheep wool, and drugs. (25)

Mexico City was the central point of interior commerce in Mexico, all objects of exportation and importation passing through the capital. Vera Cruz and Acapulco were the ports of foreign commerce. (26)

On the eastern coast were the ports of Campeche, Huasacualco, Tampico, Nuevo Santander, and Vera Cruz, the last being the center of almost all the maritime commerce for centuries. It received four or five hundred vessels yearly. Its principal exports were gold and silver in ingots, coin, wrought plate, cochineal, sugar, flour, indigo, salted provisions, dry legumes, and other legumes, tanned hides, sarsaparilla, vanilla, jalap, soap, Campeche wood, pimento of Tobasco, indigo from Guayaquil, and cacao in time of war.

24. Helms, 856.

25. Stevenson I, 348-54; Humboldt IV, 78.

26. Humboldt III, 492.

Vera Cruz imported linens, cotton, and woolen cloth, silks, paper, brandy, cacao, mercury, iron, steel, wine, and wax. The proportion of exportation to importation was 22 to 15. (27)

The Consulado of Vera Cruz, composed of men equally distinguished for their knowledge and patriotic zeal, was a tribunal for disputed commercial cases, of which there were 197 in 1802, and an administrative council, entrusted with the maintenance of the port and roads, hospitals, the police of the town, and whatever related to the progress of commerce. It decided litigious cases gratis on verbal declarations, without intervention of lawyers. Some of its works were amelioration of hospitals, construction of a beautiful giratory light-house, and the construction of a road from Perote to Vera Cruz at the cost of over 19,200 pounds sterling a league, broad and solid with no rapid ascents. Humboldt says this road when completed would make the use of wagons; with fewer mules, possible; cause a fall in the price of iron, mercury, spiritous liquors, paper, and all other European commodities; and increase exportation in Mexican flour, sugar, and hides. Previous scarcities would be more rare because agriculturists would be stimulated to more cultivation by the hope of selling flour at Vera Cruz. The Consulado was planning in 1804 to supply the town with potable water, and to construct a mole. It published annually for the information of merchants the state of commerce respecting the consumption of New Spain, to guide them in their speculations. (28)

Acapulco, one of the many ports on the western coasts, was one of the finest in the world, but received only about ten vessels yearly. Its retardation was due to the distance from China and the difficulty of ascending the current and winds, which made a journey a "continual struggle. Four or

27. Humboldt IV, 27-32.

28. Ibid, 8-10, 40, 43, 53-4.

five annual vessels went to Guayaquil and Lima in a trade "far from being active," taking the woollens of Queretaro, a small amount of cochineal, and contraband East India goods, in return for copper, oil, Chili wine, a little sugar, and quinquina of Peru; and cacao of Guayaquil for interior consumption, for Havana, the Philippines, and Europe. There was coasting trade with Guatemala, Zocatula, San Blas, and finally the Manila galleon, as in the early period. Acapulco, as late as 1804, Humboldt says, had the "most renowned fair of the world." A ship of twelve to fifteen hundred tons still sailed from Manila in the middle of July or the beginning of August with a cargo of muslins, printed calicoes, coarse cotton shirts, raw silks, China silk stockings, "jewelleries from Canton or Manila by Chinese artists," spices, and aromatics, limited by law to a value of 105,000^{pounds} sterling, but generally worth 315,000 to 420,000 pounds sterling. "Next to the merchants of Lima, the ecclesiastical corporations have the greatest share in this lucrative commerce, in which the corporations employ nearly two thirds of their capitols...." When Mexico learned that the galleon had been seen off the coast the merchants hastened to be the first to treat with the super-cargoes from Manila. Usually a few powerful houses of Mexico purchased their goods jointly, often without opening the bales, and although the merchants of Manila were accused of fraud, Humboldt believed they were perhaps more honest than civilized European merchants. Distribution was by way of Mexico City. Return cargo consisted of bars of iron and piasters, usually departing in February or March. There was also a lading of silver, a very small quantity of cochineal from Oaxaca, cacao of Guayaquil, Caracas wine, oil, and Spanish wool. (29)

Mexico annually imported 20,000,000 piasters worth, exported 6,000,000 piasters in agricultural produce and manufactures, 8,000,000 piasters to

the king, and 14,000,000 piasters specie to balance the trade. The total mineral produce was 23,000,000 piasters, leaving a yearly increase of 1,000,000 piasters. (30) The sources of commerce were agriculture, mining, manufactures, interior commerce, commerce with the mother country, and foreign commerce. (30) Interior commerce comprehended the carriage and produce of goods in the interior, and coasting along the shore of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. There was no navigation by rivers or canals. Mexico City was the center of commerce because Vera Cruz and Acapulco were only ports, thus necessitating the passage of all imports and exports from Mexico through the capital. Roads lead from Mexico by way of Puebla and Kalapa to Vera Cruz, by Chilpangingo to Acapulco, by Oaxaca to Guatemala, and to Durango and Santa Fe of New Mexico. (31) Objects of this commerce were productions and goods imported or exported at Vera Cruz and Acapulco; an exchange carried on between the different provinces, particularly between Mexico, properly so-called, and the Provincias Internas; and several productions of Peru, Quito, and Guatemala, which were conveyed through the country to be exported at Vera Cruz for Europe. The harvest of maize was seldom equally good over Mexico, hence its commerce of great importance to the provinces of Guadalajara, Valladolid, Guanajuato, Mexico, San Luis Potosi, Vera Cruz, Puebla, and Oaxaca. From Chihuahua and Durango to Mexico thousands of mules every week carried bars of silver, hides, tallow, wine of Passo del Norte, and flour; and returned with woolen cloth from Puebla and Queretero, goods from Europe and the Philippines, iron, steel, and mercury. In war time cacao from Guayaquil went through the Isthmus of Panama and Mexico, and copper of Guasco frequently took the same route. Guatemala exported indigoes by way of Vera Cruz. (32) Gold and silver heaped

30. Humboldt IV, 281.

30. Humboldt III, 489-90.

31. Ibid., 490-2.

32. Humboldt IV, 12-7.

up, and manufactures suffered from want of steel, iron, and mercury. (33)

The steady drain of mineral wealth from Mexico concerned Humboldt. He suggested, "By allowing a free course to the national industry, by encouraging agriculture and manufactures the importation will diminish itself; and it will then be easy for the Mexicans to pay the value of foreign commodities with productions of their own soil. If free trade became actual he predicted: "The free cultivation of the vine and the olive on the table land of New Spain; the free distillation of spirits from rum, rice, and the grape; the exportation of flour favored by the making of new roads; the increase of plantations of sugar cane, cotton, and tobacco; the working of the iron and mercury mines; and the manufacture of steel, will perhaps one day become more inexhaustible sources of wealth, than all the veins of gold, and silver united. Under more favourable external circumstances, the balance of trade may be favourable to New Spain, without paying the account which has been opened for centuries between the two continents entirely with Mexican piastres."

(34)

Depons says that Cadiz merchants consigned their vessels to commission merchants residing in America. The Catalonians made their captains consignees, and they sold to their countrymen in America. Merchandise sent from Spain to Terra Firma was kept in magazines of commission merchants where retail merchants went to examine them. They were always kept in the interior of houses, with no door opening to the street, due to the repugnance of Creoles and Europeans to commerce. There the merchandise was sold to retailers on four to six months terms. Payment was often only partial, and new terms lengthened the credit to years. The ships did not wait for collection, but loaded with other cargoes and collections from previous cargoes for the

33. Humboldt III, 105.

34. Humboldt IV, 116.

return trip. Barter or exchange was unknown, and there was no discount.

"All commercial transactions are conducted directly and privately between the seller and the purchaser: neither have they any price current." The goods was sold in small amounts to the highest bidder. Cultivators, sometimes offered, to deliver to the merchant, in a stipulated time, a certain quantity of produce, at a stipulated price, which was to be paid for in advance. Many complaints arose and caused distrust of each other. (35)

Retail merchants of Terra Firma were Canarians and a very few other Spaniards. They were distinguished for their honesty, but the abundance of shops, due to the sedentary life, divided the profits so few became wealthy and many failed. Their profits varied from 25% to 30%. (36)

Commerce in the other regions of Spanish America was comparatively unimportant. Guiana's taxes were farmed out for \$4000 a year. Its exports oxen, mules, silver, and goods; and imports blacks. Thirty-four small vessels were engaged in coasting trade. Interior commerce was difficult because of poor means of communication: rivers intersected, and roads were lacking or very poor. Guiana needed barges and roads, needed to have the large stones in harbors blown up so vessels could anchor conveniently, the bed of the Mamo River deepened, and the capital placed nearer the sea. (37) Both Guiana and Santa Fe had enjoyed a flourishing reciprocal trade by the river Meta, until Cartagena complained that her revenue from the custom house would disappear if the law did not check this trade. The minister then ordered that henceforth they should carry nothing from Santa Fe by Meta to Guiana, no territorial productions but flour and coarse cottons, and bring back only money. "This measure," says Depons, "was a thunderbolt to the two provinces. Commerce was reduced to almost nothing, and public misery resumed the empire she was about to lose." After that cultivators reclined in hammocks and

35. Depons II, 289-93.

36. Ibid., 333-4.

37. Depons III, 265-70.

produced only enough to keep them from starvation. (38)

Trade in Buenos Aires was inconsiderable because of the want of culture and their population. Foreign commerce was in the hands of Europeans. Gold and silver mines were the source of wealth there. (39)

Talcahuano in Concepcion sent six ships of wheat of 400 tons burden annually to Lima, 600,000 pounds of jerked beef, a proportional amount of tallow and fat, 36,000 gallons of wine, and raw hides, wool, dried fruits, salt fish, and pulse. Its imports were European manufactured goods, sugar, salt, and tobacco. Taxes amounted to a little over \$100,000. (40)

Communication and Transportation

Communication over a hundred years ago, and in a country traversed by mountain ranges and studded with thick forests, interspersed with deserts and fertile plains, was not easy to accomplish, and therefore not an important factor in the life of Spanish America.

Bouguer found little communication in Peru between the coast and the rest of the continent in 1736. (41) Humboldt found it better sixty years later: "Under the wise administration of Count Florida Blanca, a regular communication of posts was established from Paraguay to the north-west coast of North America; and a monk in the mission of the Guaranis Indians can maintain a correspondence with another missionary inhabiting New Mexico... without their letters ever passing a great distance from the continent of Spanish America." (42)

Depons says that posts left Caracas regularly for Maracaibo, Porto Cavello, Santa Fe, Cumana, and Guiana, and that towns on these roads enjoyed the advantages of mail. The trip was made to Maracaibo every week, and back every two weeks, a twenty-day trip. From Porto Cavello one came every week. Twice a month they went to and from Santa Fe, a forty-two day journey. Only

38. Depons III, 216-8.

39. Helms, 101-2.

40. Stevenson I, 125.

41. Bouguer, 276.

42. Humboldt I, 7.

once a month posts were sent to and from Cumana and Guiana, twelve- and thirty-day trips. (43)

Extremely little is said about Newspapers. Humboldt barely mentioned the Gazette of Mexico. (44) Depons says that printing presses existed in Havana, Santa Fe, Lima, Mexico City, etc., but were refused by the king for Caracas because of an insurrection in 1797 which was not perfectly extinguished. The fear of sedition was the excuse, but Depons says these fears were groundless. He says Caracas needed a press to disseminate agricultural information; to advertise, supplying want of communication; to publish the measures of the government, regulations of the royal audience, mandates of the archbishop, acts of the university, notices of the college, arrangements of the intendant, and commerce of the consulate; and to give publicity to religion. (45)

Roads and bridges were of varying types and efficiency. Juan and Ulloa found the roads of Quito to be full of dangerous declivities and acclivities along precipices, causing much loss of life. Bridges were used when the rivers were too deep to be forded. Very few were of stone, wood being the most common. These were made of four long beams laid close together over the precipice, forming a path about a yard and a half wide. A man on horseback could pass over this bridge. Bujucos were used where the river was too wide for beams. Four cables of twisted bujucos made the floor, and two made the rails. The floor was covered by transverse sticks and branches for flooring. Only men used the bujucos. The mules swam while Indians carried the loads. Some large bridges in Peru would accommodate droves of loaded mules. The tarapita was a large cable with a hammock suspended. One push sent a man across. For mules two tarapitas were used.

43. Depons III, 100-1.

44. Humboldt III, 488.

45. Depons II, 257-9.

A girt was tied around the body, and the mule shoved across. (46)

Condamine describes the bridge made of lianas netted together forming an aerial gallery suspended from two large cables of similar materials with extremities fastened to branches of trees on the banks. The whole resembled a fisher's net, or rather an Indian hammock. A flooring of branches and shrubs was superimposed. Natives could trot across with loads on their shoulders, while the mules swam. This bridge was undoubtedly very similar to, if not the same as, the bujucos. Other bridges, says Condamine, were more singular and more dangerous. (47) There were similar bridges over the Mira River in Ecuador. (48)

Stevenson described several roads in Peru. One lead from Callao to Lima, bordered by a double row of lofty willows on each side shading footwalks and watered on each side of the walk by a stream. Stone benches were built every hundred yards. Circles with brick and stone walls and stone seats were built a mile apart where carriages could turn. A parapet of brick two feet high extended along each side. On this road gentlemen seldom rode. Rich tradesmen went in calesas drawn by one mule, noblemen in a coach and two, the titled of Castile in coach and four, and the viceroy in coach and six. (49)

Stevenson saw in Peru bridges of ropes made from fibres of maguey leaves, with network instead of nailings on the side, which would hold droves of laden mules. There were also "swing bridges," and a few beams across stone piers. (50)

From Guayaquil to Quito the road was repaired by Indians by order of the corregidor of Huarando. Trunks of trees were laid across muddy places and covered branches and leaves. It was a road of mountain paths, precipices,

46. Juan and Ulloa, 529-30.

47. Condamine, 215-6.

48. Stevenson II, 427-8.

49. Stevenson I, 138-9, 315-6.

50. Ibid., 420-1.

and abrupt declivities and descents. It took twelve days to convey goods in a dry season, and it was impossible when rainy. Short distances were navigable by canoes. (51)

Roads seemed to be no better in Caracas, for Depons complained that the government had mapped out roads and nothing more. Sloughs and inundations of rivers over which there were neither bridges nor ferry boats rendered the roads impassable in the rainy seasons, and at no time in the year were they convenient. A day's journey was only ten leagues. (52)

The same was true of Mexico. There were roads along the central table land for carrying on communications between the towns themselves, and from the table land toward the coasts, for foreign commerce and for relations between the interior and coasts. Four-wheeled carriages traveled the central table lands in all directions, but the roads were in such a bad state that wagons were not used to convey goods, beasts of burden being preferred. Those from the interior to the coast were most difficult because of inundations, narrowness, and declivities. (53) A new road under construction in 1804 from Perote to Vera Cruz was broad and solid, with no rapid ascents, making the use of wagons instead of mules possible. (54) In the intendency of Mexico six great roads crossed the Cordilleras, the one of Toluca by Tiaguillo and Lerma being "a magnificent causeway, which I could not sufficiently admire, constructed with great art, partly over arches." (55)

Traveling was not a simple matter in these countries. Stevenson and his friend rode on two saddled mules, or horses with two pack mules carrying luggage, including mattress; bedding; leather bag; trunk with linen, books, and writing materials; canteen with pans, oil, vinegar, salt, spices, sugar, coffee, tea, knives, forks, spoons, etc. There was a total absence of inns,

51. Stevenson II, 257-9, 399-400.

52. Depons III, 100.

53. Humboldt IV, 1-5.

54. Ibid., 8-9.

55. Humboldt II, 6-7.

accommodations being usually given in a principal house of a town or village.

No charge was customarily made, and often letters of recommendation were given to persons residing in the next town. The society of the curate was usually sought. (56)

Some people rode in litters, which were square boxes with openings on each side and a small mattress in the bottom. The vehicle was fastened on two poles, one on each side, and secured on the backs of two mules. A boy rode the first mule to guide. The effects of seasickness were experienced from the rolling and jolting. The higher classes rode in calesas, closed carriages on two wheels, drawn by mule with coachman riding. Stevenson at one time was carried in a cane chair by Indians on a trip near Quito for eleven days, each Indian receiving three dollars. (57)

Juan and Ulloa do not say there were no inns in Peru, but that they were for shelter only. (58) Menonville described the inns of Mexico. His apartment in the best inn of Vera Cruz had a table four by three feet, and two benches six by three feet which formed the only bed. "As for mattresses, chairs, looking glasses, &c., all these no doubt are regarded either as superfluties, or conveniences of too extravagant a nature." (59) At Orissava the first room he was shown was covered with the dung of poultry which had roosted there. The second room had a bed-frame of bamboo, a table, a wretched seat with a rotten leg, and a doorway with rusty hinges. He shared his lodging with a posse of flapping bats. (60)

Helms says that regular posts were instituted and post houses erected in 1748 from Buenos Aires to Peru, but these post-houses, too, were ill-regulated, dirty, and swarming with fleas and other vermine. Many travelers

56. Stevenson II, 26, 75-7, 125.

57. Ibid., 112, 118, 357, 364-5.

58. Juan and Ulloa, 565.

59. Menonville, 773.

60. Ibid., 799.

perished in torrents while crossing the Cordilleras in the summer on these roads. (61)

Transportation was as crude as traveling. In Ecuador canoes with planked sides and a sail brought cloths and salt from Punta de Santa Elina to the Indians of Cayapas. (62) Provisions were brought from Province de los Pastas on the shoulders of men. Stevenson says that "so accustomed are the carriers to their laborious way of living, that when, in 1804, it was proposed to open a road, those men used all their influence to oppose the execution of the plan," (63)

Bridges, fords, and rafts were used on the rivers. The balsa, a float named by the wood used to construct it, was also common. It was made of beams of balsa wood and covered with reeds. A sail was hoisted on two poles for a mast. It was useful on rivers and small voyages at sea. It carried goods from the custom house to Guayaquil. Elegant balsas moved families to their estates and country houses. The larger ones could carry four or five hundred quintals. (64)

The whole trade of Quito and other provinces was carried on by the mules of Chimbo in the summer time as the roads were impassable in the winter. (65) The inhabitants of Huaranda, the capital of Chimbo, were chiefly carriers whose wealth was their mules. (66)

Mules also carried the commerce of Mexico. Menonville says that during his short stay in Vera Cruz in 1777 more than ten thousand were loaded. They conveyed the produce of all north Mexico, Vera Cruz, Oaxaca, and Guatemala, and returned with cargoes of wine, oil, iron, etc. The common load was five to six hundred weight. The caravans were seen only every other

61. Helms, 155, 28-9.

62. Stevenson II, 411.

63. Stevenson II, 421-2.

64. Condamine, 216-8; Juan and Ulloa, 407-8.

65. Juan and Ulloa, 472-3.

66. Stevenson II, 263.

year when the galleons were off the coast. (67) Then thousands of horses and mules covered in long files the roads of Mexico. Many Indians and mestizoes were employed to conduct the caravans. They camped in the open air or in sheds in the middle of villages for the convenience of travelers. The mules fed at liberty in the Savannahs, and on maize in herb or grain during drouths. Humboldt believed that the introduction of camels should have been made for this purpose. (68)

Currency

Although Spanish America abounded in gold and silver, little currency was in circulation because of the great export of the precious metals. Down in Chaco in 1740 Byron found no money current, barter being used entirely. (69) Menonville in 1777 said money was so rare that nuts of cacao, whose culture was not allowed, was used in San Francisco de Campeche. (70) Barter or exchange was unknown in Terra Firma in 1803, but in the province of Caracas there was only \$3,000,000 in circulation, and a fourth of that was in clipped coin not accepted elsewhere. (71) Humboldt estimated that in Mexico to be 64,000,000 piasters. Sometimes the exportation exceeded the coinage because of forced contributions to Spain in time of war, especially after 1793. (72)

Status of Industry

After the Spanish American had engaged in agriculture from necessity, and mining for wealth he had little inclination to develop other industries, but relied on foreign products to a great extent. Indeed, the government did not encourage manufacturing, although it did not prohibit it. Humboldt gives an instance occurring about 1850. Two individuals brought over a colony of workmen and artisans. The ministry pretended to applaud, and did not refuse

67. Menonville, 847.

68. Humboldt IV, 2, 14-5.

69. Byron, 390.

70. Menonville, 858.

71. Depons II, 292; 300.

72. Humboldt IV, 113-5.

them the privilege of establishing manufactories, but gave secret orders to the viceroy and audience to ruin the undertaking. It was voluntarily renounced when the conditions were learned. Humboldt found more enlightened principles toward the close of the century. Stevenson speaks also of a manufactory of fine cloths, woollens, cottons and for printing goods, destroyed by royal order. (73)

Manufacturing was favored during war because of the lack of communication with the mother country and the opening of trade with neutrals, when Spanish Americans had the possibility of not only supplying the home market, but that of foreign colonies as well. (74) But the demand for home manufactures could not be satisfied, which Humboldt thought should excite manufacturers to increase the activity of their workshops. (75)

Stevenson was enthusiastic about the needs of Lima. He says looms were established once, but abandoned at the owner's death. It needed also a pottery or manufactory of common earthenware, and works for ordinary glass ware, for which the materials were convenient, consumption great, and price high. Moreover, there were mechanics, carpenters, cabinet makers, millwrights, blacksmiths, whitesmiths, silver smiths, watchmakers or repairers, shoemakers, and tailors; and prices were extremely high. (76)

few Spaniards engaged in the mechanical arts, because, being pledged to no particular party on their arrival, they were treated so well by the creoles that they did not follow the trades learned in Spain, leaving the Indians and mestizoes almost the only classes employed in them. (77) Biscayans, Asturians, Catalonians, and valencians settling in the New World brought with

73. Humboldt III, 458-9. Stevenson II, 348.

74. Ibid., 460.

75. Humboldt IV, 41.

76. Stevenson I, 352-4.

77. "Secret Expedition," 181.

them their native industries. (78)

Industries

Of the minor industries, cloth manufacturing was perhaps the most important. Humboldt speaks of the increase in cloth, and hides after 1800. (79) Cloth manufactories seemed to be the leading industries in most of the towns. The work was all done on hand looms, of which there were many. (80) Puebla had 1200 weavers of cottons in 1802, and Queretaro and Puebla together 20 large and 300 small manufactories, all in the hands of Indians and mestizoes. In 1793 the numbers were 215 looms in large factories, and 1500 workmen. (81) Printing of calicoes was progressing in Mexico, although the technical process of dyeing was imperfect. A shell fish furnished the dye. (82) Menonville mentions the coarse cloth manufactured at Orissava, (83) Juan and Ulloa write of the cotton looms of Quito which wove the steen cotton from Guayaquil and send the stuffs back there, (84) of Lacatunga manufactories, and of the plantations around Quito, with their own manufactories. (85) Quito cloths received attention from others. Stevenson refers to the cotton and woollen cloths, baizes, flannels, ponchos, stockings, laces, dyeing materials, thread, tapes, and needles of Quito. (86) At Casma, north of Lima, he found a cotton mill with a steel cylinder turning small fluted steel cylinders by a belt and put in motion by oxen. A screw press packed the cotton, which was exported to Europe. (87) Cajamarca had manufactories of cloth, baizes, blankets, and tocuyas. (89) Anson found in captured ships

78. Humboldt III, 460.

79. Humboldt IV, 281.

80. "Secret Expedition," 63.

81. Humboldt III, 461-3.

82. Ibid., 462-3; Stevenson II, 234.

83. Menonville, 800.

84. Juan and Ulloa, 461.

85. Ibid., 467, 469.

86. Stevenson, 318.

87. Stevenson II, 108-9.

88. Ibid., 166.

89. Anson, 352, 363.

Ibid., 166.

great quantities of blue cloth made in the province of Quito. (89) Bouguer remarks that Lima supplied Quito with woollen cloths, calicoes, and cottons. (90) Lambayeque exported cotton cloths, (91), Guayaquil woollen cloth, (92) and San Miguel el Grande and Guadalajara produced cottons, and cottons and woollens respectively. (93) Of silks there was next to no manufacture. The Mistica and Tistla Indians manufactured silk handkerchiefs from material supplied by an indigenous caterpillar. There were no flax or hemp manufactories, and no paper made. (94)

Indians, colored people, and free men, along with criminals, did the work from compulsion because of debt or crime, under the miserable conditions of the meta, as described elsewhere.

Margarita Island fabricated the omnipresent hammock of cotton, with a web much superior to those manufactured at any other place. (95) Puebla made fine hats, as did also Guayaquil. (96)

Domestic animals figured somewhat in the industry of the colonies. The celebrated mules of Chimbo were the only product of that province, carrying on the commerce of Quito. (97) Terra Firma has a trade in 16,000 mules a year, 10,000 going to foreign countries. (98) Stevenson says the government controlled beef on Quito. The principal landholders were bound to kill a stipulated number of fat oxen daily, and to sell it at an appointed price. The public butchery was attended by an officer to see that the laws were executed. (99) In Terra Firma Depons says the number of cattle was so reduced that the country was scarcely supplied. The cause was a fall in price, accompanied

89. Anson, 352, 363.

90. Bouguer, 285.

91. Stevenson II, 183.

92. Rogers and Courtney, "Voyage Round the World," 367.

93. Humboldt II, 160; III, 460-1.

94. Ibid., 465-6.

95. Depons III, 175.

96. Humboldt III, 469; Stevenson II, 424.

97. Juan and Ulloa, 472; Stevenson II, 264.

98. Depons II, 303.

99. Stevenson II, 313.

by a contemporaneous rise in price of hides, which, after 1799, caused proprietors to kill cattle for the hides only. Brigands followed their example, laws to the contrary availing nothing. (100) Cordovan of goats' skins was an export of Lambayeque. (101) Tanneries of Orissava are noted by Menonville and of Guadalajara by Humboldt. (102)

Soap was a rather important by-product in the Indies. The valley of Chinchu had an extensive soap manufactory, and Puebla and Guadalajara had a considerable commerce in it. (104) Lambayeque furnished soap for neighboring provinces. (105) Stevenson chose Talcahuano as an ideal site for a soap manufactory. There was an abundance of salsola grown, from which kali could be procured to make soap, tallow and fat could be bought at a low rate, lime and fuel were easily procurable, copper cheap for utensils, and finally soap bringing \$40 or more a hundred pounds. (106)

Wax was important in Yucatan and Cuba, considerable of it being exported. (107) Some was produced in Guayaquil. (108)

Stevenson described the Mills de Carampangue of Aranco. A fall in the Carampangue River furnished the power. There were three mills with vertical water-wheels and one pair of stones to each mill. The miller ground the corn and the Indians separated the meal from the bran at home in large hair sieves. (109) He mentions the water mills for grinding wheat in de Jesus of Cajamarca. (110)

He had in mind also a saw-mill for Talcahuano. The Bio-bio and Maule Rivers could supply the current, there was an abundance of good timber, a dock yard already established, the Maule accommodated small

and

- 100. Depons II, 305-6.
- 101. Stevenson II, 182.
- 102. Menonville, 800; Humboldt III, 460-1.
- 103. Stevenson I, 360.
- 104. Humboldt III, 50, 460-1, 467.
- 105. Stevenson II, 182.
- 106. Stevenson I, 120.
- 107. Humboldt III, 60-2; II, 202.
- 108. Stevenson II, 234.
- 109. Stevenson II, 33-5.
- 110. Ibid., 167.

craft, the climate superior, and an absence of ravenous beasts and reptiles. Furthermore, labor was cheap, and this would increase the means of subsistence among the laboring class, and wood was scarce in Guayaquil, which had hitherto supplied Peru. (111) Guayaquil, he said needed a saw mill, and the rise and fall of tide would furnish the power. (112)

Even in 1708 Rogers and Courtney found Guayaquil the chief place in all Peru for repairing ships. (113) Stevenson says the dock yards there furnished labor and circulated money, and their vessels really had architectural merit. The largest were 700 tons. The master ship builder, caulker, and rigger were mulattos. A fault of the yards pointed out was the economic waste in carving instead of curving planks. Lighter vessels constructed were the blasas and canoes. Canoes were well constructed of cedar usually, and used where balsas were too large. (114)

Guayaquil furnished timber for Peru: oak, cedar, saffron, laurel, negro, mahogany, ebony, and others. (115) Depons says Venezuela could furnish timber for the most extensive ship-yards if the mountains did not prevent conveyance. Timber for carpenter work was plentiful, and for cabinet work there was an abundance of cedar, black, yellow, and red ebony, and a little mahogany. Iron wood was excellent for axle-trees, rollers, etc. Basil-wood for dyeing was abundant. (116) Guadalajara had superb wood for ship-building. (117)

Pearl fishing was so important in Terra Firma that some mines had been neglected for it. (118) Indians of Margarita were charged with the fisheries

111. Stevenson I, 126-7.

112. Stevenson II, 221.

113. Rogers and Courtney, 367.

114. Stevenson II, 220-5.

115. Ibid., 233.

116. Depons I, 62-5.

117. Humboldt II, 181.

118. Juan and Ulloa, 382.

of Coche Island in 1803. They worked for three months of the year at one real a day and bread of Indian meal for support. (119) On the Panama coast pearl oysters were so plentiful that they could be reached by waders, but the best ones were at a considerable depth. During the summer negro slaves armed with sharp knives for protection from sharks, dived for the pearls, each slave being required to deliver a fixed number of pearls daily to his master, the remaining being his own. (120) There must have been a slack later, for Humboldt in 1804 says the pearl fisheries there will probably be important some time. He mentions a project for diving bells suggested by a churchman of Mexico. (121)

Salt mines of Salinas supplied most of Peru and Chile. A stratum was cut into pieces and turned over to dry for three years when it was carried into the interior on pack mules. (122) Depons says the whole northern coast of Venezuela furnished a considerable quantity and could produce a hundred times as much. (123) It is also produced in Puebla. (124) A saltpetre manufactory 20 miles from Lima had large cisterns filled with sand from graves or huacas, used to filter water which was then evaporated and put in large canoes to crystallize. It was sold at the powder mills in Lima. (125)

The delf manufactories of Puebla, fine earlier, at the end of the colonial period had fallen from forty-six to sixteen in nine years, on account of the cheap stoneware and porcelain of Europe imported at Vera Cruz. (126) Puebla had two glass manufactories, (127) and Stevenson says Lima exceeded that industry as well as pottery. (128) Chandeliers, carriages, remarkable furniture,

119. Depons III,

120. Anson, 395; Juan and Ulloa, 381.

121. Humboldt III, 79-82.

122. Juan and Ulloa, 465; Stevenson I, 408-9.

123. Depons I, 58.

124. Humboldt II, 152.

125. Stevenson II, 23.

126. Humboldt III, 469.

127. Ibid., 469.

128. Stevenson, 352-3.

harpsichords, piano-fortes, and wooden, bone, and wax toys were other products of Mexico. (129)

Few countries used more wrought gold than did Spanish America. The smallest towns had gold and silver smiths in whose shops workmen of all casts, whites, mestizoes, and Indians were employed. The academy of fine arts and schools for drawing established a taste for beautiful and antique forms, and the elegance and fine workmanship rivaled the finest of Europe. (130)

The Lima mint, established in 1565, was superintended by white men, slaves doing the manual labor. Coinage was sold to the highest bidder who was allowed a percentage on all the gold and silver coined. (131)

The mint of Mexico was the largest and finest in the world. It was a simple building containing nothing remarkable in improvement of machinery or chemical processes, but order, activity, and economy prevailed. It had ten rollers moved by sixty mules, fifty-two cutters, nine adjusting tables, twenty machines for marking the edges, twenty stamping presses, and five mills for amalgamating the washings and filings. The output was eleven to twelve thousand marcs daily. (132)

The house of separation annexed to the crown in 1779 had three sorts of works with far from perfect machines and processes: manufacture of glass, preparation of nitrous acid, and separation of gold and silver. (133) The only powder manufactory was near Santa Fe (Mexico). Humboldt regretted the lack of an electrical conductor, the sieves being moved by eighty mestizo boys. (134)

The manufacture of rum was a royal monopoly. (135) Lima had the

129. Humboldt III, 488.

130. Ibid., 477-8.

131. Stevenson I, 280.

132. Humboldt III, 82.

133. Ibid., 483-7.

134. Ibid., 470-2.

135. Stevenson I, 163; II, 340.

exclusive privilege of making wine. (136) The mines of Quito contented themselves with making iced beverages and ices in imitation of fruits. (137) Sweatmeats everywhere were made and sold.

It is seen that little was produced but for domestic consumption, except gold and silver, which were exported in payment for commodities of Europe.

In commerce, and industry, as in religion, intellectual and every phase of life, the Indians were restricted to their own detriment either by the Spanish law or by those executing the laws.

136. Bouguer, 285.

137. Stevenson II, 315-6.

CHAPTER VI

CITIES, TOWNS, AND VILLAGES

Sites

With so primitive means of transportation by land it was dictated by necessity that towns be situated on or near navigable waters. Such was the case in South America which had few inland towns, but a good number on the sea coast. Those at a distance from the sea were usually wretched hamlets of Indians or meztizoes. Mexico was more of an exception, as most of her towns were in the interior, due to the unhealthful climate of the seaboard. Those towns not immediately on the water often had "port towns" at the nearest ports, where merchandise was received and transported to the principal city. Callao performed this service for Lima, and Guayaquil for Quito. (1)

Some cities were situated along the banks of rivers, as Guayaquil whose principal street ran along the side of the river. Back of this another also ran the full length of the city. This city had two distinct wards, the old and the new parts, connected by an eight hundred yard wooden bridge over several estuaries. (2)

Quito was built on an acclivity of the mountain of Pichincha, breaches and guaycos ran through the city. The declivities were so great that they prevented the use of carriages. (3) Somewhat the same sort of site was occupied by Valparaiso, a city with the principal part between the cliff and the sea, the inhabitants living in a ravine of terraces which formed a species of amphitheater facing an oceanic arena. (4) Cartagena was situated on a sandy island and connected by a wooden bridge to a suburb, Xaxemani, on another island. (5) Lima was in a semi-circle bound by the Rio Rima. (6)

1. Bouguer, 282; Condamine, 216.

2. Stevenson II, 205-6; Bouguer, 282; Juan and Ulloa, 393; Rogers and Courtney, 365.

3. Juan and Ulloa, 441-2.

4. Stevenson III, 160.

5. Juan and Ulloa, 329.

6. Stevenson I, 210.

Plan of City

Spain made her towns according to pattern. Every one was ornamented by a square, one side being partly taken up by the church; "and in no region of the world have they failed to set this place, which is a parallelogram, to the east, from which streets divide in straight lines, open to the distant country; even the fields are frequently intersected thus at right angles, which give to them the form of a garden." (7) In addition to the church there were always the government offices and jails and ecclesiastical buildings and if there was room left, private houses belonging to people of distinction occupying the sides of the square. Lima's plaza mayor was occupied on the east by the cathedral and archbishop's palace, north by the viceroy's palace with courts and state prison, west by the city council house and jail, and the south by private, uniform, elegant, one-story houses. (8) Santiago's square was similar, having a president's palace instead of a viceroy's, all the government buildings on one side, and the fourth side being given over to shops and piazzas with a gallery over them for seeing bull fights. (9) If the town was very small perhaps there was only the great church, city hall and private buildings or archades. The center of the square had a fountain, often of brass, and sometimes statues.

Every town had its principal square, and some had several. Menonville mentions seeing four extensive ones in Havana, which were half finished, not symmetrical, and covered with rubbish. (10) Most of them, however, were more impressive.

The plaza mayor was always situated in the center of the town, and from it straight, broad, regular streets, well-paved, led out to the open country.

7. Bouguer, 284.

8. Juan and Ulloa, 567; Stevenson I, 220-2.

9. Byron, 400.

10. Menonville, 761-2.

The only exception to straight streets was in Quito where Juan and Ulloa say that those not leading up to the square were crooked. They ambiguously describe four streets as straight, broad, and handsome, and terminating at the angles of the square, giving the impression that the streets might have formed a hundred and thirty-five degree angles with the square. (11) Of Santiago, Byron says that eight avenues led into the royal square. (12)

There was also one exception to broad streets--those of Havana, which Menonville says were narrow. Havana streets were then being paved with blocks of iron wood ten inches square of extreme solidity, some having been in use for two years and showing no marks made by wheels. All the streets there, paved or unpaved, had foot paving on each side. (13)

Footpaths in Popayan were all paved, but the middle of the streets only gravelled. (14) Pebbles also formed the paving in Vera Cruz. (15) Pavement is mentioned in numbers of other towns but none tell what material was used.

The only vehicles appearing in the streets were calashes seen by Rogers and Courtney in Guayaquil, (16) and Juan and Ulloa in Santiago; (17) chaises in Truxillo (18) where sandy soil necessitated their use; and sedans in Quito, the declivities preventing the use of carriages. (19)

Streets of Lima formed quadras, or blocks 150 yards in front (20) and those in Santiago followed the same plan, having been copied after Lima. (21)

11. Juan and Ulloa, 442.
12. Byron, 400.
13. Menonville, 261-2.
14. Juan and Ulloa, 483.
15. Menonville, 777.
16. Rogers and Courtney, 365.
17. Juan and Ulloa, 678.
18. Ibid., 561.
19. Ibid., 443.
20. Ibid., 568.
21. Ibid., 677; Stevenson III, 170; Byron, 400.

Streams of water ran along the streets of Arequipa (22) and Santiago (23) to keep them clean. Lima had water running through the streets in covered channels, piped from a spring. In addition, the monasteries and convents were obliged to maintain fountains in the street for the use of poor people. (24) Great aqueducts of modern construction supplied Mexico City with water. (25) Oaxaca also was supplied with an abundance of excellent water by aqueducts. (26)

Vera Cruz experienced great difficulty in securing suitable water. For washing it was found by digging in sandy soil to the depth of a meter, but it was of bad quality. Lower classes drank water from a ditch coming from the brook of Tenoya, but the upper class had cisterns of "extremely improper construction." Only the military population had recourse to the cisterns of the castle of San Juan d'Ulua. A project to carry water by aqueduct in 1704 was discontinued because the authorities considered public cisterns less expensive. (27)

Little is mentioned about sanitation. Menonville says the streets of Orisava and Vera Cruz were clean and well-kept, (28) and Helms says the same of Lima. (29) Humboldt says the policing of Vera Cruz had improved recently, (30) and that the streets of Mexico City were clean and well-lighted. (31)

With the exception of the great square in the center of the city little seems to have been done toward dividing the city into sections. The shops were collected around the square, and in them were kept European manufactured and domestic goods. Stevenson mentions there being no window display in the shops of Trujillo. (32) He found a capacious market place in Ibarra,

22. Juan and Ulloa, 619.

23. Byron, 400.

24. Juan and Ulloa, 568, 571.

25. Humboldt II, 34.

26. Menonville, 822.

27. Humboldt II, 217-20.

28. Menonville, 800, 777.

29. Helms, 83.

30. Humboldt II, 215.

31. Ibid., 33.

32. Stevenson II, 3.

a town of a population of 12,000. (33) The market in Lima he describes. It was in the square in the center of the city. Rows of pebbles were used to divide it into compartments in which there were butcher's, poultry, pulse, vegetable, fruit, and flower markets. The butchers sold beef and mutton, pork, hams, bacon, frozen kid, sausages, and salt fish; the poultry consisted of live and dead turkey, fowl, ducks, pigeons, and rarely geese, all of which were dear. vegetables were cheap as nearly all raised their own. (34)

Nothing is said about quarters for different races in cities, save in the little town of St. Philip de Porto Bello with about a hundred and thirty houses which had a negro quarter called "Guiney" in the east end. (35)

Every Spanish city was amply protected from outside assault, although internal police was neglected. Vera Cruz was surrounded by a wall six feet high and three feet wide, which was in turn surrounded by a palisade of iron wood. It was flanked at intervals with bastions, or square towers, twelve feet high and twenty feet square, some terraced, the rest empty. Three gates gave approach to the city, and the castle of Ulloa guarded the entrance. No ditch or counterscarp enforced the wall. (36) Panama, excepting the larger suburb, was enclosed in a wall of free-stone and garrisoned by regulars. (37) Cartagena had modern fortifications lined with free-stone, and the Fort of St. Lazaro on the hill. (38) Guayaquil had three modern wooden forts protecting it from the invader, but lacked a fire engine although fires had burned the entire city three times and there had been eleven other conflagrations. (40) Lima at the time of Ulloa had an irregular brick wall with

33. Stevenson II, 346.

34. Stevenson I, 224-7.

35. Juan and Ulloa, 361-2.

36. Menonville, 776-9.

37. Juan and Ulloa, 375.

38. Ibid., 329.

39. Ibid., 393.

40. Stevenson 207-8.

thirty-four bastions, seven gates, and three posterns. (41) Stevenson found it later with an adobe wall on the side not surrounded by the Rio Rima. The citadel included artillery barracks, a military depot, and an armory. (42) Araucó was situated safely inside an eighteen-inch wall on three sides and a hill on the fourth, with breastworks at the corners. On the hill were four brass guns of eighteen pounds calibre, breastworks of stone, and a guard-house with a small watch tower. An arched gateway on the center north was closed from eight p. m. to six a. m. (43)

The government of all cities was alike, the corregidor having police and civil direction, the audiencia settling judicial matters except in extreme cases when appeal was made to the Council of the Indies, as is explained in another chapter.

As the Travelers Saw Them

Different travelers championed their favorite cities. Humboldt says of Mexico City: "Mexico is undoubtedly one of the finest cities ever built by Europeans in either hemisphere. With the exception of Petersburg, Berlin, Philadelphia, and some quarters in Westminster, there does not exist a city of the same extent which can be compared to the capital of New Spain, for the uniform level of the ground on which it stands, for the regularity and breadth of the streets, and the extent of the public places." "However, it must be agreed,...it is much less from the grandeur and beauty of the monuments, than from the breadth and straightness of the streets, and much less from its edifices than from its uniform regularity, its extent and position, that the capital of New Spain attracts the admiration of Europeans." He admitted that Washington would undoubtedly be one day a much finer city than Mexico. Mexico's chief virtues seemed to be her pure style of architecture and beautiful edifices, the lack of exterior ornaments on the houses, the clean, well-lighted streets, and the "ten points of interest." These were the cathedral, treasury, St.

41. Juan and Ulloa, 567.

42. Stevenson I, 210.

43. Ibid., 28-9.

Francis convent, hospital, acordaba, school of mines, botanical garden in viceroy's court, university and public library, Academy of Fine Arts, and equestrain statue of King Charles IV in the plaza mayor. (44) Humboldt also says that Vera Cruz was "beautifully and regularly built." (45)

Menonville admired the city of Havana from the ship, comparing it to cities of French colonies which were only lines of fishermen's huts. "The fortress of Havannah, its numerous domes, its lofty steeples, the red tops of its houses, its high and white buildings, all give it the appearance of an European town, and powerfully awakened in me the recollection of my darling country." The internal appearance disappointed him, belying the promise of the exterior, with its rubbish, lack of symmetry, gloomy houses, and wretched ecclesiastic architecture. (46)

Juan and Ulloa enthusiastically declare that Lima was the "Queen of all the cities of South America" with her grand square with fountain and statue of Fame, paving, streams of water, houses of good appearance, and churches of riches and pomp with valuable paintings and ornaments which "even on common days, with regard to their quantity and richness, exceed those which many cities of Europe pride themselves with displaying on the most common occasions." (47) They are apologetic for Cartagena, a not very opulent city equal to one of third rank in Europe. (48)

Stevenson was impressed by all the towns north of Lima which were "neat," and Catamarca, which he says was a "beautiful city." (49)

So it is found that urban life ranged from wretched native hamlets to populous opulent cities, which, if the opinions of the travelers are just, compared favorably with those of Europe and the rest of North America, but

44. Humboldt II, 29-39.

45. Ibid., 214.

46. Menonville, 756-64.

47. Juan and Ulloa, 566-71.

48. Ibid., 330.

49. Stevenson II, 113, 127-8.

peculiar in their plan of construction, and inhabited by a varied population.

Water Works

In public works the Indies needed only to preserve the work of the Indians, although even this was not always done. Yet some important additions had also been made. Menonville says of Oaxaca: "Well-planned aqueducts supply it with an abundance of water of the utmost excellence." (50) The aqueducts of Mexico City were "monuments of modern construction." That from Chapultepec had arches occupying a length of more than 10,826 feet. The aqueduct of Santa Fe was 33,464 feet long, but arches were used for only a third of that space because of the declivity of the ground. (51) A project to carry water from Rio Xampa to Vera Cruz by aqueduct was started in 1704 and partly finished, but stopped because public cisterns were less expensive. (52)

The canals of Peru, made by the Incas before the conquest, brought down water from distant mountains. (53) Water from canals was used for irrigation in Mexico also. (54) In Terra Firma the course of streams were often turned to water plantations. (55)

Mexico City was in a network of hydraulic works. Stone dikes prevented the water of the lake of Zumpango from flowing into the lake of San Christobal, and San Christobal from flowing into the lake of Tezcuco. They were built in 1796 and 1798. Dikes and sluices of Tlahuac ~~were~~ and Mexitalzingo prevented the lakes of Chalco and Xochimilco from overflowing. The desague of Enrico Mortinez allowed the Rio de Guautitlan to make its way through the mountains into the valley of Tula. Two canals of M. Mier allowed the two lakes of Zumpango and San Christobal to be thrown dry at pleasure. Still Humboldt believed that the city needed a canal from the lake of Tezcuco. (56)

50. Menonville, 822.

51. Humboldt II, 34.

52. Ibid., 218-20.

53. Betagh, 9; Juan and Ulloa, 565.

54. Humboldt II, 412.

55. Depons II, 140.

56. Humboldt II, 119-20, 126.

Mexico City also had subterraneous canals: the Nochistongo begun in 1607, which was 6600 meters long and ten and a half square meters in section. The Herechutoca in 1804 was 67,535 feet long. (57) The Indians regarded the hydraulic operations as a public calamity because many perished in accidents and they had to neglect their domestic affairs. Many thousands were almost constantly occupied in the desagüe for two centuries. It was the principal cause of Indian poverty in the valley of Mexico. Because of the great humidity, many maladies developed, and the depopulation made further projects impossible. Humboldt says, "Only a few years ago from 1804 the Indians were cruelly bound with ropes, and forced to work like galley slaves, even when sick, till they expired on the spot." (58)

Many towns had little rívulets or canals of water running through the streets. The plaza mayor always had its fountain. In Lima the monasteries and convents were obliged to maintain fountains in the streets for the use of poor people. (59)

Architecture

Almost every conceivable material and many styles of structure were used in the architecture of the Indies. Mud huts, canes, adobe, unburnt brick, wood, and stone composed the structures of Spanish America. The architecture was conditioned by the available materials, the wealth of the inhabitants, and the climatic influences, as rain, floods, and earthquakes.

The people in the interior lived in primitive dwellings. The vallies of Quito were dotted with huts with mud walls, (60) in the country of Peru some people lived in the ruins of Indian buildings, (61) and some in houses of bamboo, canes, or bricks, dried only by the weather and covered with leaf

57. Humboldt II, 94-5, 114.

58. Ibid., 126-7.

59. Juan and Ulloa, 571.

60. Ibid., 468.

61. Stevenson I, 362.

thatched roofs or matting and ashes, for it never rained. (62) Along the Guayaquil rivers canes were the principal material, although the larger houses had wooden beams for floors. The roofs were cane rafters covered with leaves. The outer walls were latticed. These houses were of one story only, and lacked ground floors because of the inundations which occurred with frequency. (63)

The dwellings in the towns and cities were a little more pretentious. Havana had houses of one to three stories, all of stone. On the exterior they had an air of grandeur with their large gates and courts; wide windows projecting over the streets, and supported by pilasters; heavy wood balconies covered with tiles on the upper stories; and palisades of wood. But the inside was disappointing with dungeon-like doors and windows, thick Gothic portals, earthen floors, and ill-disposed apartments. Havana houses had courts surrounded by Gothic arcades in Moorish style. (64)

Mexico City was built of two sorts of hewn stone. Humboldt admired the pure style of its architecture, its solidity and magnificence, and was pleased that they were not disfigured by wooden balconies. The balustrades and gates were of iron and bronze. (65)

Various kinds of stone were employed, particularly in the North. Low stone houses with stone roofs were general in the interior; (66) Oaxaca had two-story houses of stone; three-fourths of those in Cordova were stone; and all in Vera Cruz and Orissava, many in Cartagena, and some in San Miguel and Quito were stone. (67) The stone of Vera Cruz was the shell of the madrepora, or piedras de muscara, from the bottom of the ocean, no rock being found near the city. (68)

62. Betagh, 8; Anson, 373.

63. Juan and Ulloa, 406-7.

64. Menonville, 761.

65. Humboldt I, 29.

66. Juan and Ulloa, 612.

67. Menonville, 776-7, 798, 800, 822; Juna and Ulloa, 329, 468; Stevenson II, 294.

68. Humboldt II, 217.

Farther south adobe and unburnt bricks came into use. Juan and Ulloa found them with clay in Quito. The houses there, with their low, narrow doors and windows were "inblind imitation of the Indians." (69) Stevenson three quarters of a century later mentioned the adobe, stone, and tile, the lower class living in one-story dwellings, and the upper classes having two. The estrado was an ever present feature in Quito. (70) Adobe was used in Lima, along with canes, roofs of cane-covered rafters, and panelled and carved ceilings. These houses were of one or two floors, flat roofed, some with patios and heavy arched doorways. To Stevenson and Helms they had a mean appearance, but (71) Juan and Ulloa were better impressed. At their time they found the houses mostly of wood, however. (72) Adobe was also found in Valparaiso covered with tiles, (73) and in Santiago fashioned into handsome and convenient structures built low on account of earthquakes. (74)

Unburnt bricks, tiled; and a little stone were popular materials in one-story houses in San Miguel, Riobamba, Popayan, Santiago, Quito, Cuenca, and Concepcion. (75) Those of Concepcion were elaborate structures with large court-yards surrounded by roofed corridors, arched porches, heavy folding doors with postern on one side, iron and gilt gratings inside the shutters, carved beams, and estrados. (76) Lime from a strata of shells between Talcaguano and Concepcion was used in the building. (77) Bricks and baja-reques were made in Trijillo into low houses with stately balconies and superb porticoes, the fronts whitewashed or fancifully painted. They were rarely as much as a story in height in this town. (78)

Earthquakes were so prevalent, that, in addition to influencing the

- 69. Juan and Ulloa, 443.
- 70. Stevenson II, 294.
- 71. Stevenson I, 213-5; Helms, 83.
- 72. Juan and Ulloa, 568.
- 73. Stevenson III, 161.
- 74. Juan and Ulloa, 677.
- 75. Ibid., 464, 470, 473, 483-4.
- 76. Stevenson I, 86-9.
- 77. Juan and Ulloa, 675.
- 78. Ibid., 561; Stevenson I⁺, 193-4.

height of houses, they had caused the people of Lacatunga to build the whole town of pumice stone which was so light that it would float in water. (79)

Tiles were used to some extent over almost the whole region. Juan and Ulloa saw them in Guamaga, Panama, San Miguel, Cuenca, Plata, and Buenos Aires; (80) and Stevenson in Valparaiso and Concepcion. (81) Buenos Aires built its houses of a ground floor and story with chalk or brick, mostly tiled, thatched with cocconut leaves and flags. (82)

Wood houses seemed to be confined to Guayaquil where Stevenson, Bouguer, and Juan and Ulloa say they were entirely of wood. Rogers and Courtney mention bricks and split bamboos also. The upper part of the house was the residence, the first floor being used for shops and ware houses. Stevenson considered them commodious buildings of good appearance. (83)

Practically the same influences determined the character of church and conventual buildings. The travelers regarded some as beautiful, others as mean. Humboldt praised the cathedral of Mexico City with its tow towers, of which a part he says was rudely called Gothic. The beautiful symmetry was especially to be admired. (84) Those of Panama were wood, except one of stone. (85) Menonville in general was pleased. He says the church of Oaxaca was finely built, whitened outside, and with rich ornaments inside; (86) that those in Vera Cruz, rich in silver and plate, were the only remarkable buildings; (87) and that in Orissava the convent of the Carmelites, massive in structure, was noble and striking with a barbarous magnificence, and the church had a beautiful sanctuary, although there was a ridiculous profusion of gilt. (88)

79. Juan and Ulloa, 274-5; Bouguer, 312; Juan and Ulloa, 468.

80. Stevenson I, 86-9; III, 161.

81. Juan and Ulloa, 375-6. 464, 473, 612, 622, 643.

82. Juan and Ulloa, 643.

83. Stevenson II, 207-8; Bouguer, 282; Juan and Ulloa, 396; Rogers and Courtney

84. Humboldt II, 37.

365.

85. Juan and Ulloa, 394.

86. Menonville, 822.

87. Ibid., 777.

88. Ibid., 801.

Juan and Ulloa found stone churches, many ruins, in St. Philip de Porto Bello; (89) and those in Cartagena, although having a poverty of ornaments, proper in their architecture. (90) Those of Guzco, in stone they considered good architecture; (91) those of Popayan respectable; (92) Guamaga, splendid; (93) the cathedral of Buenos Aires spacious and elegant; (94) that of Quito of stone splendidly adorned with tapestry hangings and costly decorations: vast quantities of wrought plate and ornaments, the nunneries excelling in elegance and delicacy, but the poverty of the parish churches conspicuous. (95)

They mention the stone churches of Lima with their small pretty cupolas of wood in imitation of stone, and towers partly of stone, and richest possible ornaments of diamonds, pearls, precious stones, silver, gold, and velvet inside. The convents were built of quinchas or bajareque and unburnt brick walls. The roofs were arched with bricks or quinchas; the buildings ornamented with columns, friezes, statues, and cornices of finely carved wood. (96) Stevenson says only the principal walls and pillars were of stone, the others of adobe and bajareque, wood being used in large proportion in the large buildings because it was less dangerous in earthquakes. Towers were of bajareque bound with Guayaquil wood, wooden spires were painted in imitation of stone, and ornaments of wood or stucco. He noticed the elegant fronts, the numerous steeples, and the composite architecture. (97)

Stevenson was not exceptionally well impressed with the ecclesiastic architecture in general. The brick and stone church of Concepcion he acknowledged to be of some merit; (98) he was pleased that no central choir spoiled the white stone church of Catamarca. (99) This feature he says

89. Juan and Ulloa, 361.

90. Ibid., 329-30.

91. Ibid., 615.

92. Ibid., 483-4.

93. Ibid., 612.

94. Ibid., 643.

95. Ibid., 443-4.

96. Ibid., 571.

97. Stevenson I, 214-6.

98. Ibid., 86.

99. Ibid., 130.

spoiled the appearance of the Trujillo (99) and Lima cathedrals, hiding the high altar. This building had freestone walls and floor, a panelled carved roof, stone pillars and arches velvet hangings with broad gold lace and fringes, and rich but not handsome lateral altars. The throne or high altar was magnificent, Corinthian style with silver, gold, diamonds, and other precious stones, carved cedar, two finely toned organs, and a modern highly varnished and gilt pulpit. At grand festivals over a thousand wax tapers illuminated the high altar, and the silver candelabra, branches and lamps, and plate were striking. A state choir was placed in front of the altar for the viceroy with attendants. The conventual churches of the principal houses were rich with high towers, good bells, pillars, panels, Ionic altars, silver, diamonds, brocades, laces, and embroidery. (100) He liked the large elegant Gothic cloisters in Lima, but regretted the bad style in busts and effigies. (101)

The elegant flight of stone steps of the convent of San Francisco in Quito was an object of his admiration. This building was of brick walls and stone cloisters. It had a Tuscan facade, massy but neat; the interior had a richly ornamented altar, arches, pillars, panel work, carving, and painting and sculpture by natives. The church of Santa Clara was of stone with a plain surface, noted for its elliptical dome. (102)

Byron noticed the rich gilding and plate in Santiago, and the Jesuits', although good in architecture, was too high. Depons, as usual, found little to praise, but little also to condemn. Those in Caracas were loaded with gilding from the bottom of the altar to the ceiling; they were very neat, but had neither profusion nor pomp, the gold, silver and diamonds far from being abundant. Even the chandeliers were frequently lent by the cathedral to the other churches for festivals. (103) Three monasteries had walls in front of

99. Stevenson II, 115.

100. Stevenson I, 232-9.

101. Ibid., 241.

102. Stevenson II, 286-7, 290.

103. Depons III, 70-2.

their church doors "not to expose to the irreverence of passengers either the sanctuary, or the celebration of its mysteries." (104) The churches of all Terra Firma, Depons says, were of tolerably modern taste, but the riches much less than generally imagined, gilding evidently having been mistaken for massy gold. They were decent, elegant, but not magnificent. (105)

A work of architecture much praised by Stevenson was the college of the Jesuits in Quito. The front was of white free-stone; the walls of brick; the doors, window frames, pillars, and arches of free-stone. The entrance was a beautiful stone one of the Doric order in exquisite workmanship. Corinthian pillars thirteen feet high had been carved out of a single block, as had also busts and statues, all made by the Indians. These also Stevenson thought were exquisite, beautifully executed, delicate pieces of architecture. The interior had pillars, an unornamental grained roof, and a cupola in the center. (106)

Several fine bridges completed the architecture of the region. Lima had a stone bridge, with arches, piers, and stone seats, and a clock and dial in a stone arch at the end, leading to a suburb. (107) Santiago also had a handsome stone bridge, (108) but Guayaquil had only a long wooden foot bridge extending eight hundred yards across the estuaries between the old and the new parts of the city. (109)

104. Depons III, 71.

105. Depons II, 121.

106. Stevenson II, 283-5.

107. Stevenson I, 212.

108. Stevenson III, 171.

109. Stevenson II, 205; Rogers and Courtney, 365.

CHAPTER VII

GOVERNMENT

The Mother Country and Her Colonies

At a great distance from her colonies, Spain governed them through the Council of the Indies, of which Depons says, "Its power, which has never been abused, has always been augmenting, and is at present so great that it holds in check all Spanish America." (1) Little did he know for how short a time that statement would be true. He had only the highest regard for the Council: "Its integrity so effectually disconcerts intrigue that every Spaniard, wealthy and powerful, who in his cause or his pretensions has more to hope from favor than from justice, directs all his efforts to avoid the jurisdiction of the council of the Indies. His only hope of success rests on bringing his cause to the decision of the ministers whom it is incomparably more easy to deceive." (2)

There was great disunity, however, in the ministry. The minister of war issued military orders, the minister of real hacienda issued financial orders, and so forth. If one failed to send an order necessary to carry out another, as an order to defray expenses for a military expedition, the execution was delayed or not performed at all, which caused trouble and embarrassment in the colonies. Depons frowned on this as a bad policy. (3)

Of the Spanish laws there was only respect, at least for their purpose. Depons considered them admirable in theory. "Destined to restrain the passions, to prevent injustice, to protect virtue, they do not always accomplish their object, because the magistrate to whom they should serve as a curb, often applies them to a contrary use." (4) The fault lay neither with the king nor the Council of the Indies, but with those who executed the laws. (5)

1. Depons II, 15.
2. Ibid., 15.
3. Ibid., 15-7.
4. Ibid., 54.
5. Ibid., 55.

The Spanish laws and their executors had not produced a corresponding impression on the inhabitants. Humboldt wrote in 1804 that considerable changes had taken place in the last twenty years, that the colonists had learned the actual state of Spain compared with the other powers of Europe and had formed a marked predilection for those more advanced than Spain. This had caused them to aspire to rights which would augment public prosperity, and to harbor a motive of resentment toward the mother country. Accordingly, the viceroys and governors believed that they discovered the germ of revolt in every association having public illumination for its object, prohibited the establishment of presses in towns of 40,000 and 50,000, and regarded the readers of Montesquieu, Robertson, or Rousseau as possessed of revolutionary ideas. They imprisoned the French residents during the war, and tortured young people to extort knowledge of secrets which they did not have. (6)

Magistrates of respectability and even Europeans raised their voices against this violence and injustice and advised governing with equity, perfecting social institutions, and granting just demands in order to bind them. This advice was not followed, and the revolutionary attempts failed because of the hatred of the castes and the dread of whites and freemen for the Indians and blacks, which arrested the course of popular discontent. (7)

Venezuelan papers of July 30, 1811 set forth the grievances against Spain: Spanish America existed only to increase the political preponderance of Spain, and was the victim of disorder, corruption, and conquest; the cruelties of the captain general; the concealment of Spanish defeats of French armies; the espionage system; the denial of representation by the governors; and annulment of an order favoring trade and encouraging agriculture. "Every kind of aid was expected of us; but we were never informed of its

6. Humboldt IV, 262-4.

7. Ibid., 264-6.

destination, inversion, and expenditure," one complained. This was regarded as insulting conduct toward America. (8)

Juan and Ulloa declared that the inhabitants of the Indies "can have no motive to covet another kind of government...or a more perfect degree of freedom...or a greater security for their property." (9) They lived after their own caprice, had no impost but the alcavala which they paid very irregularly, and had a successful contempt for authority. They say further that "they acknowledge no other obligation or duty to magistrates than such as they are willing to render, and regardless of the decisions of the tribunals, they scarcely acknowledge themselves as vassals, for each one is sovereign in his own esteem...." This was carried to such an extent, due to the security of great distance from Spain, that the magistrate, who was to such an extent, not prudent and wary had little security even of his life. (10)

Personnel

Varying attitudes were held toward the holders of the offices in Spanish America. Some previous ideas are declared erroneous. Especially is this the case with the viceroy, of whom Humboldt says, "In Europe very exaggerated ideas are in general entertained of the power and wealth of the viceroys of Spanish America. This power and wealth have no existence, but when the person who fills the situation is supported by a great party at court, and where, by making a sacrifice of his honour to a sordid avarice, he abuses the prerogatives entrusted to him by law. (11)

Their salaries were not high, and they were surrounded by families of greater wealth. As means of enriching themselves they resorted to patronage to the rich by recommending them to the ministry for official positions, to

8. Stevenson III, 51-76.

9. "Secret Expedition, 183.

10. Ibid., 183; Betagh, 8.

11. Humboldt IV, 231.

favoring the rich in dealing out mercury for the amalgamation process in mining, and to carrying on free trade with neutral colonies in time of war. They had no legal right to this trade except by so interpreting the orders of court: they could open the door to neutrals by informing the king of urgent circumstances. Humboldt said the viceroys could govern arbitrarily without fear of la residencia if they were supported in America by courageous assessors, and in Madrid by powerful friends. (12)

The viceroy was the immediate representative of the king, and answerable to him alone as president of the Council of the Indies. (13) Stevenson and Juan and Ulloa tell of the great ceremonies held in connection with the arrival of the viceroy of Peru. There was a twelve days celebration upon his entrance into Lima. The late viceroy and corregidor paid their compliments and oversaw his trip from Paita to Lima, a distance of 204 leagues. At Callao he was received in order by the audiencia, chamber of accounts, cathedral chapter, magistracy, consulado, inquisition, tribunal de Cruzada, superiors of religious orders, the colleges, and other persons of eminence. The alcalde entertained, and a play was given at night. Upon his entrance, into Lima the streets were decorated and there was a procession of the militia, the colleges, the university with the professors in their habits, the chamber of accounts the audiencia on horses, and the magistracy in velvet robes. Members of the corporation on foot supported a canopy over the viceroy. There were then a ceremony at the cathedral consisting of a mass of thanksgiving, sermon, and so forth; evening entertainments several days, and bull fighting and feasts. Acknowledging him as their viceregal protector the university gave a poetical contest and a ceremonious reception; the colleges

12. Humboldt IV, 231-3.

13. Stevenson I, 173-4.

the same receptions minus the contest; the religious orders, according to the antiquity of their foundations in the Indies, presented the best theses of their students; and the superiors of the nunneries sent congratulatory compliments and entertained with music concerts. Other festivities and ceremonies also accompanied this event. (14)

Great ceremony likewise attended his presence at the Royal audience. As president of the Royal Audience, and because of his heavy responsibilities, he was not allowed to marry within the boundaries of his jurisdiction, enter commercial concerns, possess personal property, become a god-father, or even visit a private family. (15) In spite of these precautions Humboldt found that some of the viceroys managed to extort great wealth and that others showed a noble and generous disinterestedness. (16)

Humboldt alone mentions the intendants, of whom he speaks highly: "The minute vexations to which the cultivator was incessantly exposed from the subaltern Spanish and Indian magistracy, have singularly diminished under the active superintendance of the intendants; and the Indians begin to enjoy advantages which laws, gentle and humane in general, afforded them, but of which they were deprived in ages of barbarity and oppression. The first persons to whom the count confided the important places of intendant or governor of a province was extremely fortunate. Among the twelve who shared the administration of the country in 1804, there was not one whom the public accused of corruption or want of integrity." (17)

Not so sure was Depons of the integrity of the governors. In order to avoid partiality the governor was greatly restricted. He could not possess within the boundaries of the government over four slaves, he could not engage in commerce, or marry within the same boundaries, and neither he nor his

14. Stevenson I, 322-9; Juan and Ulloa, 574-7.

15. Stevenson I, 174-6.

16. Humboldt IV, 233.

17. Humboldt I, 183-4.

children were permitted to attend weddings or interments or to present infants at the baptismal font. While Depons conceded the excellency of the laws and the admirableness of the precautions he questioned whether their object was accomplished. (18)

Most despicable were the corregidores who "study to promote their own interest, and leave the government, or the greater part of it, in the hands of the alcaldes, and by this means rid themselves of subjects which give them any uneasiness." Juan and Ulloa give an instance of a corregidor who was ordered to seize and punish some creoles and Europeans in armed opposition to each other. The corregidor sent word asking permission to visit their houses, pledging not to approach the apartment to which they should retreat. They gave the permission, and were consequently not seized. They even appeared in public immediately afterward, but no attempt to seize them was made. (19) The corregidores often came from Spain destitute and in debt, but in the brief term of office, which was limited to five years, one gained from \$70,000 to \$200,000, which was net profit after the debts and fees were paid. (20) This was secured by their iniquitous systems of distribution and collection as described in the chapter on the Indians. He then bribed the judge who audited his accounts, (21) to acquit him of the charges alleged against him. Juan and Ulloa in their secret report say: "This is so notorious and systematized in practice, that every body knows what it costs to audit the accounts of this or that district; at the same time, if the corregidor has offended his Spanish neighbors, or if any suspicion is entertained that they might bring in evidence against him, the price is raised for extra costs, but the settlement is always brought about, and the corregidor acquitted, although at a somewhat increased expense." Friends and domestics of the corregidor were always

18. Depons II, 21-2.

19. "Secret Expedition, 185-7.

20. Ibid., 43.

21. Ibid., 12-3.

on hand to testify to the notary of his rectitude, and to avoid suspicion, several persons were employed to bring trivial charges, of which the corregidores were acquitted. In Valdivia each governor audited the accounts of his predecessor, and consequently each one usually kept several bags of money under the bed for the sole purpose of passing them on to his predecessor. (22)

Dar Residencia

La residencia was the name applied to a period allowed after the expiration of the terms of viceroys, governors, etc., for the statements of cases of aggrieved persons to be laid before a commission appointed by the king. Stevenson gives this period as six months for all officers, (23) and Depons as six months for the viceroy and sixty days for governors. Those subjected were : viceroys, presidents, political and military governors, intendants, corregidores, and intendants of armies. After 1799 alcaldes, regidores, alguazils, attorneys, etc., were exempted. The procedure was as follows: At the end of the term the Council of the Indies, after the appointment of the successor, gave the king three names, to one of which he gave a commission to receive the residence of the late viceroy or governor. He went to the capital and announced by banns and placads to everyone (and this was imperative) the day for forming the tribunal of the residence and when it would be, inviting all to present complaints. No complaints were received after the time expired. The proceedings were forwarded to the Council of the Indies which decided on them definitely. (24)

Depons says that this law gave full ability of action during the exercise of an officers function, and still restrained him within the limits of justice. "It was impossible to find one better calculated to accomplish this great

22. "Secret Expedition, 45-8.

23. Stevenson I, 176-7.

24. Depons II, 23-5.

object than the imposing perspective of a tribunal, expressly constituted to detect and to punish his errors." He admits the wisdom, but does not commit himself as to the efficacy of the law. (25) The accusations of Juan and Ulloa of notorious bribery leave no uncertainty as to their opinion of the institution.

The Course of Justice

The course of justice was indeed a devious one. The laws were not culpable, but those who administered them were practiced in their art, and knew well how to turn them into whatever channel they desired. The courts, or audiences, as they were called, were well-organized, dignified, and pompous bodies. There were many kinds of tribunals, for church, commercial, and financial cases, the last two only being under state control. The Royal Audience had among its members civil and criminal judges, a fiscal to take cognizance of everything relating to the crown, a protector for the Indians who solicited for them and plead in their defense when they were injured. There was no appeal except to the Council of the Indies, and only rarely in cases of rejection of a petition, second trial, or flagrant injustice. The members had an official costume, and the magistrate an insignia. Civil and criminal cases were tried by the whole audience or by committees. (26)

There were also the court of the exchequer, tribunal of commerce, tribunal of general accompts, tribunal of temporalities, tribunal of general the protomedicato, court of effects for deceased persons, and city corporations which administered ordinary justice. (27) The lower orders of military men were judged by their compeers, the object of which Depons considered laudable, but the wisdom not discernible, because the inferior class was wholly at the mercy of court martial, while the honor and life of a superior was under the immediate and direct safeguard of the king. (28)

25. Depons II, 23-5.

26. Juan and Ulloa, 444, 573; Stevenson I, 178.

27. Juan and Ulloa, 444-5, 573; Stevenson I, 194.

28. Depons II, 51.

Where there were no cabildos the police and administration of justice was vested in a single man with undivided and almost unlimited authority, as he was accountable only to the governor. There were possible appeals to audiences in litigated affairs, but these lieutenants of justice gave causes any turn they wished, with a "rapacity" having "no restraint" by law. (29)

Although Depons makes this scathing indictment of the lieutenants of justice he pays a fine compliment to the audiences: "Highly respected by Spaniards, and when the members are men of unquestionable talents and integrity, they are regarded with a degree of submission and reverence, almost amounting to adoration." He continues, "Nothing has been neglected by the laws, to banish ignorance, partiality, favouritism, malice and cupidity, from these sanctuaries of justice. An administration, so august is confided only to persons of correct deportment and upright characters, and who have received those degrees which are, and ought to be, granted solely to learning." (30)

Depons and Stevenson describe judiciary formalities as being complicated, tedious and expensive. The escribano wrote down all the declarations, accusations, and confessions from which the court decided the merit of the case. If the client was in prison he could not hear his own cause. (31)

It seems that almost anything became a case for a court. Humboldt speaks of the many litigated cases in Vera Cruz in 1802; a large number being commercial. (31) He says, "Hitherto there has been spent in visits of persons of skill and judicial expenses (for everything becomes a law-suit in the Spanish colonies!) the sum of 2,250,000 francs." (32) Depons complains that one class was ruined by chicanery, and the other enriched. (33) But the Spaniards demanded law-suits and the lawyers were only too eager to accede

29. Depons II, 49.

30. Ibid., 29.

31. Stevenson I, 180; Depons II, 52.

31. Humboldt IV, 43.

32. Humboldt II, 219.

33. Depons II, 52.

to their wishes. He says: "From this litigious spirit of the Spaniards arises that swarm of vermin that surround the tribunals in order to devour the substance of families, which the restlessness and personal pride of the possessors expose to all the arts of chicanery. To the facility with which a livelihood is gained in this manner in the practice of the law, which requires no other talent than that of sophistry, is to be ascribed the avidity with which so many enter into that profession, and the aversion which is generally discovered for agricultural labor. From the enormous sums which the cultivator spends in litigation, necessarily result the declining and ruinous condition of the plantations." (34) He explains: "The duel...is never employed among Spaniards to atone for injuries. When a rupture has once taken place, they are never disposed to any sincere reconciliation, nor generously to consign the offense to oblivion. As soon as a Spaniard has vowed hatred against any one, it is for life, and according to the importance of the cause, which has excited his resentment, it is transmitted with more or less violence to succeeding generations. But although this vindictive disposition does not impel them to any sanguinary measures, it keeps them perpetually engaged in vexatious law suits, by which they become a prey to the harpies of the profession, which, with all the subtlety of chicanery, make it their object to multiply litigious pleadings, perplex the simplest causes, and protract the decisions of justice, in order to involve their clients in greater expenses. There are very few Spanish families of any note, who are not engaged in several law suits, which entirely turn upon points of personal pride." Irrigation difficulties furnished a number of excuses for protracted lawsuits. The courses of streams were often turned to water plantations, and lawsuits, innumerable, ruinous, and perpetual, resulted. Depons says that over half those at Caracas were relative to the distribution of water, "and it is easy

to give any kind of face to such actions, either by bribed surveys, by mendicant declarations, by the length and intricacy of writings, and by the sophisms of chicanery; the tribunal, whose duty it is to pronounce, hesitates, demands new information, and contributes, by its irresolution, to perpetuate and complicate discussion, till it becomes a complete labyrinth, where the opinion of the judge cannot distinguish truth from falsehood, reason from paradox; all becomes doubt and incertitude except the ruin of clients and the languishing of agriculture." (35)

Juan and ulloa say that Indian law-suits were sought by the judges, to whom they did not attach so much integrity as did Depons. With fines and costs they took a mule, cow, or any other animals, reducing the Indians to miserable conditions. (36) Betagh also had a poorer opinion of the judicial court which he says often accepted bribes. (37) Juan and Ulloa reveal the injustice of the treasury for effects of persons deceased, which received the goods of those whose lawful heirs are in Spain: "an institution, originally very excellent, but now greatly abused, great defalcations being made in the estates before they are restored to their proper owners." (38)

Preservation of Order

The victim of the law as administered by the audience was an unfortunate person. Depons says, "The Spaniards have great consideration for the life of a man, and an absolute contempt for his liberty. The most atrocious crimes are required for his condemnation to death; the most trivial suspicion suffices to deprive him of his freedom." (39) The smallest debt plunged the debtor into prison. Proof of crime was unnecessary for incarceration, but proof of injustice of suspicion was necessary for enlargement. (40)

35. Depons II, 139-41.

36. "Secret Expedition", 21.

37. Betagh, 8.

38. Juan and Ulloa, 445.

39. Depons, 54.

40. Ibid., 55.

Stevenson noticed the same. He says that the death penalty was given with reluctance, but that there was no regard for personal liberty. "Even a suspicion of criminality was sufficient to incarcerate an individual," he remarks. Because imprisonment was so facile it was not considered a disgrace. Release was almost as easy, for the viceroy visited the prison on Friday before easter and two days before Christmas and discharged those confined for petty crimes. The prisoners were given surgical attention, and their food was inspected, so, with the exception of confinement, the prisoners were not discom^{ve}ped. (41)

As would have been expected from the facility with which one took up his abode in prison, this misfortune was taken casually. Depons gives an entertaining account of a prisoner's life: "From this abusive facility of attacking personal liberty, results the slight impression made upon a Spaniard by the side of a prison. He goes to it without emotion; he writes there from morning till night to the authorities, to his patrons, and to his friends; he receives visits from all his relatives and acquaintances with the same gaiety and the same countenance, as if this abode of sorrow and humiliation was his ordinary residence. He leaves it with the same seren^{ly}: returns punctually the visits he has received, and returns to society without rank^{ing} this event in the catalogue of his misfortunes." (42)

Although one was easily imprisoned, there was a general spirit of lawlessness and many crimes which went unpunished. This was due partly to the protection which the Church lent to criminals, and partly to the low moral standard of the people. The church encouraged and protected a thriving mendicancy, as told by Depons: "The streets are full of both sexes who have for their whole subsistence but the produce of alms, and who prefer this

41. Stevenson I, 180-1.

42. Depons II, 55.

mode to that of labor. Religion, very badly interpreted on this subject, forbids, among the Spaniards, all inquiry into the ability which age and health gives the mendicant to procure a livelihood, in some other manner than that of holding out the hand. They believe or at least they act as if they believed, that the recommendation of the evangelist to bestow charity, is an invitation to demand it." (43) Worse yet: "As soon as this opinion is entertained, it is under the protection, instead of being under the guard of the police. At every hour of the day, the houses are assailed by beggars. The impotent and the robust, the old and the young, the blind and those with their eyes, all have an equal right to the ability to bestow, not according to the degree of necessity of him who asks." (44) Many of these lay in the streets at night because they were drunk, and the police could not repress them under pain of impiety, because the mendicant was freed by providence from every censure and rendered inviolable. Depons estimated that there were at least 200 beggars in Caracas. He believed that the police should have been empowered to provide the needy with substance and to assign the others to work, is a deed less agreeable to the Deity, than that of protecting them in the bosom of idleness, where they lead a life full of vices..." (45)

Not only did the church protect the beggar, but it also sheltered the criminal. Although this shelter was extended for few crimes, many people would go so far as to commit murder, thinking to find refuge in a church, as there was a general belief that the church would protect one from the hands of justice for any crime whatsoever. These asylums were respected by the magistrates and obstinately defended by the ecclesi^{ast}ic tribunals, and thus were a potent contributing factor in the general lawlessness. (46) But this institution was discussed more fully under the Church.

43. Depons III, 97.

44. Ibid., 97.

45. Ibid., 97-9.

46. Depons II, 122.

The low moral standards of the population for the most part found its outlet in crimes of various kinds. Theft was extremely prevalent, the common people and the indians being addicted, and artful and dextrous at it. Domestic were not entirely free, and their masters necessitated to reserve and suspicion. The mestizos^e were audacious but cowardly. Because of the dexterity of the thieves, the law found detection difficult. Hats were favorite articles for theft. A thief would snatch a hat and flee with a valuable prize, for people of rank wore hats of white beaver worth fifteen to twenty dollars with hatbands of gold or silver lace fastened with gold buckles set with diamonds or emeralds. Housebreaking was another popular pastime. The thief burning a hole through the door while his accomplice watched. To prevent this the principal traders of a city kept a guard for security. The guard was obliged to make good the damage done in case a house or shop was broken open. Small and sometimes inexpensive articles were stolen. The small ones were hard to detect, and the cheap ones hard to handle by law. Indians, mestizos^e, and the lowest class did not consider the taking of eatables a robbery. An Indian in a room of valuables would advance slowly and with utmost circumspection, taking the least valuable piece, thinking it would not be missed. He denied the act if detected, with an expressive word "yanga," signifying that it was done without necessity, profit, or bad intention--a word that disculpated any crime. (47) False measures, false weights, and adulterations were common offences because they were regarded less as acts of roguery than as profits of an address of which those who practiced them were vain. (48)

The more serious crimes of assassination was reserved for the Europeans, mostly Andalusians. (49) Riots were common to all classes for various

47. Juan and Ullos, 451-2; Depons III, 96.

48. Depons III, 96.

49. Ibid., 95-6.

causes, and could not be removed by existing authorities, as the participants were incorrigible. Juan and Ulloa suggested a wise choice of rulers and magistrates as the only hope "for, whatever be the means that can be devised, it appears as if they wholly lose their efficacy in the distance itself, as well as in the mode of putting them in operation." (50)

As has been mentioned, imprisonment was the prevailing method of punishment. The death penalty was rare. Counterfeiting was punished by the stake, smuggling by confiscation of both life and property, (51) and exile was sometimes used. (52)

Scanty protection was assured against the great amount of crime. The police system was divided between the government, the lieutenant of the governor, and a number of the audience, and was inefficient because of lack of centralization. The assassinations, thefts, frauds, and treacheries demanded steps, investigations, and measures capable of putting to the proof the most ardent zeal, and baffling the most penetrating sagacity, but because of the divided responsibility little was done. The police of Caracas never saw even to the cleaning of the streets except in honor of some procession, and they were forbidden by religion to take steps against mendicancy, even to inquire into the ability which age and health gave the mendicant to procure a livelihood. (53)

Although the government and police neglected the preservation of internal security, Spanish America was well-protected against invasions of wild Indians. Humboldt speaks highly of the presidios, or military posts in Mexico, where tall, robust mountaineers were unequalled in activity, impetuosity, and privations. The provincial militia was practically useless, having originated in the aspirations of a few heads of families to be colonels or brigadiers, an

50. "Secret Expedition", 190.

51. Menonville, 765.

52. Stevenson I, 72.

53. Depons III, 95-100.

aspiration easy of attainment, since the distribution of patents and military ranks was a fertile source of revenue to the administrators.

[54]

54. Humboldt IV, 256-8.

CHAPTER VIII

TAXATION

Complications

"The system of taxation in the Spanish colonies was as complicated as their law suits in the courts of justice, and the ingenuity of the theory practised in the exchequer can only be equalled by the resignation of the people to the practice" (1) is Stevenson's epitome of financial administration in the Indies. He noticed it particularly in commerce: "The revenue arising from commerce was exacted under a great many heads, and was as complicated a system as the rest of the Spanish proceedings, which appeared to be directed to the employment of a number of officers and the diminution of finances." (2) Depons says that "It would be difficult to find a part of the world, excepting Spain, in which the persons employed in collecting the taxes are, in proportion to the amount of the public revenue, so very numerous." (3) Humboldt was of the same opinion: "The prodigious number of officers, the greatest idleness in those who fill the highest offices, the utmost complication in the administration of the finances, render the collection of taxes as slow and difficult as expensive to the Mexican public." There they practiced economy in collection on the clergy, but there was a horrible depredation in the management of corporation property. The expenses, he believed, amounted to from sixteen to eighteen per cent of the gross receipts. (4)

Depons found finances administered in Caracas by the superior customs officers, who were cashier and treasure, with practically concurrent duties; the court of accounts, which verified accounts before they were sent to Spain; and the supreme chamber of finance, an appellate for the court of accounts and the intendant, who was president of the supreme chamber of finance. (5)

1. Stevenson I, 195.
2. Ibid., 202.
3. Depons III, 12.
4. Humboldt IV, 223.
5. Depons III, 9-11.

Revenues

Although the branches of revenue were almost innumerable they may be classified as those due the king as lord of the land, as Indian tribute, the royal fifths on gold and silver, and coinage profits; those due the king as head of the Church, as the first fruits, the tithes and sale of bulls or indulgences; those arising from royal monopolies, as tobacco, stamped paper, quicksilver, wines, and gunpowder; and those coming from trade and commercial transactions, as the alcavala on sales, and the almojarifazgo, or import and export duties. The principal income of the government, as observed by Humboldt in Mexico, was from gold and silver mines, farming of tobacco, the alcavala, Indian tribute, and pulque duty. (6)

Gold and silver mined legally paid the crown approximately a fifth of the produce. From 1556 to 1576 at Potosi the requirement was a fifth, from 1579 to 1736 it was one and a half per cent (cobos), and then a fifth of the remainder; and from 1736 to 1789 it was the cobos, followed by a half of the fifth. (7) Betagh made the remark ^{that} in 1720 at Lima the royal tax on gold was a twentieth probably reduced because of ~~thin~~ thin plaques in the veins causing poverty; and on silver a fifth; but others do not sanction it. (8) Shelvocke at the same time referred to the fifths, and Juan and Ulloa did the same in the third decade. (9) Helms in 1789 had still different figures. On silver he says there were a half per cent cobos duty, or the old established duty to the king; six per cent real diesmo, or the king's "tythe"; six per cent derechos de fundicion, for expenses of melting and refining, for one bar of two hundred marks; one real de la Plata on every mark for salaries, etc., of the royal tribunal of the mines; and as soon as the silver was melted,

6. Humboldt IV, 281.

7. Humboldt III, 356-9.

8. Betagh, 8, 18, 23.

9. Shelvocke, 512; Juan and Ulloa, 357.

stamped; and proved, eight piasters, five reals, and thirteen marevidis de Plata was paid for each mark. Gold paid four per cent duty. (10) In the nineteenth century Depons said that the "fifth of the mines" was never received in Caracas, (11) and that in all Spanish America the duties on silver averaged eleven and a half per cent, and on gold three per cent. In New Spain he found the duties to be half of the fifth; a one per cent duty called derecho del uno por ciento; and the duty of coinage, which he called derecho de monedage y señoreage, three and a half reals to the marc. The marc was sixty-eight reals, and a half real was deducted for expenses. (12) Stevenson only a few years later said that a fifth of gold and silver in the colonies was paid to the king. (13) It will be seen that much of this duty was never paid.

Tobacco manufacture in spite of the enormous expence, estimated by Humboldt to be ninteen per cent of the profit, came second in sources of revenue in Mexico, but was more important there than in Peru because there were more whites in Mexico and the custom of using tobacco more general. (14)

A tobacco monopoly was established in Mexico in 1764, and then the cultivator had to secure special permission to plant tobacco, and sell it to the farm at a price arbitrarily fixed according to the worth of the produce. The cultivator was limited to the environs of Orizaba and Cardoba and the partidos of Huatusco and Songalica in Vera Cruz. Officers traveled the country to pull up tobacco found beyond these districts, and to fine the farmers who cultivated tobacco for their own consumption. The limitation of cultivation was disastrous in Guadalajara which formerly produced tobacco, but was then decreasing in population. (15) Humboldt denounces the administration of the

10. Helms, 142-3.

11. Depons III, 27.

12. Humboldt III, 328.

13. Stevenson I, 197.

14. Humboldt III, 42-3.

15. Ibid., 39-40.

tobacco farm as "so vicious that the salaries of officers consume 19 per cent of the net revenue." "Of all the reforms proposed in the administration of the finances of the colonies, the most desirable [sic] are the suppression of the tobacco system and the abolition of the tribute on the Indians." (16) Depons says that the monopoly on tobacco was the most productive and most recent, although the duties rarely discharged the expenses. An alternative had been given of paying twelve dollars to the quintal on all tobacco raised and prepared for sale, an option which he admired. The monopoly, he claimed, was demanded because of impending war, and was accepted without murmur: "never was a tax demanded with more ingenuity, nor consented to with greater resignation" even with it driving the previous cultivators to misery, and merchants and manufactures to vice and mendicity, and causing friction with the administration. (17) Stevenson says that buying and selling without license resulted in confiscation and heavy fine, and frequently forfeiture of the whole property. Even with the usual buying price at three-eighths of a dollar a pound, and the selling price at two dollars a pound, the revenue suffered because of so many officers employed to prevent smuggling, collect tobacco, and attend the estanco where it was sold. This strict monopoly, which even required the planter to make oath on delivery as to the number of plants harvested, and that none had been reserved for himself, caused more hatred of the Spanish government than all other taxes. (18)

The alcavala was an ordinary sales tax begun in Spain in 1342 in the war against the Moors, the most ancient and productive, according to Stevenson. It was a tax collected at every sale or resale, often compounded in advance by retail dealers. Depons defined the tax as five per cent, and Stevenson as six and a half. Humboldt explains that it was not uniform in the different

16. Humboldt IV, 211.

17. Depons III, 41-51.

18. Stevenson I, 198-9.

ports, being two per cent in Cartagena, three in Guayaquil, four in Vera Cruz and Caracas, and six in Lima. He says it was at importation, but not exportation, but Depons says that the maritime alcavala paid on entering and clearing ports was four per cent. (19)

No tax worked such hardship as the Indian tribute. Humboldt remarks that its abolition was one of the most desirable reforms in the administration of finances has been noted. It was a capitation tax imposed on civilized Indians between eighteen and fifty years of age, used to pay preachers. Depons says it was badly collected and worse paid. (20) It varied from two dollars and a half to seven dollars a year in different provinces, and could be redeemed by advancing a sum proportional to the age of the Indian and the annual tribute. It was collected by subdelegados, governors of districts, who were allowed six per cent of the sum gathered. The tribute roll was renewed every five years by the visitador. Stevenson says that it was an irksome tax causing general discontent. (21) Juan and Ulloa are not so mild in their characterization of its collection as "an iniquitous system carried out in contempt of the principles of justice and the dictates of humanity." The young in Quito were forced to pay the tribute before they were eighteen, and it was exacted of those over fifty-five, and frequently over seventy, with none of them exempt except those incapable of earning a livelihood. Wives, fathers, and brothers were bound to make up the deficiency of a minor to save him from being whipped. Second payments were often demanded of Indians who lost their receipts, which happened frequently as they had no suitable place to keep them. Failure to pay this resulted in their being put in a factory until their wives or daughters paid it or some landholder advanced the money and hired the Indians out to recover it. Even those Indians absent from a department for several years, legally liable for

19. Humboldt IV, 93; Depons III, 15-16; Stevenson I, 196.

20. Depons III, 23-4.

21. Stevenson I, 196.

only a third of the tribute during the absence, were forced to pay the amount for all for which they could not show receipts. The corregidor, under pretense of zeal for the king, enriched himself and then bribed the judge who audited the accounts. (22)

Pulque is said to have been the next most productive tax of Mexico. This was the duty on fermented liquors made from the juice of the agave. Depons mentions the pulperias, annual payments for carrying on the liquor trade in shops, which amounted to thirty dollars the first year, and less later, the tafias, a tax of a dollar a quintal by distillers, and the Guarapo, a licence on selling Guarapo, an intoxicating liquor. (23)

Scarcely less productive was the almojarifa, or duty paid on imports and exports, (24) and other tariffs. The basis for tariffs in the colonies was need of proceeds from the customs house, protection of the national industry, activity of commerce, and the supply of Spanish America. Imports were divided into three classes by Depons: the so-called free articles or those paying small duty, grown or manufactured in Spain; the articles of contribution, which were of foreign production with a degree of workmanship in Spain not augmenting their value by one half, paying a duty of twelve and a half per cent; and those imported to Spain and then sent to America, which paid a total duty of about forty-three per cent. Humboldt says free goods had a nine and one half per cent duty, and foreign goods a total of twenty nine per cent. Of the exports, colonial productions, except cacao, paid inconsiderable duties on leaving America and entering Spain, and none on leaving Spain. Unwrought materials paid heavy duties on departure from Spain, giving Spanish manufacture the advantage. (25)

22. "Secret Expedition," 12-9.

23. Depons III, 18-9.

24. Humboldt IV, 214.

25. Depons II, 282-4; Humboldt IV, 93-4.

There were royal duties and municipal duties, The major ports paid both, but the minor ports only municipal duties. These were derecho del consulado from ~~one~~ half to one per cent, derecho del fiel executor, and derecho del cabildo. (26)

One is met with a labyrinth of terms and amounts in the explanation of the tariff system. Juan and Ulloa are almost silent on the subject, saying only that in Cartagena imports from Spain paid duty and were afterward sold without further charge. (27) Depons, it was seen refers to an maritime alcavala on entering and clearing ports, and Humboldt speaks of it only on importation. He found the almojarifazgo three per cent for entry and of Spanish produce, and seven per cent for foreign commodities. For clearing ports, ~~He mentions~~ it was only from two to three percent. (28) Depons says it was fifteen per cent on entering and clearing ports. He mentions the armada and armadilla tax to repel pirates, an impost collected at the maritime customs houses for payment of the officers of the consulate the surplus for agriculture and commerce, and the corso on entry and departure to support vessels employed in preventing contraband trade. (29) Stevenson says the almojarifazgo was five per cent import, and two per cent export. Then he tells of the corso, a two per cent duty on entry and on departure, for protection against enemies in time of war; the armada, which was four per cent on entry and two on departure; the duty of the consulate, one per cent on entry and departure; and finally of tariff taxes the list of which was "too long for insertion." (30)

The sale of papal indulgences and bulls was a source of mutual benefit: the crown, gets the money, and the purchaser the enjoyment of this life and

26. Depons II, 93.

27. Juan and Ulloa, 352.

28. Humboldt IV, 93.

29. Depons III, 16-7.

30. Stevenson I, 202-3.

the life to come.. Their nature is discussed in connection with the church. The bulls originated with the holy crusade, and were continued because of the revenue. The bull for the living was good, but two bulls were better --for the exchequer, at least. The bull for eating milk and eggs drew not enough from the clergy, so was recommended to the laity. The bull for the dead, "with piety and money" emptied purgatory, and many bulls accelerated the process. The bull of composition validated theft and provided a lucrative income, being bought to the amount of six per cent of the theft.

The prices of the bulls varied according to the rank and wealth of the purchasers, who were divided into four classes with the following prices: (31)

Classes	I	II	III	IV
General Bull for the Living	\$15	\$5	\$1.50	2½ reals
Bull <u>de Laitage</u>	6	3	1.50	3 reals
Bull of Composition	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50
Bull for the Dead	6 reals	6 reals	6 reals	2 reals

Considerable and increasing revenue was obtained from the post, in the renta de Coreos. (32) The government had a monopoly on paper, gunpowder, wine, tobacco, and quicksilver. (33) The government derived a good revenue from the sale of cards and gunpowder, (34) considerable from tobacco, as has been shown, and hindered the mineral output and lost money with its control over mercury which it sold at less than half the cost. It formed the exclusive privilege of one pint in each town for cock fights, prohibiting the use of any other place. (35)

Ecclesiastical contributions included the rents of major and minor vacancies, which were rarely used for missionaries, pensionless widows of officers, etc, the surplus going to Spain; the mesada, or a twelfth of the annual income of each rector upon presentation to a new benefice; the media anata, or the proceeds of the first six months income of benefices of canons and prebendaries;

31. Depons III, 39-41.

32. Humboldt IV, 214.

33. Menonville, 765; Juan and Ulloa, 624.

34. Humboldt IV 214.

35. Ibid., 214; Depons III, 29-30; Helms, 76-7.

the first year's revenue of the bishop, which could be paid in six annual installments; and restitution by confessors of defrauded revenue. (36)

The king also got one ninth of the tithes, one fourth going to the bishop, the same amount to the dignitaries of the chapter, and seven eighteenths to pay curates and other officials. (37) Tithes were paid by all persons on every product of the land. Only five per cent was paid on sugar, coffee, indigo, and other commodities requiring costly process to give form to the commercial articles; and ten per cent on cocoa, cotton, grain, seeds, cassava, lambs, kids, pigs, fowls, green geese, milk, butter, cheese, wool, veal, colts, mules, jackasses, garden produce, honey, wax, ~~swarms~~, swarms of bees, grapes, olives, and all fruits except pine-apples. (38)

Government as well as ecclesiastic officials shared their incomes with the government. Half of the salaries of government employees was reserved for the first year, and half the surplus for the first year of promotion was likewise withheld. (39) The lances were fines of \$10,000 for titles of marquis, count, viscount, and baron. The titled person paid it at once or \$500 each year. Stevenson found sixty-three titles in Lima in 1806. (40) All officers of the exception alcaldes, and most of the audience paid fines for their commissions, proportional to value of the situations, settled by royal officers. Appointments could be sold at reduced emoluments, the reduction being a half and then a third. (41)

A liberal supply of stamped paper of "infamous quality" for agreements, public acts, and judicial proceedings provided a certain amount of income. This paper was good for only two years, and then could be replaced by other. The price of a sheet ranged from six dollars to a sixteenth of a dollar, the most expensive being for deeds, titles, and permissions and pardons. The next was at a dollar and a half a sheet, for contracts, wills, and transactions before notaries. Third class stamped paper was used for legal documents of viceroys, chancellors, audiences, and all other judges or tribunals, and cost only half a dollar. Stamped paper at a sixteenth of a dollar a sheet

36. Depons II, 89; Depons III, 27-31; Stevenson I, 203-4.
 37. Depons III, 21-2.
 38. Depons III, 22; Stevenson I, 201-2.
 39. Stevenson I, 200; Depons III, 20-1.
 40. Stevenson I, 197; Depons III, 20.
 41. Depons III, 24; Stevenson I, 201.

was used for the fourth class of documents which were official dispatches, and writings presented by soldiers, slaves, paupers, and Indians. Only the first pages of all documents were on the paper of that class. Depons says all but the first sheets were on third quality, and Stevenson says fourth class paper on common writing paper. (42)

Almost innumerable other revenues found their way to the royal treasury. The aprovechamientos were profits from the sale of seized goods, and account was opened in the treasury for debit and credit. (43) The composition of lands, or produce of the sale of the lands of the crown; and the confirmation of land, or the duty paid by the purchaser for the original title deeds brought in a small revenue. (44) Rents of lands belonging to the king; estrays or property unclaimed for a year; property of a person dying intestate; and even the rent of the ferry boat on the Apure and the aduanas de la laguna, a paltry tax collected on Lake Maracaibo, went to the crown. (45) The crown received a reserve from the pay of soldiers in the hospital; a dollar for every quintal of salt from the salt works (46); and fines and amercements, penalties imposed by courts of justice. (47) Even snow did not escape its contribution to the royal treasury after 1779. Humboldt says: "If there were not countries in Europe where a tax is paid on day-light, we might well be surprised to see in America that the bed of snow which covers the high chain of the Andes is considered as a property of the king of Spain. The poor Indian who with danger reaches the summit of the Cordilleras can neither collect snow nor sell it in

42. Stevenson I, 198; Depons III, 25-26.
 43. Depons III, 18; Stevenson I, 200.
 44. Depons III, 19-20; Stevenson I, 200.
 45. Depons III, 187; 20, 26; Stevenson I, 201-2.
 46. Depons III, 27.
 47. Ibid., 30.

the neighboring towns without paying a duty to government. This strange custom of considering the sale of ice and snow as a royal right, existed also in France at the beginning of the seventeenth century...." (48)

Contraband or confiscated property paid the import or export duties, the *aprovechamientos* deducted, and the remaining value divided between the informer, captors, intendant, Council of the Indies, and the king. (49)

Contraband Trade

Contraband trade was practiced by every Spanish possession in America. All pursued it: burghers, priests, and soldiers. Many missionaries dealt openly in contraband and monopoly, amassing great wealth. (50) Humboldt says the fraudulent importation during the last years of peace was estimated at a fourth of the whole importation. (51) English and Anglo-American vessels left goods at the Plata. (52) Menonville defends it because "everything is either farmed or otherwise monopolized, which multiplies not only the temptation, but the necessity of smuggling," (53) and Depons says the inferior prices were the reason. (54)

Metals were the principal objects of contraband exports. Betagh says that vast quantities of gold and silver never paid duty, going over the continent by the north way, or south by way of ships. (55) Helms believed that the gold and silver fabricated into utensils and clandestinely exported made the whole annual produce increase from five to nine million pounds sterling. (56) Humboldt, however, declares that reports that a half or a third of the gold and silver did not pay duty were exaggerated. (57) He says contraband trade in gold and silver was increasing in New Granada where the mouths of the

- 48. Humboldt IV, 215.
- 49. Depons III, 28-9; Stevenson I, 202.
- 50. Depons II, 111; 318-9; Menonville, 765.
- 51. Humboldt IV, 13.
- 52. Humboldt III, 87.
- 53. Menonville, 765.
- 54. Depons II, 318-9.
- 55. Betagh, 8.
- 56. Helms, 141
- 57. Humboldt III, 389-90.
- 58. Ibid., 391-3.

Atrato and Rio Sinu were stations for smugglers. In Peru about a fifth or a fourth of the silver from mines of Pasco and Chata was exported by the Amazon River to Brazil. In Chile Juan and Ulloa believed two-fifths of the gold was smuggled out, but Humboldt estimated it at only a fourth. He thought a sixth of the silver of Buenos Aires avoided payment of duty. (58)

Shelvocke discovered several silver frauds in his prize ships, saying that "one day a man complained that he had got a box of marmalade into which his knife could not penetrate, and desired therefore to have it changed. On opening it, I found it to contain a cake of virgin silver, moulded on purpose to fill the box, weighing 200 dollars; and on examining the rest, we found five more of the same kind". He also found silver in the form of bricks plastered over with clay. (59)

Betagh says that in uncast masses of silver iron, etc., was often inserted to increase the weight, or it was increased by dipping it into water while red hot. (60)

An enormous contraband was carried on in gunpowder, estimated at four-fifths of that manufactured. (61) These articles, with fine cloths and liquors composed the most of the contraband commerce.

Smuggling everywhere and at all times was carried on at hazards, although some coast lines were better adapted to it than others, and war made the risk less.

In Mexico contraband trade was rather difficult because of the bad state of the coast. Vera Cruz and Campeche were used almost exclusively. In time of war it was carried on with great facility because restrictions were fewer and customs house officers less severe in the examination of papers. (62)

58. Humboldt III, 391-3.

59. Shelvocke, 511-2.

60. Betagh, 16.

61. Humboldt III, 469-70.

62. Humboldt III, 390, IV, 94-5.

There were three methods of effecting contraband trade in Terra Firma. A vessel bargained with the guard to land the most precious and least bulky articles during the night. (Only part contraband was carried so customs house entries justified the voyage). The second method was to obtain from the custom house employees an abatement in measurement, weight, quantity, or valuation, saying duties on a third to a half of the cargo. Then the vessel might also unload on the coast distant from frequented ports and goods be carried by land. This was the most direct, but also the most dangerous method because of the guards and damages. (63)

"Nothing can be conceived more rigid than the ordinances against, nor more harsh than the punishments for smuggling, since the very first delinquency detected renders both body and goods of the culprit liable to confiscation." (64) And in this punishment Depons found favoritism and protection hate and vengeance evidenced. (65) To prevent smuggling many persons were employed on sea and land. One brig, six schooners, six sloops, all armed, coast the shore of Terra Firma, and were being increased. Horse guards patrolled the coast and roads. Customs house officers enforced laws against contraband through fear, but patrolling guards on land were bribed. (66) The people protected a contraband vessel driven by storm to the coasts, either to appropriate it to themselves or to restore it to the proprietor, keeping it from revenue; but plundered and robbed a vessel whose cargo was covered by legal papers. (67)

Not so with the church. The bishop of Havana called it "execrable" in an order against it, (68) and it is announced as a mortal sin with no absolution. Nevertheless Depons says, "There is no time worse employed than that which the priest spends in making this publication; for there is

63. Depons II, 327-8.

64. Menonville, 765.

65. Depons II, 330.

66. Ibid., 323-6.

67. Ibid., 329.

68. Menonville, 765.

no act in the whole ecclesiastical liturgy which makes less impression on the Spaniard." (69) Humboldt's prediction is consistent with this statement. "Notwithstanding the guarda costas and a multitude of custom-house officers kept up at a great expence, and notwithstanding the extreme severity of the penal code, the contraband trade will necessary subsist so long as the temptation of gain shall not be diminished by a total change in the custom house system." (70) He says the quantity increased in intrinsic value in the last twelve or fifteen years before 1804, that finer cloths, more muslin, gauzes, silks, wines and liquors were smuggled after 1791. (71)

The Outlook

Nevertheless, along with the increase in contraband the revenues also increased, and there were possibilities for more. "The revenues, in New Spain at least, had an enormous increase in the eighteenth century, proving progress in population, great commercial activity, and an increase of national wealth. (72) Humboldt believed that there were still greater possibilities: "It might be easy to prove, that if Mexico enjoyed a wise administration; if it opened its ports to every friendly nation; if it received Chinese and Malay colonists to people its western coast, from Acapulco to Colima, if it increased, the plantations of cotton, coffee, and sugar; and finally if it established a just balance, between its agriculture, its mines, and its manufacturing industry; it might alone, in a very few years afford the crown of Spain a net profit, double the amount of what is at present furnished by the whole of Spanish America." (73)

69. Depons II, 329.

70. Humboldt IV, 96.

71. Ibid., 109.

72. Humboldt IV, 207.

73. Ibid., 239.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Stress on Rank

Predominant, perhaps, in the social life of Spanish America was the stress on rank: the desire to maintain or to increase one's own social prestige, and to prevent others from doing the same. Spaniards preferred that their daughters marry other Spaniards, no matter what their financial condition, rather to than the "vulgar" creoles. (1) Other castes were careful to maintain their ranks in marriage. (2)

Those of higher rank wore a better quality of clothing, by which their rank was distinguished. (3) All attempted great magnificence, which Betagh says was the most expensive in the whole world. (4) The ladies, especially, were most particular that no inferior person presumed to elevate herself by her apparel. Those of rank wore a profusion of ornaments, (5) but in Chili their mulatto female slaves had to omit the jewelry. (6) Betagh remarks that in Lima in 1720 the creoles went abroad veiled, but the mulattoes were not so covered. (7) Juan and Ulloa found the mestizo and negro women of Panama and northern South America distinguished from the other women by their gowns and petticoats. (8) There were sumptuary laws of Caracas which debarred freed women from wearing gold, silk, mantles, or pearls, but Depons says they were not enforced. (9) The mestizo women of Quito attempted a cheap imitation of the Spanish women. (10)

On the street this same distinction was observed. Persons of wealth

1. Stevenson I, 293-4.
2. Juan and Ulloa, 476.
3. Ibid., 448, 668.
4. Betagh, 7.
5. Juan and Ulloa, 448.
6. Byron, 403.
7. Betagh, 7.
8. Juan and Ulloa, 377.
9. Depons I, 174.
10. Juan and ulloa, 448.

always rode in calashes. (11) In Quito the declivities prevented the use of carriages, but a person of rank found means of distinguishing himself by having a servant accompany him with an umbrella. Ladies of first quality rode in sedans. (12)

Even in the Church the freed women were not allowed to kneel on carpets, a custom of the other women whose servants carried carpets for them. (13) The most wealthy women were accompanied to church by as many as five servant women, leaving, perhaps, ten more at home, the number being a measure of wealth. (14)

Etiquettes and Ceremonies

It was very important that the cultured people observe correct forms in their social relations, for there as elsewhere, it was a mark of good breeding. The third person of the verb was always used in address, except in sermons and public discourse, and titles were carefully distinguished. Canons, provisors, and members of the audience were addressed vuestra sennoria; the bishop, sennoria ilustrisima; and every person, sennor, except in public acts where it was reserved for those who had the title of lordship. Every tolerably decent white was honored with don. (15)

One had to be meticulously careful about calls if he were to maintain the approval of the elite. A stranger or a returning resident waited for the compliment of a call, and in the words of Depons, "Not to be apprized of the arrival of a stranger, or the return of an absent, is a crime of high treason against the laws of etiquette, which established between the person who should pay and the person who should receive the visit, a coldness that borders upon enmity." Upon a change of residence the person sent cards notifying his old

11. Juan and Ulloa, 678.

12. Ibid., 442.

13. Depons I, 175.

14. Depons III, 89.

15. Ibid., 132-3.

and new neighbors, expressing regret and joy respectively. Visits from them followed. (16)

Marriages were announced to friends and acquaintances by joint visits of the bridegroom and father-in-law, or by cards, and visits acknowledged these. Births were announced by the father to all the neighbors, and visits returned. Visits to the sick were necessary for common decency, and they were returned on convalescence. (17)

On festivals of tutelar saints Spaniards of rank expected visits from all their acquaintances; as on New Year's Day. The visitor had to make a noise to apprise the family of his arrival, and not enter the house without permission. (18)

Ladies did not rise to receive visits. When they were the callers they sent previous notice, then called between five and eight in the evening. All went in elaborate costume. (19)

Because of these numerous social rules, Depons says that frankness was at low ebb, and an extremely unsocial life the result. (20)

Funerals were quite as arbitrary as other ceremonies. Even the dead conformed to customs that were vital to society. A person of rank was not through with his troubles by any means when he was dead. At Cartagena his body lay in state in his house, amidst a blaze of tapers, for twenty-four hours or longer. Friends and the lower class of women visited it at all hours. The women came dressed in black in the evening or at night and proceeded with their lamentations, recitals of the good and bad qualities of the deceased, and his amours, and ended by regaling themselves plentifully with brandy and wine. Noisy lamentations accompanied the funeral, and mourning lasted nine days, during which the mourners never left the house.

16. Depons III, 133.

17. Ibid., 134.

18. Ibid., 134-6.

19. Ibid., 136.

20. Ibid., 138.

"During the nine nights, from sun-set to sun rising, they are attended by their relations and intimate acquaintances; and it may be truly said of them, that they are all sincerely sorrowful: the mourners for the loss of the deceased, and the visitors from the uneasiness and fatigue of so uncomfortable an attendance." (21)

This account may seem to be the maximum of honor that could be paid to the dead, but Juan and Ulloa say that funerals in Cartagena were frugal and simple compared to those in Quito. The extreme ostentation often ruined families of credit. They say, "The inhabitants may...be properly said to toil, scheme, and endure the greatest labour and fatigue, merely to enable their successors to bury them in a pompous manner." The religious communities and the chapter of the cathedral were invited. Bells were tolled in all the churches during the procession. Expensive obsequies were conducted, and the anniversary solemnized. One was never buried in the parish church unless he was in poverty. Offerings of wine, bread, beasts, or fowls were made at the obsequies and at the anniversary according to the ability or inclination of the survivor. (22)

Dress

In dress the women especially took great pains (and pleasure also). Men usually dressed similar to those of Spain. There was little difference in the classes, every one wearing what he could afford, and affecting fine clothes, vanity and ostentation being their criteria. Women wore laces to excess, covering the entire dress, and of Flanders manufacture only. Juan and Ulloa say that they clothed themselves very differently from Europeans, and that they even appeared indecent at first. Velvet, and gold or silver embroidered garters sometimes set with pearls, combined with shoes, shift, dimity petticoat, an open petticoat, jacket of linen or stuff, and sometimes a mantallette, completed milady's costume at Lima. The greater part was

21. Juan and Ulloa, 338.

22. Ibid., 453.

ornamental. The marriage shift cost 1000 crowns or more. Shoes were decorated with diamond buckles (pearls were too common), stockings were of disgracefully thin white silk, and they prided themselves on their small feet. On state occasions the hair was worn braided and adorned with diamonds set in gold and diamond aigrets. It was never powdered, although men sometimes powdered their hair. The lady's jewelry consisted of earrings of brilliants, necklaces, rosaries with pearl beads, diamond rings, girdles, and bracelets. "A lady covered with the most expensive lace instead of linen, and glittering from head to foot with jewels, is supposed to be dressed at the expense of not less than thirty or forty thousand crowns; a splendor still the more astonishing, as it is so very common." To complete the extravagance, they were very careless in wearing their clothes because of their great fondness for expense. Abroad, some modifications of costume was made. A veil covering the face so as to show only one eye, and a long petticoat were common at church, and a round petticoat and mantalette for taking air, both richly embroidered with silver or gold. The ladies had "very fair complexions without the help of art," but were very fond of perfume. (23) Menonville mentions additional ornaments: a black round or oval patch on each temple during the day, a white patch at night, and an orange tree leaf in the morning. He also adds that the women constantly played with their bracelets in order to attract attention to their arms. (24)

Poor people wore home manufactures; wealthy only European goods of finest quality. Some women wore indoor dresses in the street with their heads usually covered with a shawl. Evening dress for promenade was an English dress or a shawl over the head and a hat over all. Cigars were not uncommon as a finishing touch. (25)

23. Juan and Ulloa, 579-82; Stevenson I, 301; Menonville, 763.

24. *Ibid.*, 763.

25. Stevenson I, 300-3; II, 118, 138.

Houses

These people were fully as ostentatious in their houses as in their dress. For the most part the houses were only one story in height, because of the frequent earthquakes. Where there were two stories, as the upper classes had, the upper story was the family residence, and the lower one for servants, coach houses, store rooms, etc. (26) Those in the Island of Puna were houses of upper stories but with no ground floors; and ascent by ladder. (27) Some in the country in Peru were built on the ruins of ancient Indian buildings. (28) Houses were built of mud walls or sun-dried bricks, all tiled, in Concepcion; (29) of adobe, stone, or tile in Quito; (30) of wood in Guayaquil; (31) and of brick and frame work or tapia in Caracas. Roofs there had two ^aeyes, elegantly put together, and covered with carved tiles. (32)

The largest houses of Concepcion had court-yards with entrances through arched porches, and heavy folding doors with postern on one side. A house had two front rooms with iron and gilt gratings in the glassless windows and inside shutters. On each side of the court were rooms for domestics, younger branches of the family, and other purposes. In front of the entrance were a large hall with antique chairs, clumsy couches, on oak table, full length portraits of the family in gilt frames, and carved beams; and a parlor with low, cushioned velvet stools and cushions, with a work table for making mate for the ladies on the front side, which was raised above the rest of the floor. Male visitors, except those on familiar terms, sat on the opposite side in chairs. (33) Byron also noticed this estrado with carpets and velvet cushions for the women, but leather-covered chairs for women. (34) Stevenson found the

- 26. Stevenson II, 293.
- 27. *Ibid.*, 201-2.
- 28. Stevenson I, 362.
- 29. *Ibid.*, 86.
- 30. Stevenson II, 293.
- 31. *Ibid.*, 207.
- 32. Depons III, 61-2.
- 33. Stevenson I, 86-8.
- 34. Byron, 403.

same thing in Quito, where the ladies even seemed uneasy on chairs. (35)
 The parlor was opened "only in honor of those who came to fulfil the tender duties of friendship, or the irksome ceremonies of etiquette." (36)

Opposite the parlor was the principal dormitory with a bed of state in the alcove, elaborately decorated with gilt; velvet, damask, or brocade curtains; gold or silver lace and fringe, and fine lace-trimmed linen sheets and pillow cases. Silver utensils could be seen beneath the bed. There was usually only one bed of the kind, generally the nuptial couch, and afterward the bed of state, used only on occasion of birth, and when the lady received the first visits of congratulation. (37)

An indispensable article of furniture in some places was the hammock, made of pita, agave thread, or a kind of straw. Stevenson says it was preferred to other seats, there being as many as five or six in one room. Juan and Ulloa found two or three in every house, in which the ladies took their sole exercise. (38)

Because of the fear of fire the kitchen was detached from the house and placed in the rear of the court. The garden was between the kitchen and the house, or behind all. (39)

A house was often fifty yards wide in front, and eighty yards deep, including the garden. The corridors around the patios were roofed. Neither courts nor patios were found with houses of the lower classes. (40)

Food and Beverages

As to eating, Stevenson considered that the people of Lima had only one real meal a day, and that at noon. Juan and Ulloa say that the people of Cartagena had two meals and a light repast. Stevenson's outlay was:

35. Stevenson II, 293.

36. Depons III, 63.

37. Stevenson I, 88-9; II, 294; Byron, 403; Depons III, 62-3.

38. Stevenson II, 298; Juan and Ulloa, 334.

39. Stevenson I, 98; Byron, 403.

40. Stevenson I, 88.

breakfast at 8:00 a. m., of thick chocolate, toast, cold water, or boiled mutton, fried eggs, and ham or sausage in addition; dinner at 1:00 p. m. of soup and puchero, followed indiscriminately by fish and sweetmeats, and cold water last, then coffee and liquors in another room, if the people were of higher class; fruit between services; and in the evening some chocolate, coffee, lemonade, pine-apple water, almond milk, or some other refreshing drink. (41) Juan and Ulloa write of the meals in Cartagena: breakfast of a fried dish, pastry of maize flour, and chocolate; dinner of greater variety; and at night sweet meats and chocolate. They explain that some families affected the European custom of a regular supper, but that it was considered unhealthful. (42) Formal entertainments affected great splendor, with alternating courses of sweetmeats and highly seasoned ragouts. (43)

Wheat bread seems to have been rather uncommon because of high prices or poor quality. In Cartagena it was so expensive that most people used a pastry from maize flour or cassava bread from roots or bananas as bread. (44) In Guayaquil it was so badly made that unripe plantains were sliced, roasted, and served as bread. (45) Humboldt found the consumption of bread of maize and wheat in Mexico City almost equal to that of European cities and Juan and Ulloa say the bread of the Lima bakeries was good. (46)

Maize and potatoes took the lead among the culinary vegetables. Stevenson says that there were in Quito forty-six dishes of maize and thirty-two dishes of potatoes. (47) Maize was made into a porridge with meat and capsicum, (48) used for bread by the Indians and poor people, (49) Potatoes

41. Stevenson I, 344.

42. Juan and Ulloa, 357.

43. Ibid., 399.

44. Ibid., 352-4.

45. Ibid., 398; Stevenson II, 211-4.

46. Humboldt I⁴, 71-2; Juan and Ulloa, 602.

47. Stevenson II, 316.

48. Stevenson I, 340.

49. Juan and Ulloa, 459-60.

were dried and boiled with meat, combined with rice flour, cheese, eggs, fried fish, and guinea pigs; (50) used instead of bread; and as an ingredient of every dish. (51)

Next in importance perhaps was the banana or plantain, which was served at every meal, often insted of bread, and even fed to the poultry and pigs. (52) Beans, pumpkins, and gourds were used plentifully, especially by the lower classes. (53) Dried fruits of all kinds were common. (54) Citrons fruits were served first and last at every meal. (55) Meat was very common. Mutton, beef, pork, poultry, fish, anchovies, and cheese, (56) were eaten freely. Little butter was used. (57)

Almost extraordinary fondness for sweetmeats was noticed. Juan and Ulloa says that in Quito it exceeded everything they had ever mentioned of other countries. (58) They found their use more moderate in Lima. (59) Stevenson remarks of their abundance, (60) and Menonville found them constituting, with chocolate, almost the whole food of Vera Cruz. (61)

7 Although much of the food was the same as used in Spain, Juan and Ulloa say that the difference in preparation was very great. (62) Guinea pepper was a common seasoning, and with lard, garlic, and capsicum, made a highly seasoned dish. (63) In Child dishes highly seasoned with red pepper were sent by a mulatto to visitors with the lady's compliments and the visitor endured them or committed an insufferable breach of etiquette. (64) Oil was used only in salads, lard being used elsewhere. (65) Among some of the peculiar dishes

50. Stevenson I, 340-1.

52. Juan and ulloa, 354, 398; Stevenson II, 211-4.

52. Juan and Ulloa, 459.

53. Stevenson I, 342.

54. Juan and Ulloa, 603.

55. Ibid., 459.

56. Ibid., 460, 602. 57

57. Betagh, 9.

58. Juan and Ulloa, 460.

59. Ibid., 603.

60. Stevenson I, 342.

61. Menonville, 777.

62. Juan and Ulloa, 461.

63. Ibid., 398, 602; Stevenson I, 341.

64. Byron, 403-4.

65. Juan and ulloa. 602.

were alligators which delighted the inhabitants of Panama, and the guana, an amphibious, lizard like creature. (66) Menonville says that in Vera Cruz lizards "furnish an exquisite dish for those not affected with venereal complaints." (67)

Beverages were numerous and plentiful in Spanish America. The most common was chocolate, the usual breakfast in Peru, (68) and with biscuit and water, a customary refreshment. (69) Juan and Ulloa tell of its being sold by negro women in the streets of Cartagena, (70) and Humboldt says that it was considered a prime necessity in all Spanish America. It was perfumed with a pod of vanilla. (71) Paraguay tea, made from the Jesuits herb camini, named mate, from the vessel in which it was made, was drunk twice a day, in Chile and Peru. (72) It was brought in on a large silver salver and drunk through a long silver tube. "And here it is reckoned a piece of politeness for the lady to suck the tube two or three times first, and then give it the stranger to drink without wiping it." (73) The use of coffee was very rare in Mexico, (74) and its use elsewhere not mentioned.

intoxicating liquors were of almost all kinds and qualities. All drank a glass of brandy at 11a. m. and many continued the day thus employed, (75) considering it good for their digestion, according to Betagh. (76) Wine consumption increased considerably during the eighteenth century. Betagh says in 1720 that it was rare in Peru, (77) Juan and Ulloa that it was a beverage of Quito in 1735, (78) that there were white, red, and dark red

66. Juan and Ulloa, 378-9.

67. Menonville, 782.

68. Betagh, 9.

69. Ibid., 3.

70. Juan and Ulloa, 337.

71. Humboldt III, 25-6.

72. Juan and Ulloa, 451, 603; Betagh, 9; Byron, 403.

73. Byron, 403.

74. Humboldt III, 221

75. Juan and Ulloa, 336-7, 451.

76. Betagh, 9.

77. Ibid., 9.

78. Juan and Ulloa, 451.

wines, some delicious, in Lima in 1740, (79) and Humboldt that wine increased in Mexico City after 1791 when the Brownian system was introduced in the practice of Mexican physicians. The wealthy used Spanish wines, and the Indians, mestizoes, mulattoes, and most white creoles drank pulque, a fermented juice of the agave. (80) Rum, Juan and Ulloa say, was used in Quito, (81) but not made or used in Lima. (82) Then there was chicha, which, as has been said, the Indian had always with him.

Generally, if strong liquors were drunk it was at meals, and men and women ate in separate rooms. Betagh had a high opinion of the Spaniards' sobriety for he says that "nothing is more disagreeable to the Spaniards than drunkenness...." (83)

The Siesta and Amours

A universal custom in Spanish America was the siesta from two to four hours every afternoon. Strangers soon contracted the custom. (84) Betagh says that this was one season of amours, which were also universal, although the men carefully concealed them. The siesta in Lima was commonly with the mistress. The other time for amours was in the evening in calashes, common presents to mistresses, across the river or in the great square in the evening where the calashes are seen standing for half an hour at a time with the shades drawn. This custom was so common that those without mistresses were ashamed to be thought virtuous, and so disguised themselves in the evening. A popular trick for practical jokers was to tear the masks from the men seen alone in the evening. This timidity about being virtuous made for a brisk trade in masks with those unfortunates who possessed no ladies of their own. The couples who walked at night, being not wealthy enough to go in

79. Juan and Ulloa, 603.

80. Humboldt II, 70-1.

81. Juan and Ulloa, 451.

82. *Ibid.*, 603.

83. Betagh, 4.

calashes, had their own system of etiquette which it was dangerous to violate. Couples walked at a distance of twelve yards apart to prevent easy recognition of figure or voice. If a gentleman picked up a fan dropped by a lady he gave it to her escort, for she might have been his own sister or wife. A violation of this rule merited, and secured, a dagger through the liver. Another precaution to prevent impertinent discoveries was the veiling of the women. Betagh lamented that this custom, which he classed as the most prevalent diversion of Lima in 1720, was "the bane of industry, corrupting the minds of both sexes, and instilling the basest principles of indolence and debauchery." He continues, "It is chiefly owing to this effeminate disposition, that all manly exercises, all useful knowledge, and that noble emulation, which inspires virtue, and keeps alive respect to the public good are unthought of here...." But custom becomes law and can not be rooted out. "The amusements, therefore, that serve to relax the labours of the industries in other countries, and yet keep alive the vigor and activity of body, and of mind, are never known in Peru; and whoever should attempt to introduce them, would be considered as an innovator, which among Spaniards, is a frightful thing...." (85)

Family Life

It is unnecessary, after this account, to say that family life was very unstable. Marriage was favored by religion, public opinion, and the spirit of gallantry. Bachelors were suspected on the slightest indication of irregular conduct, and married men honored, proofs of their immorality being rejected unless the lawful wife preferred a complaint. Girls ordinarily married at twelve years of age, obeying the first hint of nature by entering the "chaste bands of matrimony," as Depons ironically expresses it. Marriage was the seal of manhood, and a single man at twenty was considered dilatory. Little premeditation preceded marriage; it was often only caprice that united two people as man and wife. The laws gave little control to parents over the

inclinations of their children. The child asked his parents' consent as a matter of form, and if it was refused he instituted a scandalous law suit, and justice favored the child. As a result, the parents had to pay the board of the married daughter and defray the expenses of the suit. Their only defense was the inferiority of the proposed in-law in rank. (86)

Publication of banns was not required, and children needed only publicly declare before the parish priests that they took each other for man and wife, and it was a valid marriage. This was prohibited by the civil law, but the penalties were eluded. (87)

A law of April 28, 1803 by his Catholic Majesty had for its purpose to correct these evils. Males under twenty-five and females under twenty-three could not marry without the consent of the father, who needed to give no reason for his refusal. If the father was dead the age limit was reduced one year and the right conferred on the mother. In case both parents were dead the age limit was reduced two years, and the grandfathers gave their assent. Military men asked the consent of the father and gained the consent of the king. If these forms were not observed in celebrating marriages estates of the curates and vicars were confiscated and they were banished, and the contracting parties incur the same penalty. (88)

Humboldt gives as the number of married persons in Mexico City in 1804 between the ages of seven and sixteen as 71 men and 325 women, and between sixteen and twenty-five as 3350 men and 5846 women. There were widowed those ages 104 men and 149 women, and 228 men and 986 women respectively. (89)

The early age of the parties was given by Depons as the first cause of unhappy marriages. Other causes were contrary characters, inherited vice from homes of infidelity, and inconsiderate protection of the police to

86. Depons I, 123-7; Juan and Ulloa, 471.

87. Ibid., 127.

88. Ibid., 128. [Note.]

89. Humboldt IV, 292.

wives. Every complaint was accepted without proof, and the husband either reprimanded or imprisoned, according to his rank. He could not even undertake a journey without the consent of his wife, who also set the day for the return. In spite of these evils Depons admits that some of the marriages were happy. (90)

Intermarriage was not prohibited by law, but not favored any more than elsewhere, the first families avoiding it. The seduction of colored girls by Spaniards was easy because of the weakness of the girls. A royal ordinance of 1785 required the consent of parents to be "requested" for a mixed marriage, which, of course could not be made effectual. Starving Spaniards also often married their negro or mulatto benefactors out of gratitude. Marriages between white girls and colored men also took place for this reason: Illegitimate births were prevalent, and the babes exposed and picked up by colored people who kept the girls in their homes, who being outcasts from their own kind, the girls married colored men. (91) Seduction of slaves was often practiced by the masters, and the only revenge of a wife was indulging inclinations equally guilty, but which she had not always an equal opportunity to gratify. (92) The notorious concubinage of ecclesiastics deserves treatment elsewhere in this work.

Women were secluded for the most time. Juan and Ulloa say that women of rank in Cartagena did not appear on the streets. (93) Menonville says that in Havana they never went abroad except in the morning to mass and in the evening to ride, (94) but, according to Betagh this did not seem to add to their virtue. Menonville further explains that in Vera Cruz they were recluses in their apartments above stairs, to avoid being seen by strangers, "though it is by no means difficult to perceive that, but for the restrictions imposed

90. Depons I, 121-31.

91. *ibid.*, 177-81; Juan and Ulloa, 336.

92. Depons I, 161.

93. Juan and Ulloa, 333.

94. Menonville, 763.

on them by their husbands, they would be for more easy of access." They were strongly lascivious under an apparent reserve. (95) Abroad they were constantly in carriages or wrapped from head to heel in a cloak of silk, open only on the right to enable them to see with one eye. (96)

Except in the matter of marriage, all people in Spanish America showed an apparent submission to their parents. A benediction was given every morning and every time the father, mother, uncle, or aunt entered the house, but this humble manner and these homages, Depons assures, were only customary, not sentimental. (97)

Family life evidently was not taken seriously for the most part, but was undertaken only to gratify the senses in a country where there was an inordinate desire for physical comfort and entertaining diversions.

95. Menonville, 777.

96. Ibid., 777; Byron, 402; Betagh, 7.

97. Depons I, 132.

CHAPTER X

AMUSEMENTS and DIVERSIONS

Prevalence

Living an indolent, aimless life, the Spaniard of the colonies turned to amusements to keep himself pre-occupied. Because of his indolence, and because of his idea that work was degrading, he did not even tax himself mentally if he could avoid it. His principal amusements were such as would call for no effort on his part for their appreciation. Rarely could they be dignified by the term "entertainment."

Bull Fights

Bull-fighting, the theater, gambling, smoking balls, circuses, and masquerades took preference over more quiet and more refined diversions as music, walking, and bathing, or those beneficially physically. The bull-fight was the thing with the Spaniards, and what may seem inconsistent is that Byron, the pirate, discountenanced it, but Stevenson, the English official, sanctioned it heartily. Byron says that they were common in Chile, and that they surpassed those elsewhere. There only professionals took part, attacking wild bulls from the mountains or forests. The practitioners sprang over the beast's head and rode on his back. The ladies dressed as fine as possible "and, I imagine, go rather to be admired than to receive any amusement from a sight that one should think would give them pain," in the words of Byron. (1) Stevenson mentions bull fights as first among the diversions in practically every town. (2) In Quito he says that both men and women engaged in the bull fights, there being no professionals. (3) He declares in defense of this custom, "I am a friend to bull-fights, but an enemy to pugilistic homicide. If the amateurs of this 'manly exercise' assert, that it teaches a man how

1. Byron, 405.

2. Stevenson II, 175, 181, 210, 297.

3. Ibid., 306.

to defend himself against another, I reply, that bull-fighting teaches him how to defend himself against a furious animal." (4) The bull fight was accompanied by a circus which was the resort of the youth and beauty of the city in a general masquerade, even the nobility and ecclesiastics taking part. An interesting description is given of this most popular diversion of Lima where, Stevenson says, it was conducted differently from in any other place in America. Both men and women exhibited a great deal of skill. As soon as permission was obtained from the president the sides of the plaza were divided into lots for the different families of distinction, public officers, colleges, and other people. On these were built galleries supported on poles and roofed. Some were tastefully decorated, and each had a small private dressing room. At two in the afternoon the fight usually began. All the galleries were crowded, and from three to four thousand men began to parade the circus in expectation of the entrance of the masks. Different parties previously agreed to assemble at some point and enter the circus in a procession. This was often done at the four corners of the plaza when over two thousand persons frequently entered accompanied by bands of music, streamers, and fireworks. They first paraded the circus in procession, and then divided into groups and wandered about from one gallery to another, saluting friends and acquaintances, who usually were completely puzzled as to who addressed them. At this time many of the nobility and ecclesiastics disguised themselves and left the galleries to mix in the motley group and quiz their acquaintances in the galleries. This lasted for over an hour, and then the maskers paraded the street with music and flambeaux. The houses of the nobility and the principal inhabitants were open, and refreshments placed for those groups which chose to enter. The masked always laughed at the unmasked, and any attempt to discover the identity of the masked by force was a breach of the

privilege of the mask. If it was in the circus or street, the assault was punished by monkeys flogging with their tails, friars with their heads, and muleteers with their whips. Mask-making was such an art with the natives that on a few hours' notice an exact representation of the face of any individual in the city could be made.. There was therefore often one person sitting sedately in the gallery and his fac simile dancing in the circus, to the annoyance of the original and the amusement of the spectators. The bull finally entered the arena and many of the masked retired to the galleries. While the bull scoured the circus three or four thousand individuals were employed in teasing it by hissing, whistling, and shouting. If the bull galloped along the sides of the plaza the spectators stood close to each other in line forming una muralla de barrigas, "a wall of bellies." The bull frequently rubbed his side along the wall, but never attacked if the line was complete. If there was an opening he pushed through and caused a dreadful uproar. Afficionados on foot and horseback vexed the bull by holding out cloak, poncho, or umbrella, which, when he attacked, was thrown up, allowing him to pass. This was repeated until the animal no longer advanced, when some tame oxen were driven in, with which the bull retired. Another bull entered the list and the performance was repeated. (5)

The custom of masquerading was not limited to times of levity. It was done during carnivals, and at feasts of the innocents when the nobility appeared in antique dresses. (6) On nights of the great processions ladies went out veiled and talked of people as at masquerades. (6a)

Other forms of animal contests for supremacy had their place among the diversions of the people of Spanish America. Cock fights satisfied the taste of some, and in Lima the royal cockpit was the daily resort, except

5. Stevenson II, 306-10.

6. Ibid., 310.

6a. Byron, 405.

on Sundays. (7) The milder contest of horse racing attracted the people of Lambayeque. (8)

Gambling

Gambling occupied a no mean second place in the category of amusements. Depons says that "the passion of gaming reigns among them more than with us," which is certainly not a mild statement if the proverbial attitude toward the French is accepted. They were very rash. "Neither loss nor gain obtain from them any emotion of impatience or of pleasure," and "To speak properly, it is only at play that they appear to set no value on their money" are other of statements he makes in attempting to convince his readers of the actual propensity for gambling in Caracas. (9) Juan and Ulloa explain that persons of rank and opulence had led the way and that their inferiors had universally followed with deplorable results: ruin of families, breach of conjugal affection, loss of property, and even the clothes on their backs, and those of their wives, risking them to recover their own. (10) Public gaming houses in Lima were forbidden by the government, but this was no hardship to the gambler, for private parties were common at the country houses of the nobility and at bathing places where the tables were free to all castes who mixed indiscriminately. Lurin, a popular resort seven leagues from Lima was not frequented by the lower orders because the distance was prohibitive. Women, as a rule, did not indulge in this pastime. (11) In Caracas the government slackened its restrictions on gaming after 1800. Before that time the police were the enemy of those who gamed deeply, but after then only the poor were watched, condemned, and imprisoned, while the magistrates tacitly permitted it among the rich. (12) Cards, (13) skittles and bowls, (14) and billiards were the only games specifically

7. Stevenson I, 313-4; II, 181.

8. Stevenson II, 181.

9. Depons III, 83.

10. Juan and Ulloa, 451.

11. Stevenson I, 298, 316.

12. Depons III, 83-4.

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13. Stevenson II, 298.

14. Stevenson I, 312.

mentioned by the sojourners. (15)

No government regulation seems to have applied to the weekly lottery at Lima which Stevenson considered an excellent establishment, explaining that negroes purchased their freedom with the prizes which cost one-eighth of a dollar and which amounted to \$1000, \$500, and smaller sums. (16)

The Theater

The theater was a universal form of amusements, but extreme views were taken as to the quality and excellency of the performances. In Caracas the theater was attended by "rich and poor, old and young, nobles and plebians, the governing and governed," who saw pieces most wretched and miserably performed if Depons' dictum is to be accepted. "The declamation of this theatre, by no means deserving the ear of Thespis, is a species of monotonous stammering, very like the tone in which an infant of ten years old recites a badly studied lesson." There was no grace, no action, no inflection of voice, not a single natural gesture, and, moreover, it was a "School of vice and corruption" when pieces were obscene and immoral: intrigue was gross, virtue turned into derision, parental authority ridiculed, laws scoffed at, and baseness rendered triumphant. (17) The theater of Lima was not so cosmopolitan. Men and women were seated separately, only well dressed people admitted, and the viceroy and cabildo given special boxes. Performances occurred twice a week, and at festivals, but not during Lent. Stevenson considered the scenery not despicable, and some of the comedians and tragedians, who were principally Spaniards, good. (18) Almost a hundred years earlier, in 1720, Betagh gives a less creditable and more amusing

15. Depons III, 83.

16. Stevenson I, 279.

17. Depons III, 79-81.

18. Stevenson I, 310-1.

picture of the Lima theater where the young men and students diverted themselves by giving mean performances, "being scripture stories interwoven with romances, and, which is still worse, with obscenity." He gives an incident of a prize fight executed by some English sailors. When a little blood was accidentally drawn the audience cried, "Basta, basta," and the performance had to stop. When they attempted to secure the building for a repetition it was refused them because the audience feared one would be killed and would die without absolution. (19)

A more pleasant account of the opera is given by Menonville in Havana. The building had airiness and elegance; the boxes were separated by delicate balustrades; a perfect view could be had from every quarter; the pit was furnished with seats. More surprising, he considered the opera superior to any he had ever seen. The comedy, however, had ridiculous defects: excessive profanity, a superabundance of duels, and ridiculously silly titles. (20)

Minor Amusements

Other diversions, with the exception of the ball, received scant attention from the populace. At Lima some walked on the public walks along the Callao road where there was a bath at the end. Bathing places attracted some, others contented themselves with merely taking refreshments at tables on the piazzas of the plaza mayor, termed the "genteel lounge." (21) Some rode, some promenaded along the river in the summer evening. (22) In Guayaquil many took excursions on the water in balsas. (23) The mestizoes of Quito had a beautiful custom of resorting to the mountain in the evening and playing their fifes, guitars, and psalteries until midnight, and then

19. Betaghll.

20. Menonville, 760.

21. Stevenson I, 314-7.

~~22~~ Ibid., 210.

22. Ibid., 91.

23. Stevenson II, 210.

serenading in town until daybreak. (24)

Only once is a purely athletic diversion mentioned. Depons found three tennis courts in Caracas. The game was played by hand, but usually with a racket. Few whites indulged, however. (25)

A custom which was universal among Spanish men, common among Spanish women, but not always practiced openly, and entirely absent from the Indian population was the smoking of tobacco in the form of cigars. (26) Byron says of the women in Chaco, that they "have an ugly custom of smoking tobacco," (27) and Juan and Ulloa describe the limpious which the ladies used to clean their teeth. These were made of small roles of tobacco four inches long which they put in their mouths and chewed, rubbing their teeth to keep them clean and white. The lower class perverted the customs, using limpions so large that they disfigured the mouth. (28)

Spanish America liked its liquors as well as its tobacco, and all indulged in this habit. Wine, brandy, and rum of varying qualities and quantities were drunk in one place or another. Mate, the Paraguay tea was served twice a day, to and by creoles to the whole company through the same pipe, which Juan and Ulloa pass up as an "indelicate" custom. (29)

Fandangoes

Where drinks flowed freely was at the balls or "fandangoes". Some considered these as innocent amusements. Stevenson describes the evening parties with dancing similar to the minuet and enamorados throwing money at the feet of the lady, and children rushing out to pick up the coins. The party ended with a supper. (30) He refers casually to the balls and dances

24. Stevenson II, 312.

25. Depons III, 83.

26. Ibid., 49; Humboldt III, 42-3; Juan and Ulloa, 337, 605; Byron 389; Stevenson I, 301.

27. Byron, 389.

28. Juan and Ulloa, 655.

29. Ibid., 451.

30. Stevenson II, 40-1.

at Lamboyeque, (31) Quito, where they danced minuets and country dances in imitation of the Spanish bolera, (32) and Concepcion de Mocha. (33) Byron mentions the addition of liquor with the dance, the guitar, and the harp, at fandangoes lasting from six in the evening to two or three in the morning, (34) and Juan and Ulloa declare that the fandangoes of the populace of Cartagena were "mostly brandy and indecency." They were held especially on festival days and when Spanish ships were in port, and they lasted until daylight. (35) In Quito they accused them of being licentious and audacious, as a consequence of the rum and the chicha which were drunk in enormous quantities. No person of rank, they say, was seen at these affairs. (37)

What is not even hinted in their published account, is boldly exposed in the secret report. To use their own words, the fandangoes of the Indies were "wanton", "common," and "appear to be inventions suggested by the infernal spirit himself, to keep those people in greater bondage." To make it more obnoxious, they were usually devised by members of the religious orders who paid the expense and attended with their concubines, or "get up the fray in their own houses." Here is their description of the orgy: "Simultaneous with the dance, the immoderate use of ardent spirits begins, and the entertainment is gradually converted into acts of impropriety so unseemly and lewd, that it would be presumption even to speak of them, and a want of delicacy to stain the narrative with such a record of obscenities; and, letting them lie hid in the region of silence, we shall only remark, that whatever the spirit of malice could invent in respect to this subject, great as it might be, could never fathom that abyss into which those corrupt minds are plunged, nor give any adequate idea of the degree of excess to which debauchery and

31. Stevenson II, 181.

32. Ibid., 298, 312.

33. Ibid., 91.

34. Byron, 402.

35. Juan and Ulloa, 337.

37. Ibid., 450.

crime are carried." In this despicable practice the clergy served as "pioneers to those who are entering the paths of vice." The justice of peace dared not violate the sanctuary of the domicile in case the orgy was held in the house of a monk, Managers of a ball sometimes even assumed the dress of the laity. Still more incredible, these fandangoes were often used to commemorate the assumption of the monastic vows, and "it is in such orgies, in which there is no abominable crime which is not committed, and no indecency which is not practiced, that the solemn occasion of chanting the first mass is celebrated, which seems like presenting to the young friars a model on which to form their subsequent conduct; and they appear to make use of the lessons of depravity with so much fidelity, that they never deviate in the slightest degree from their observance." (33) Such was the amusement sponsored by the Church.

33. "Secret Expedition," 203-9.

CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCH

The Place of the Church

The church, as an institution, occupied first place in Spanish America. It came with the first conquerors, and continued its efforts until many towns were overrun with churches, chapels, oratories, monasteries, convents, colleges, houses of seclusion, orphanages, and hospitals. The number of conventual buildings was the measure of the importance of a town. Stevenson estimated that in Lima in 1806 there were 100 places of worship, over 800 regular and secular priests, about 300 nuns, and many lay brothers and sisters. (1) Betagh said that in 1720 the religious were a fourth part of the city. (2)

The Relation to the State

It is not strange that the Church should occupy such a prominent place in the colonies when the position of the king of Spain is considered. He had practically the authority of the pope over the church in the Spanish Empire. By bulls of 1493 and 1501 the su of Rome was deprived of all direct influence in the Spanish colonies. Mandates, bulls, and commissions, were to require the king's sanction, and were examined by the Council of the Indies. The king since then had filled all offices and the bishops have given oaths to support the king. The pope had granted requested bulls, briefs, etc., and had decided questions submitted by the Council of the Indies. The king was thus the dictator, or at times the voluntary consultant, of the pope in the Spanish dominions.

The form in which the royal patronage asserted itself was through the viceroy who confirmed collated benefices after the archbishop had proposed three individuals. The first was usually confirmed. (3) Of course, when

1. Stevenson I, 219.
2. Betagh, 7.
3. Ibid., 177.

this custom was practiced there was little initiative on the part of the king. Depons commends royal patronage highly, declaring that it was based on superior talents or information joined to exemplary deportment. It was influenced often by favoritism, but solicitations were fruitless when the candidate had no other merit than that of patronage. He says, "We find no Spanish bishop who is not a good theologian, who does not lead an exemplary life, who does not reside constantly in his bishopric, who does not share his revenue with the poor of his diocese, in a word, who is not a true patriarch in the bosom of his numerous family." (4)

Taxation offered an opportunity for close and broad connection between the Church and the Crown. Rectors and bishops paid the Ecclesiastical Mesadas, and canons and prebendaries the Demi-Ecclesiastical Annates after nominations. In case of promotions they paid their respective proportions of the increase. Major and minor vacancies paid rents to the crown, and penitents who had defrauded the Crown paid what was termed restitution. (5) In addition the king took two-thirds of the tithes collected on all produce, depending in amount on the cost of production. The bishop was supposed to get a fourth of the tithes, but Depons says that in Caracas: "The archbishop does not enjoy the whole of even the fourth of the tithes. The king reserves to himself the disposition of the third of this fourth, upon which he assigns pensions." The rest of the tithes were used for the support of the church. (6)

These did not result in enough income for His Majesty, so, combining religious zeal with economic prowess, he had succeeded in building up a most lucrative source of income in the sale of bulls. These bulls originated in the bull of the holy crusade obtained by the king for Spaniards devoting themselves to the extermination of infidels, and were passports to heaven

4. Depons III, 31; Stevenson I, 204.

5. Ibid., 21-2, 65.

for those who died in those wars. "The folly of driving people to heaven by force of arms, underwent, at length, the fate of all other follies: reason has caused it to disappear. The bulls, however, have continued to arrive from Rome, and continue to be sold in Spani. The blessings they afford are considered too precious, and the revenue the exchequer draws from them, too useful, to be removed." Thus Depons explains their continuance. But their virtues and their applications had increased, as the present ~~to-whom~~ virtues were not originally possessed and as the person to whom a bull was granted originally had to be actually in arms against infidels. (7)

Bulls were of four kinds. First was the bull of the holy crusade, which Depons satirically remarks "ought to be taken by all." Good for two years, and, its benefit renewable by another purchase, it left no cases reserved for papal absolution. It released its holder from all vows except those which would contribute more to the church by fulfilment: vows of chastity, becoming a priest, monk, or religious, and making a voyage to the holy land. It was forgiveness for blasphemies against the Deity, which were powerless to resist the bull. The possessors, domestics, and ^erelations could, while the churches were shut up, hear mass, receive sacraments, and be buried in holy ground. The priest could say mass and a lay person hear it an hour before day and an hour after twelve. Anything but flesh meat could be eaten on fast days, and even meat in case of slight indisposition. After January, 1, 1804 it dispensed with Friday and almost all of Lent fasting. One day of fasting and one prayer or one good deed were equal to "fifteen times fifteen forties" of fast days, prayers, or good deeds by one not possessing a bull. Depons computes this reduction of penance to $1/9000$ of that of a non-poss^sessor of a bull. The buying of two bulls gave double the advantage of one. The price varied from five sixteenths of a dollar to fifteen dollars, according

to the rank of the purchase~~r~~(8)

Second, there was the bull of lacticinias, for eating milk and eggs during fast days by ecclesiastics who were not included in that provision in the general bull. The prices ranged from one to six dollars, and as the proceeds were disappointing, they were recommended to the laity to prevent conscientious scruples. (9)

The bull of composition, or accommodation, well lived up to its name. Stevenson refers to it as "monstrous." It gave the possessor of stolen property a quiet conscience and absolute possession if he had evaded punishment, knew not whom he had defrauded, and was not induced to theft by knowledge of the bull. The bulls had to be purchased to the amount of six per cent of the value of the stolen property, only fifty could be purchased in a year by one person except by permission of the commissary-general of the holy crusade, and they were not good until paid for. In almost the same terms Stevenson and Depons condemned this practice. Stevenson says, "Thus this papal pardon by accommodation or agreement insures to a lawless villain a quiet possession of property, the means of acquiring which ought to have been rewarded by the hangman!" And Depons remarks, "The bull of composition assures to him the absolute property in whatever he obtains by modes that ought to have conducted him to the gallows." (10)

Finally, there was the bull for the dead, which Stevenson says was a "safe conduct to paradise" or discharge from purgatory, and Depons, "a species of ticket for admission into paradise," and which extricated a soul from the flames. One would serve for only one soul, but as many could be purchased for one soul as were wished. If no name was written on the bull, or if it was misspelled it was no good, and if any benefit was to be obtained, another

8. Depons III, 32-4; Stevenson 204-6.

9. Depons III, 34; Stevenson I, 207.

10. Depons III, 36-7; Stevenson I, 207-8.

had to be purchased. They cost from one-fourth to six-eighths of a dollar. "Thus it is that piety when accompanied with money has wonderful powers!" exclaims Stevenson, and Depons speculates, "with piety and money it would be easy to empty purgatory, which, indeed, would not long remain unpeopled, because death, whose harvests never cease, would at every instant renew its inhabitants." (11)

The purely commercial policy of the bulls was revealed by Depons who writes: " 'The price is a little raised,' says the commissary-general of the crusade in his mandate, dated at Madrid on the 14th of September, 1801, 'but it is on account of the new expenses of government, and of the necessity of extinguishing the royal certificates which the scarcity of money in a time of war has compelled the king to issue.' " (12) Stevenson writes similarly of an occasion three years later. The bulls were published every two years on the day of St. Thomas, accompanied by high mass and a sermon setting forth the virtue of the bulls. He says: "The discourse in the year 1804 was rather ridiculous, because the king had raised the price of the bull of the crusade, and the good priest had not only to exhort the faithful to continue the holy practice of purchasing the bull, but to reconcile them to the additional tax imposed." This was more ridiculous than difficult, for there was generally a great belief in their efficacy, (13) and the income was probably enormous, although nothing definite was known. Stevenson says, "I shall not pretend to give an estimate of the sum produced by the taxes, the jealousy of the Spaniards towards a foreigner being so great that it would have been dangerous for me even to have inquired." He did discover a chance item, however, that the custom house of Lima received in 1810 \$1,640,324. (14)

11. Depons III, 34-5; Stevenson I, 208-9.

12. Depons III, 38.

13. Stevenson I, 321-2.

Asylums or immunities decreased, rather than increased the authority of the state over the church, but were respected by the law, (15) and rigidly adhered to by the church. Betagh tells that some French privateers took refuge in a church and that the archbishop refused to give them up although Spanish ships threatened to fire broadsides on the town. (16) Immunities after September 12, 1772, by papal bull, had been reduced to one church in each place, and two in large places. Homicide by chance or in self defence alone enjoyed the privilege of immunity. The asylum did not open its doors to instigators and executors of assassinations; sins against nature; counterfeiters; those who committed, who were accomplices in, or even knew about high treason and did not denounce it; conspirators against the crown; those who attempted assassination; heretics and suspects; those who had withdrawn and were captured out of the asylum; forgers of apostolic and royal letters; embezzlers; clippers of coins; violators of churches; those who removed others from the asylum; escaped convicts; those condemned to death for false testimony; blasphemers; sorcerers; sacrilegious persons; the excommunicated; those condemned to galleys or public labor; debtors; thieves; those committing a crime in the church or its dependencies; Jews; defrauders of the bank or public treasury; violators of church or destroyers of church property; officers of justice; and those in exile. (17) Although they were nominally protection only for murder in self defence, Stevenson says, "Few suffered...after having taken hold of the horns of the altar." (18) Depons infers the same: "The minister of the church, always rather inclined to support the immunity, than to avenge the outrage on society, makes a merit of extending the privilege,

15. Depons II, 122.

16. Betagh, 26-7.

17. Depons II, 124-30; Stevenson I, 193.

18. Ibid., 193.

and considers it an honourable victory over the laws, to place the palm of innocence in the hands of him who merited death." (19) He says also that "it engrafted among the articles of religion the impunity of criminals who, while their hands were yet reeking with the blood of those they had murdered, fled to the sanctuary of the divinity to escape the vengeance of the law. The churches dedicated to the worship of a just God, were thus converted into places destined to brave the operations of justice." (20) In Depons' opinion, the asylums were "fettters on the operations of the laws,...highly prejudicial to the public ssafety, " (21) and useless, because the law protected the "obnoxious to reason, justice and the laws." (22) He calls them an "insult to the law; for it insinuates that the innocent would be punished with the guilty," and useless, because the law protected the innocent (23) They are injurious to government, as they weaken and retard its operations." (24) Depons goes further in his denunciation by saying that "the asylums are entirely in favour of crime, by the shackles which they place on justice....", and that "they are the incentives to all the assassinations that are committed" because civilians often did not know of exceptions to immunities, and believed their impunities assured if they took refuge in a church before they were seized by the hand of justice. This belief encouraged them to convert schemes of murder and assassination. He says, "Is not the immunity to be charged with all these dangerous abuses? That assassinations are promoted and multiplied by these sanctuaries is an opinion supported by the manners of those countries where they are abolished; for in them assassinations are no longer committed." He says that their abolition was desired; that the people perceived the justice of abolition and the ministers were too virtuous to

19. Depons II, 132.

20. Depons II, 123.

21. Ibid., 122.

22. Ibid., 130.

23. Ibid., 130-1.

24. Ibid., 131.

oppose. (25) In another discussion he declares: "He, who from his rank in society, can revenge himself only by his own hands, manifests very little or no anger, when he receives an offence, but from that moment he watches an opportunity, which he scarcely ever lets escape, of plunging a dagger in the heart of his near enemy, safe in flying for refuge to some privileged church, in order that the ecclesiastical tribunal might undertake to present, as an unfortunate accident, the most premeditated murder, and as a pardonable action, an act the most deserving of death." (26)

In much the same words, Stevenson and Depons set forth the unreasonableness of the immunity. Stevenson says: "Some of the popes, imagining in their ardour of usurpation, that they should increase the sanctity of the Church by elevating it above the reach of the law, barred its doors against the civil magistracy, and made it the refuge of outlaws; thus mistaking pity for piety, Christian forgiveness for Christian protection: hence the temple was open to the murderer, his hands still reeking with the blood of his fellow citizen, and closed against the minister of justice, whose duty it was to avenge the crime; as if God had established his church for the protection of vices in this world, which he has threatened with eternal punishment in the next." (27) Depons had previously written, "Reason revolted from the belief that God would protect in this world, the same crimes to which he had attached eternal punishment in the future." (28)

Organization

The church was organized by divisions and subdivisions, in each province. The prelate at the head of a province judged misdemeanors of persons wearing the habit, inflicted corporal and spiritual punishment, and ordered temporal privations. (29) The chief place in each bishopric had a chapter of which

25. Depons 122-5. II.

26. Depons III, 95.

27. Stevenson I, 192.

28. Depons II, 123-4.

29. Stevenson I, 188.

the number of members was always proportional to the revenues of the diocese.

(30) In Quito in 1735 the bishop received a salary of \$24,000 and the salaries of the members of the chapter ranged from \$420 to \$2,500. (31)

Ordinary local churches were cared for principally by the curate, who could be of the secular or regular clergy. Depons says, "After the bishops and chapters, naturally follows this class of pastors, so useful when their deportment and vigilance respond to the august objection of their functions; and so injurious, when they abuse the consideration, the respect and the confidence, which their sacerdotal character inspires. God forbid that I should refuse to the generality of Spanish curates, all the virtues of their station, or withhold from them those eulogiums, merited by the indefatigable zeal with which, day and night, they administer their spiritual succours. They all appeared to me, possessing in an eminent degree, every pastoral quality. I acknowledge that I know very little of the particulars of their administration...." (32) Juan and Ulloa, who claimed to know the particulars, will have more to say on their integrity.

Quadranserially those curates who wished to be removed from benefices presented themselves at the concurso, as meeting of the chapter, having obtained permission of the archbishop and left other clergymen in charge of their parishes. These were examined by the archbishop in Latin and theology, and approved or reproved. If the former, an allegation of merits and services was presented; the archbishop nominated three individuals to each third class, or richest, livings; the vice-patron confirmed one of the three; three others were nominated from the remainder for the second class livings; and the remainder for the lowest class, the vice-patron in each case naming one of the three. (33) In Peru the appointment followed a public disputation in

30. Depons II, 93.

31. Juan and Ulloa, 445.

32. Depons II, 94.

33. Stevenson I, 190-1.

which the disputants were required to undergo an examination in the language of the Inca, in the palace of the bishop. (34)

When monks were appointed to curacies in Quito, vacancies were declared and filled at every meeting of the chapter. No examination was requisite. Three candidates were presented to the provincial, who chose one. The curate chosen paid to the provincial of his order the amount stipulated by his curacy. If another person offered more, the resident curate made up the amount or left the curacy. Enormous sums based on the amount of revenue that they could be made to yield were given for the curacies. (35)

There was a great deal of competition for benefices, due to the great number of secular priests. Depons says they abounded, but were less numerous than formerly, because of the recent multitude of prosecutions which produced multiplication of tribunals employing an inconceivable number of persons, a complicated financial system creating numerous lucrative employes, and the increase in military occupations, which attracted some who would otherwise have taken holy orders. As it was, there were many in every city who still lay in wait for vacant benefices. As Depons expresses it, "The ecclesiastical state seems to smooth so easily the road to heaven, and obtains so much consideration and so many benefits, that it could not fail to be eagerly embraced by men, whose character, piety and ambition, desires no better than to become, at small expense, wealthy and respectable in this world, and eternally happy in the other." (36) Creole priests were preferred to Europeans for the curacies, and those who understood the Indian language for the doctrinaires, or Indian curacies. (37)

The curate could enjoy only one living or benefice, could be absent only by permission of the vicar-general, could not appear as evidence in a case where

34. "Secret Expedition, 108.

35. Ibid., 114-5.

36. Depons II, 116-7.

37. Ibid., 87.

the culprit could be sentenced to death, and could not interfere with the magistrates. Stevenson remarks, "It is certainly to be regretted, that in all parts of the world, I mean the Christian world, the same laws are not established; for what ought to be more dear to a shepherd than his flock; but alas! many take charge of it for the sake of the fleece, and for that only." (38) The curate received a stipend out of the tithes, premios from his parishioners, compounded for animals and fruits, was paid for baptisms, marriages, and funerals, and had perquisites arising from church feasts, masses, etc. How he obtained them will be noticed later.. Doctrinal curates had fewer perquisites; received nothing for baptisms, marriages, and funerals; but a small sum established by the synod, and one by the king from the treasury, which seldom exceeded \$500. (39)

Missions were conducted mainly by the Jesuits, a more complete account of which has been given. Few missionaries sent from Spain joined missions because Jesuits put most of them in colleges, and other orders used them in various employments. (40) The missions were administered entirely by the missionaries who educated the Indians, punished them for crime, supervised commerce, and excluded the other inhabitants to prevent their bad examples from contaminating the Indians in their state of simplicity. The Indians supported these priests by cultivating a plantation for each. (41) The church had its several tribunals, much as did the state. There was the ~~tribunal~~ tribunal of the holy crusade for the promulgation of the pope's bulls, and the collection of that part of the revenue, the tribunal of temporalities for recovering the value or rents of the possessions and property of ex Jesuits, and the (42) tribunal of inquisition. The ecclesiastical tribunals were under the archbishop and bishops. The provisor gave ordinary sentences, but important cases were judged by the archbishop. They had jurisdiction over

38. Stevenson I, 191-2.

39. Ibid., 189-90.

40. "Secret Expedition," 142-3.

41. Juan and Ulloa, 638-4.

42. Stevenson I, 182, 194; Juan and Ulloa, 445, 573.

orders, marriages, divorces, legitimations, pious legacies, monastical portions and dowries, defence and preservation of immunities of the church, disputes between members and laymen and priests, and criminal complaints against the clergy, from which there was an appeal to the royal audience. (43) Stevenson says that proceedings were tedious and expensive, (44) but Depons believes they were not so slow and expensive as in secular courts, although they followed the same forms; but nevertheless writings were multiplied, clearest affairs perplexed, an abundance of stamped paper consumed, and the unfortunate clients fleeced. He excuses this on the ground that human affairs are human. (45)

The inquisition received most attention from the travelers. This tribunal, identified by the pale blue silk cuff of the inquisitors, who were secular priests, had jurisdiction over every individual except Indians or negroes, who were considered in the class of neophytes. (46) The tribunal was composed of three inquisitors; two secretaries; bailiffs; porters; brothers of punishment (lay Dominicans who inflicted corporal punishment); two brothers of charity, of the Hospitallery order of Saint Juan de Dias to care for the sick, sworn to divulge nothing; commissaries in the principal towns to furnish information, and to forward accusations, processes, and persons accused to the tribunal; qualifiers elected to spy books, prints, images, and to report opinions of new publications. Stevenson says of them: "These were wretches worse than slander, for not even the secrets of the grave could escape them." (47)

The power of the inquisition was at first rather limited, but it soon assumed more authority. It originally had cognizance over heresy, and abuse

43. Stevenson I, 187-8.

44. Ibid., 188.

45. Depons 92-3.

46. Stevenson I, 185.

47. Stevenson I, 183-4.

by the priest of the confession by making it subservient to his passions, (48) but Stevenson includes more: "The primitive institution was entirely confined to adjudge matters strictly heretical, but it soon assumed cognizance of civil and political affairs, becoming at the same time the stay of the altar, and the prop of the throne." (49) It had power to condemn to fine, of confiscation, of banishment, to send to the galleys, or the flames. Secular judges and audiences respected and cause to be executed their sentences. One function was anathematizing books wounding tenets of religion, offending modesty, depriving the government of its consideration, or disrespecting the law. Of this Depons says: "Such is the vigilance of the inquisition that this regulation concerning the police of books, is more rigorously executed both in Europe and America, than any other regulation appertaining to the Spanish regime." The entrance, circulation, and use of books were prohibited until they were pronounced orthodox. (50) Books offered for sale had to have permission from the inquisition. Possession of prohibited books entailed a fine which pays the judges' salaries. All were duty bound to report the possession of these books. Stevenson also noticed the unnecessary rigor with which books were scrutinized; "Some books were prohibited because they were bad; others were bad because they were prohibited." (51)

Stevenson believed that accounts of the inquisition had been exaggerated, that probably the inquisitors were sparing in torture from fear of divulgence, or possibly, on the other hand, that they may have sacrificed the victim to prevent discovery. At any rate, the inquisition was tame after being restored in 1812 by Ferdinand. (53) Betagh says also that the Spaniards were not

48. Depons II, 75.

49. Stevenson I, 182.

50. Depons II, 75-6.

51. Stevenson I, 184.

52. Depons II, 74.

53. Stevenson I, 276-7.

so cruel in religious or state prosecutions as in Europe. (54)

The sessions of the inquisition always secret, and its transactions obscure on that account. Stevenson says that in Peru 40 had been burned, and 120 had escaped by recantation before the abolition of the inquisition. The last one sentenced to the flames was in 1761. The names of the burned and the portraits and names of the recanters hung in the passage from the cathedral to the Sagrario until 1812. (55)

Betagh gives the experience of some converts meeting at a public house in 1720 to confirm their baptism with punch. They got drunk, and one accidentally demolished an image, believing it to be one of his friends. They were imprisoned for five days and then released because they had been disordered by liquor when the offence occurred. (56)

Stevenson himself once was summoned to appear before that "dread tribunal." He had disputed with a Dominican friar over an image of the Madonna of the Rosary, and was summoned to the holy tribunal of the faith. Meanwhile he was advised to pray. The officers attending him would not speak to him. The inquisitors, or "trinity of harpies," forced a promise to tell the truth and then questioned him on his conversation with the friar, and ordered him to retire. One of the inquisitors then called him to his house and warned him to consider that he was subject to the tribunal of the faith and to shape his course accordingly, avoiding religious disputes. (57)

Immediately afterward Cortes abolished the inquisition and the townspeople visited the place of the ex-tribunal and demolished the furniture. They found a crucifix which had been fixed so the head could be made to nod or shake to decide questions of guilt or innocence. The archives contained names of

54. Betagh, 6.

55. Stevenson I, 182-3.

56. Betagh, 6.

57. Stevenson I, 261-7.

many friends whose conduct had been unsuspectingly scrutinized. There were records of actual cases. For blasphemy the sentence was three months in a convent, general confession, and different secret penances. There were also accusations of friars, solicitantes in confessione. Prohibited books in abundance were discovered, and many of them found future owners. They found printed cotton handkerchiefs with a figure of religion with a chalice in one hand and a cross in another, "placed there perhaps by some wary manufacturer, who thought such devout insignia would insure purchasers, but who forgot the heinousness of blowing the nose or spitting upon the cross." The room of torture had a strong table for stretching a body in both directions, dislocating every joint, but preventing hanging. A vertical pillory stood near an aperture in the wall where lay Dominicans could flog the victim without being discovered. There were scourges of knotted cord hardened with blood, a wire chain with points and rowels, tormentors of netted wire with points projecting inward to be tied around parts of the body, shirts of horse hair, human bones for gagging, nippers to be used on tongues, and finger screws. Indignantly he exclaims, "On viewing these instruments of torture, who could find an excuse for the monsters who would use them to establish the faith which was taught, by precept and example, by the mild, the meek, the holy Jesus! May he who would not curse them in the bitterness of wrath fall into their merciless hands!

(58)

The people removed the property of the ex-tribunal, and the archbishop declared excommunication for those who should retain it. Some was returned, but Stevenson says, "I ~~thought~~ kept what I got, in defiance of flamines infernorum denounced by his grace against the renitentes and retinentes. (59)

Of no less interest and exciting as much comment was the conventual life. Stevenson pictures the reclusion convent of San Diego: pale friars

58. Stevenson I, 267-72.

59. Ibid., 274.

clad in grey sackcloth, sandals on half bare feet, habitual silence. "I have often paced these cloisters on an evening, listening to the distant notes of the organ in the church, and the solemn chant of the friars, with such reverential awe, as I never experienced in any other place, but which, to be known, must be practiced--must be felt." (60)

The number of convents in a city was the measure of the importance of the city. Depons says that none were founded in Caracas in the latter half of the eighteenth century because of the lack of devoutness and veneration, even for those already established. Commenting on the theory of the convent, Depons says: "Some persons believe that they discharge their duty to society, in thus separating themselves from it; others think that true happiness exists only in the seclusions of a cloister; nor is it astonishing that persons who make happiness to consist in repose, should find it within those solitudes.The women soon imitate the example of the men, renouncing the sacred duties of wife and mothers, and inclosing themselves for life within the walls of these retirements, where the liberality of the pious must provide for their subsistence." (61)

The woman who took the veil is staunchly defended by Stevenson, who tells how one entered a convent. She dressed in her best attire and went with her friends to the church of the nunnery where she clothed herself in the religious habit of the order minus the scapulary or veil. Her friends left her and the nuns chanted a welcome. After a year of probation, if she still wished to become a nun, she was delivered to the prelate and taken to the church where the laws and regulations of the order were read. The prelate questioned her will, explained her duties, and warned her against threats and promises. She took private vows of chastity, poverty, obedience, and manastic seclusion

60. Stevenson II, 288-9.

61. Depons II, 118.

before the sisterhood. And after high mass received the sacrament from the prelate. Then came a funeral ceremony, and she was veiled and presented to the nuns. (62)

"Much has been said and written," says Stevenson, "respecting nuns and nunneries, and most unfeeling assertions have been made both with regard to the cause and effect of taking the veil; but, from what I have heard and seen, these assertions are generally as false as they are uncharitable; they are too often the effusions of bigots, who endeavor to load with the vilest epithets as well the cloistered nun, the devout catholic, and the pious protestant, as the immoral libertine. They apply to themselves the text, "he that is not for me, is against me," and everything that militates against their own peculiar doctrines must be wrong. I never knew of a nun who repented of her vows, and I have conversed with hundreds: many have said that they doubted not that happiness was to be found without the walls, and discontent within, but that neither could be attributed exclusively to their being found in or out of a nunnery. Let those who would revile the conduct of their fellow creatures look to their own; let those who pity, search at home for objects: they who would amend others, should set the example. If we suppose that some of the inmates of cloisters are the victims of tyranny, we should recollect how many others are sacrificed at the shrine of avarice to the bond of matrimony! for the vows at the altar are alike indissoluble, and their effects are often far more distressing." (63)

The friars did not merit the same respect. Their vows were similar to the nun's, but not so religiously fulfilled. They were general nuisances, generally the dregs of society--profligate sons--who relied on a convent as a home, and each becoming "a drone to society, a burden to his order, and a disgrace to his own character." Among them were many virtuous and learned men, but most

62. Stevenson I, 248-51.

63. Ibid., 251-2.

of them regretted their vows. Respectable individuals studied and became lecturers, or got a degree of Doctor of Divinity in the university and took a seat in a chapter of the order. (64)

An illustration of the reason for taking holy orders is found in the story of two English pirates taken prisoners by the Spaniards, who took up religion. Says Betagh: "The first I saw had got his new catechism in one hand and a pair of large beads dangling in the other. I smiled, and asked the fellow, how he liked it. He said very well; for having his religion to choose, he thought theirs better than none, since it brought him good meat and drink, and a quiet life." (65)

The orders were notoriously wealthy, (66) receiving "pious donations" from those denied entrance into monasteries, purposing to pay homage to the divinity by giving property to the monasteries. Depons says: "Money, houses, lands, everything was applied to this pious work, without which, the road to heaven would be found covered with obstructions. A testament that contained no legacy in favor of the convents, passed for an act of irreligion, which left more than a doubt concerning the safety of his soul by whom it had been committed. These gulphs of population, soon swallowed up riches also: while they deprived the earth of cultivators, they took likewise from those who destined their labors to its culture, the means of rendering it fruitful." (67)

It was the same way with prebends. The memory of a dead person was tainted if part of his property was not left to prebends. "The convents and churches, must, therefore possess the purest and most unembarrassed riches of Terra Firma." (68) Decrees had forbidden the sale or gift of lands to

64. Stevenson I, 253.

65. Betagh, 5.

66. "Secret Expedition," 218.

67. Depons II, 118-9.

68. Ibid., 119.

ecclesiastics, communities, or fraternities, but had not forbidden the bequeathing of the same, for fear of being disobeyed. Legacies and pious rents still succeeded in giving ecclesiastic ownership or control of a considerable part of the landed estates. A law limited bequests by nullifying those made of property on the death bed to the confessor or for pious purposes, but public opinion paralyzed the law. (69)

Such was Depons's opinion of orders in Caracas. Humboldt says that in Mexico the convents were prohibited from possessing real property, and although the wise law had frequently been infringed, the clergy had not acquired considerable property. Since the suppression of the order of the Jesuits, few estates belonged to Mexican clergy. Their real wealth consisted in tithes and capitals laid out on the farms of small cultivators. (70)

Juan and Ulloa say, "The revenue attached to preferments in religious Orders is the source of all the unreasonable and extravagant behavior of the members...." As a result missions and preaching were neglected. The provincial or superior of a convent controlled nominations to minor convents of his order, but usually allowed his predecessor to fill the first vacancies (in case he he had espoused his cause). This yielded an immense revenue, as each nominee contributed according to the income. Patronage was employed. After his term expired the provincial was entitled to one of the richest livings or guardianships in the ~~gift~~ gift of the order, and could select for himself the best estate in the province. (71)

Morals of the Clergy

The morals of the clergy were dealt with, with the exception only by Juan and Ulloa, and only in their secret report. The utter contempt for law, the avarice, and the licentiousness of the clergy beggared all description, according to the revelations of these men. Stevenson gives the one good

69. Depons II, 120, 141-2.

70. Humboldt III, 102.

71. "Secret Expedition," 214-7.

word for the parish priests, whose house was his temporary residence in each town during his travels. He says that their society was generally the best of the town. (72) Juan and Uloa would say, "God pity the rest of the town!"

Whenever there was a riot or dissension the laity relied on the assistance of the clergy. "The whole clerical staff is implicated in these riots, and the religious orders exceed all the rest, (that of the Jesuits excepted," by interfering in subjects which do not belong to them, and which are not appropriate to their profession. Not only those who wear the habit, but even their servants and dependants, have the insolence to cast reproach upon the civil magistrate; and the pernicious example which they give to the laity is the reason why the latter assume a bolder front, and trample on the authority of their superiors. It is in those countries that contempt of law serves as pastime to ecclesiastics, who, in reliance upon the immunities they enjoy, have the effrontery to make sport of the civil magistrate, whatever rank he may hold." Priests in arms will boldly defy the corregidor in his own house. Bands of monks rush through streets masked and provoking tumults "such as would be looked for only from the lowest and most reckless mob." They even entered prisons and set culprits at liberty, and protected fugitives from justice in their own homes. (73)

Missionaries who came from Spain were at first dissatisfied with conditions in America, but they gradually lost their zeal for the conversion of the Indians. (74) Depons says the earliest missionaries were men of "greater devotion, the purest zeal, and the most meritorious resignation," (75) but they soon exchanged that for avarice. "It is doubtless their intention, on leaving Spain, to devote themselves to the spiritual conquest of the Indians,

72. Stevenson II, 77.

73. "Secret Expedition," 188-9.

74. Ibid., 145-6.

75. Depons II, 105.

without anticipating any reward for their labours except the crown of the martyr or the recompense of the apostle. But on their arrival in America, finding the lives of their brethren rather fashioned according to the spirit of man than the spirit of God, the frailty of their natures dems it more convenient to follow than to furnish an example." (76) With the exception of the Franciscans, the missionaries were hopelessly materialistic. They kept the Spaniards out of the villages, making it impossible to learn the particulars of their lives. "But their assiduity to conceal the details of their administrations, the actual nullity of reduction and conversion among the savages, the tardy civilization of those Indians who for successive generations have been confided to their ministry--these furnish grounds for the opinion that neither the cause of religion nor national sovereignty derived any material advantage from their labours." They were forbidden to exact compensation from the Indians, but by selling rosaries, scapularies, and little images of the virgin and of the saints at 1000% profit, and perpetually menacing the Indian with the wrath of God if he did not buy, they secured a good income. The law also prohibited gratuitous labor by the Indians, but certain missionaries obtained it by laternate menaces and promises. Many dealt openly in contraband and monopoly, and accumulated great wealth, some as much as \$50,000. Depons admits that there was some justification for this mercantile spirit in the smallness of the allowance. (77)

Parish priests were so avaricious that they celebrated saints' days every Sunday and holiday, postponing them until those days in order that the Indians would not be drawn from their tasks. At each festival there were fees which had to be paid immediately after it. High mass was worth \$4.50; a sermon of four words in praise of the saint cost the same. The Indians were required

76. Depons II, 108.

77. Ibid., 109-11.

to defray the expense of the procession, wax, and incense, and in addition, bring to the curate an offering of chickens, guinea pigs, eggs, a sheep, or a hog, leaving the family destitute. Blows were used to force this offering. By this means one curate in a mediocre curacy collected every year over 200 sheep, 6000 hens and chickens, 4000 guinea pigs, and 50,000 eggs. On All-Souls' month festival these offerings were placed on the graves where the curate's servant collected them to be sold by the Curate and Wine, a scarcity, was diluted and hired out in turn. Still this was not enough. On Sundays when "doctrine" was to be read before mass the Indian woman took an egg to the curate, and each Indian brought a bundle of sticks. The only object of the "doctrine" being to make every one bring the little present required. Indian boys and girls brought a truss of hay every afternoon to feed the priest's horses and cattle. (78)

"But all which has been said hitherto scarce deserves to be named in comparison of what takes place in curacies held by monks, for it appears as if in these the spirit of oppression had been carried to its utmost bounds." (79) This is the almost incredible change made in the secret report. The monk's concubine supervised the women and children in a manufactory assigning them tasks in spinning or weaving, and gave the aged hens, requiring them to deliver ten or twelve chickens for each, furnishing the feed, and replacing those which died. Indian men cultivated the monk's farm on Sundays and holidays with their own cattle. Even in Lent these operations went busily on. The choir wove even while mass was saying, being kept in the church as at a mill. The dead could not be buried until the whole amount of an enforced exorbitant interment fee was paid. Because of this compulsory sumptuous funeral the curate was furnished with a pretext of burial expenses to engross the entire property of the deceased. (80)

78. "Secret Expedition," 108-13, 133.2

79. Ibid., 113-4.

80. Ibid., 116-9.

The immense wealth of the orders was used improperly because of no occasion to use it to advantage. "Hence it is that the members of the religious Orders take the lead of every other class of men in the practice of vice...." They maintained the most concubines, and "it makes one shudder to listen to them, when they let loose their tongues, and make them the instruments of the most filthy and opprobrious language that can be imagined. "They gamble the most, drink the most to excess," and there is no vice with which they have not made themselves familiar; all which had its source in superfluous wealth...." They have no objects and no occupation, therefore they turn to vices. (81) Practically all the revenues went to the support of the families because the monks "carried their whole wardrobe on their backs." (82)

A glaring example of their viciousness was their patronage of the popular balls, or fandangoes, which Juan and ulloa declared to be "wanton," common", appearing to be "inventions suggested by the infernal spirit himself, to keep those people in greater bondage," and usually devised by members of religious orders who paid the expense and attended with their concubines or entertained in their own houses. "Simultaneously with the dance, the immoderate use of ardent spirits begins, and the entertainment is gradually converted into acts of impropriety so unseemly and lewd, that it would be presumption even to speak of them, and a want of delicacy to stain the narrative with such a record of obscenities; and, letting them lie hid in the region of silence, we shall only remark, that whatever the spirit of malice could invent in respect to this subject, great as it might be, it could never fathom that abyss into which those corrupt minds are plunged, nor give any adequate idea of the degree of excess to which debauchery and crime are carried." The clergy served as "pioneers to those who are entering upon the paths of vice." If the orgy was held in a monk's house it was safe from the law. The monks sometimes assumed the dress of laity, and sometimes used the fandangoes to commemorate

81. "Secret Expedition," 218.

82. Ibid., 213.

the assumption of the monastic vows; and "it is in such orgies, in which there is no abominable crime which is not committed, and no indecency which is not practiced, that the solemn occasion of chanting the first mass is celebrated, which seems like presenting to the young friars a model on which to form their subsequent conduct; and they appear to make use of the lessons of depravity with so much fidelity, that they never deviate in the slightest degree from their observance." (83)

Concubinage held first place among the vices of Peru, and all were implicated: Europeans and Creoles; single and married; priests, regular and secular. The practise was esteemed a point of honor, especially in small towns. Continence on the part of strangers was attributed, not to virtue, but to avarice. The men in the scientific company were asked where their concubines were, and the natives were astonished on being told that they had none. It was so prevalent that it did not affect reputation, and triumphed over all sense of shame and fear. (84) The clergy had the advantage over the laity that they were at liberty to change their women when they ceased to be congenial, or when age had rendered them less attractive. In such case a weekly allowance for life was granted. This probably happened frequently, for there was much wrangling with concubines, between children of concubines, and between concubines themselves, especially when the priest gave occasion for jealousy. The result was "unceasing brawls and riots." (85)

Illegitimacy was so common that scores of children in Quito inherited and boasted of the titles of their fathers in the monasteries, (86) and the promotion of a married priest was an occasion of mirth and festivity to the woman, who received congratulations and shared the honor with him. (87) "It is enough to make the most fearless tremble to see with what unconcern and self-complacency those priests rise from the couch of criminal indulgence to

83. "Secret Expedition, 203-9.

84. Ibid., 195-6.

85. Ibid., 208-13.

86. Ibid., 204-5.

87. Ibid., 212.

celebrate the holiest sacrifice that the imagination can conceive." (88)

Then lewdness was unrestrained, and it was extremely common to secure women by falsehoods and forgery. (89)

Juan and Ulloa seem to find difficulty in expressing the actual degradations of the clergy: "The individuals who composed both these orders are guilty of such licentiousness that, making due allowance for the frailties to which human nature is liable, and the weaknesses to which men of every class are subject, it would appear that those ecclesiastics regard it as their peculiar privilege, (90) to go before all others in the career of vice...." Irish priests were not so scandalous as monks, perhaps because the crime attracted less notice, perhaps because they concealed it. But the monks, "from the first step they take, and even without leaving the monasteries, pursue a course of conduct so notorious and shameful that it becomes offensive in the extreme, and fills the mind with horror." (91)

Some monks in large cities, small cities, villages, and hamlets lived in private houses. They kept their women and children there, and passed most of their time there, going there when ill, often coming to the monastery only to say mass. Doors of the monasteries were kept open and monks lived in their cells with their women, leading in every respect the life of married persons. Convents seemed to have lost any religious character and became only "public brothels." "They have become the scene of such unheard-of abominations and execrable vices that the mind wavers in uncertainty as to what opinions the inmates have formed of religion, or whether they live in the knowledge and fear of the Catholic." They boasted of their incontinence by taking concubines, children, and servants with them on journeys, and even on the assembling of chapters. Once Juan and Ulloa saw a whole body of friars come

88. "Secret Expedition," 126.

89. Ibid., 126-9.

90. Ibid., 194-5

91. Ibid., 195.

to sing a response over the dead body of a monk's son, and each one expressed sympathy for the father. (92) "Lost to all sense of decency," and "without the least restraint," they "go far beyond the most infamous of the laity in the practice of licentiousness." Restraint by superiors was impossible because they were also implicated, and even originated the example. They even went in company to the dwellings of their concubines, and met in the house of a provincial as well as in that of a private monk "to celebrate their nightly orgies." (93)

Monastery doors were kept open nominally for the use of domestics, making it possible for the concubines to have free access at all hours without impediment and without even attracting notice. Juan himself saw three women, whom a monk told him were concubines of three monks, attending a sick monk in his cell. A Frenchman on the same expedition with Juan and Ulloa told them that while escorting a lady home from a fandango she had him take her to a monastery, where she bade him good night and entered. Similar occurrences they say, would fill a large volume. (94) An old priest had contracted an alliance with the fourth woman, a young and good-looking lady. He had children descended from all, and the whole family knelt together in the chapel to hear mass, the concubine herself presiding. The priest finally died in her arms. (95)

Religious Customs

Whatever may have been the private life of the clergy, they did not neglect the religious ceremonies. Menonville says that in Havana there were no less than 3000 processions, making deafening noises. (96) In Vera Cruz the processions, ~~making deafening~~ were of men dressed (or undressed) as women, torturing themselves with swords and whips. He saw eighty of these in one week. (97) Byron found it the same in Chili. Fifty or sixty

92. "Secret Expedition," 197-200.

93. Ibid., 205-7.

94. Ibid., 200-2.

95. Ibid., 210-1.

96. Menonville, 765.

97. Ibid., 778.

penitents followed a procession, wearing white, lashing their bare backs with cats-o'-nine-tails, leaving trails of blood; or bearing heavy crosses on their backs. Friars of different orders swarmed the streets. (98)

A less painful and more disgusting procession was that of the Virgin Mary in Quito who received almost exclusive adoration. Her statue near Quito was believed to protect from earthquakes, and was brought to Quito accompanied by a military force. The image was supposedly on duty as a captain-general in full uniform, with sleeves drawn on the arms, a gold laced cock hat on the head with a red cockade and feather, and a baton in the hand. The image of the infant Jesus wore a gold laced hat, a small gold sword, and a red cloak. Stevenson calls this "a disgraceful piece of mummery." Other processions displayed the best works of pencil and chisel, that of Corpus Christi being important. (99)

These processions were usually held in connection with a festival. The festivals of Corpus Christi and the Conception of our Lady brought out the courts, officers, and persons of eminence to assist in a procession of pomp and decorum. Heathen Indians trained for months previous gave dances. African clubs assisted with national music, songs, and dancing at Lima. Houses were adorned with rich hangings, triumphal arches were erected, and wrought plate and jewels decorated the altars. (100) Almost every day of the year there was a festival somewhere, and every festival was preceded by a succession of nine days consecrated to prayer alone, and followed by eight days of fire works, concerts, and balls, along with prayers. Feasts were almost unknown to Spaniards. The procession of the saint who was celebrated was really the most brilliant act. As in the procession of the Virgin Mary, the saint was dressed richly in life size, and preceded by another saint less sumptuously

98. Byron, 405-6.

99. Stevenson II, 311-3; Juan and Ulloa, 446.

100. Juan and Ulloa, 445-6; Stevenson I, 320.

adorned, with the clergy, the women, and the civil authorities joining in the procession. (101)

Many local customs are interesting. On days of particular festivals the men of Guayaquil went up in the belfries or steeples and accompanied the tune rung on the bells by striking drums with hammers and stones, playing dance tunes to call people to prayers. (102)

When churches were dedicated in Havana there were grand celebrations. On the eve of the dedication the steeple was illuminated and a grand concert given. On the day, streamers were placed on the steeple, and "the body of the church is filled with tapers to such extreme as not badly to represent a fiery furnace, through the aisles of which bad music is badly heard, but in which also splendid offerings are made." (103)

Great attention was paid to the dress worn to religious services. Depons says that in Caracas the men of every rank and color found either coat, great coat, or cloak indispensable. Women wore black petticoat and veil. Slaves alone were bound to have a white veil. The object of the veil was "to banish from the temple of the divinity improper luxury, seductive coquetry, impure designs," the object of uniformity to indicate equality before God. He found the original purity not preserved, except for the color, which remained black. The costume was originally cheap, but then most studied and expensive. Those who had not clothes sufficiently decent to enter a church in the daytime heard mass before day. Many ladies, wishing to divert the vengeance of heaven at certain times, assisted in religious ceremonies in habits similar to those of the orders to whom they owed gratitude. These costumes were called penitential dresses. (104)

Lima had two noteworthy customs of tolling the bell of the cathedral at

- 101. Depons III, 75-6.
- 102. Stevenson II, 206-7.
- 103. Menonville, 765.
- 104. Depons III, 72-5.

nine in the morning and at sunset. In the morning it was at the time that the host of high mass was elevated. Silence was produced in the market, hats removed, and many knelt. The bustle was resumed after the third knell. At the oracion bell motion ceased until the third knell, people crossed themselves, said "buena noche," and resumed their avocations. "I never could help admiring this method of reminding every individual to thank his Creator for blessings received during the day, and to crave his kind protection during the night," says Stevenson in tribute. (105)

105. Stevenson I, 318-9.

CHAPTER XII

CULTURAL and SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

The General Intellectual Level

The general intellectual level in the indies was high, but comparatively few had opportunity to develop their abilities. Humboldt believes Havana was the most advanced, although Lima, Santa Fe, Quito, Popayan, and Caracas were also remarkable. (1) Education

Few received good education, especially among the women. The Spanish language was rarely spoken well. Juan and Ulloa found the creoles of Quito speaking Spanish or Inca, both adulterated. Their children learned the Inca first from their Indian nurses, which corrupted their Spanish, and a jargon resulted. Europeans copied the creoles but used improper words to such an extent that they needed interpreters. (2) Depons found the women of fortune in Caracas reading badly and spelling worse, so that "none but a young man, inspired by love, can decypher their scrawls." (3)

Women received no education except what their mothers taught them in the home. There they learned reading and writing, sewing, embroidery, and management of household affairs. In some places masters taught drawing, dancing, and music, in other places nothing of the kind was taught. Some girls learned the guitar and psaltery by their own efforts or by the direction of a friend, but few had the first ideas of music. (4)

Men are dealt with more kindly. Those of rank and whites of moderate circumstances in Quito received their education gratis. (5) They were educated only for the professions: church, law, and medicine, (6) the law for livelihood, and the church for importance. (7)

1. Humboldt I, 211.
2. Juan and Ulloa, 452.
3. Depons III, 88.
4. Stevenson II, 296-7; Depons III, 88; Stevenson I, 299
5. Stevenson II, 296.
6. Stevenson I, 299.
7. Depons I, 116.

Depons says the creoles, especially, believed "that it is impossible to preserve one's dignity, and do honor to one's ancestors, except with a pen in the hand, a sword by the side, or a breviary under the eyes." (8) The result was: "Every one wished to be a gentelman, to lead an idle life, addicted to the frightful vices of luxury, chicane and calumny. It is thus that law suits are multiplied, the wicked thrive, the good are discouraged, and every thing goes to wreck." "Thus the number of privilege persons is multiplied, and the rest of the citizens are overcharged with prebends, fees, and rents, which are founded for the subsistence of ecclesiastics, besides other duties and contributions, from which their profession is exempted." Their education inspired contempt for everything not originating among themselves. (9)

The church was particularly diligent in education. The Jesuits led the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians in founding colleges. Some colleges and universities were by royal foundation, usually under partial control of the church. Others, as in Caracas, were owned by the city.

The curricula included mostly Latin, canon and civil law, philosophy, theology, medicine, and divinity. Some stressed science and morality, but others neglected them. Spanish was generally neglected. Some attention was paid to mathematics, surgery, ritual, arts, reading, writing, rhetoric, and nautical science. There was little teaching, but rather, courses of lectures where the nature of the subject permitted it. bachelor's masters, and doctor's degrees were granted. The university of Quito granted the bachelor's degree to those who underwent public examination after studying arts one year. Those who finished the course and were approved in examination were granted masters' degrees. The doctor's degree was granted after private examination by the faculty consisting of ~~four~~ a rector of the university and four examiners in the faculty. Different degrees and faculties were distinguished by different colored badges in Quito and Lima. Two colleges of Quito, the Franciscan College of San Buenaventura, and the Augustinian College of

San Fulgencio had been deprived of the privilege of conferring the degree of doctor because of such irregularities as presenting the degree to favorites or for money. Their attempt to "grow by degrees" was unsuccessful. (10)

In the university of Lima bachelors' and masters' degrees were conferred by the rector on payment of fees. The doctor's degree required a public examination and a plurality of votes of the examiners and professors in the faculty. The candidate discussed a point in Latin for an hour, and presented and defended a thesis before the degree was granted. (11) The universities of Cuzco in the diocese of Lima presented all degrees below the doctor's. (12) The university of Caracas conferred the bachelor's degree through the rector, and the licentiate's and doctor's degrees through the chancellor who was also the canon and master of the school. Those who received degrees then took oath to maintain the immaculate conception, neither to teach nor practice regicide or tyrannicide, and to defend the doctrine of St. Thomas. Depons says, "It is this nursery that furnished the church with ministers, the bench with magistrates, and the public with protectors." (13) Stevenson speaks highly of the university of Quito, saying that with the removal of ecclesiastical restrictions, and better selections of books and instruments, it would "vie with some of those of the most polished countries in Europe." (14) Juan and Ulloa considered the students of Quito deficient in historical and political knowledge, which was their misfortune, not their fault, as there were no persons to instruct them. "Thus after seven or eight years of scholastic instruction their knowledge is very limited; though endowed with geniuses capable of making the greatest progress in the sciences." (15) They found the same true of Lima, where the failure of students to distinguish themselves was not the fault of lack of talents, but of proper instructors. (16)

10. Stevenson II, 291-2.

11. Stevenson I, 258-9.

12. Juan and Ulloa, 616.

13. Depons III, 93-4.

14. Stevenson II, 296.

15. Juan and ulloa, 449-50.

16. Ibid., 574.

Much could not be expected when the salaries of the professors is considered. The university of Caracas, owned by the city, had a capital of \$47,748 drawing interest of \$2387 which paid twelve professors. Depons believed that the king would grant an addition solicited in 1804. (17)

Some of the professors chairs were sinecures, which was the case in Lima, where they never lectured, and attended only on days of public disputation or when degrees were conferred. (18) Humboldt says the chairs in the Tridentin college of Mexico were sinecures. (19) Professorships in Quito were filled by election after each course of lectures, by all those who had the degree of doctor in the vacant chair, and professors in the triennial election of the rector of the university. The president of the government rejected or confirmed the persons chosen. (20) Juan and Ulloa state that chairs in the University of St. Mark at Lima were filled by suffrage. Some professors there had gained the applause of the literati of Europe. (21)

Each college had its particular habit. In Quito that of San Luis was a brown gown with crimson should band, and royal arms in silver; and San Fernando, a black gown with white shoulder band, and royal arms in gold. (22) In Lima San Carlos had a black habit, Santo Taribo almond, College del Principe green, and San Fernando blue. (23)

As there were schools in every town of size probably most of the students lived at home. Depons says that in Caracas there were 64 boarders and 200 oppidants. These were grouped as follows: in lower classes, comprehending rhetoric, 202; in philsophy, 140, in theology, 36, in the canon and civil law, 55, in physic, 11; at the school of singing by note, 466. (24)

17. Depons III, 93.

18. Stevenson I, 259.

19. Humboldt I, 220.

20. Stevenson II, 291.

21. Juan and Ulloa, 574.

22. Stevenson II, 292.

23. Stevenson I, 257-8.

24. Depons III, 94.

Fine Arts

No two travelers viewed the accomplishments in art alike. In Caracas Depons found no dancing, drawing, or music masters; (25) Stevenson found them in Lima, (26) but says that In Quito music was learned by the women by their own efforts or by the aid of friends. (27) .Betagh's short visit convinced him that in Peru music was learned by all honest Spaniards daughters who played Italian and English compositions equally well on the Welch harp and other instruments. He says music was brought by the Viceroy St. Bueno, an Italian who brought musicians with him. (28)

Humboldt was enthusiastic about the progress in drawing. He writes early in the nineteenth century of the drawing school of Kalapa in Vera Cruz, founded a short time before. He says it was an excellent school where children of poor artisans are instructed at the expense of people in better circumstances. (29) The Academy of Fine Arts in Mexico City gave instruction gratis, which was not confined to drawing of landscapes and figures. There were large rooms where hundreds of young people, a truly cosmopolitan group, came every night to draw. (30)

He was even more strong in his praise of sculpture: "What a number of beautiful edifices are to be seen at Mexico! nay, even in provincial towns like Guanaxuato and Queretaro! These monuments, which frequently cost a million and a million and a half of francs, would appear to advantage in the finest streets of Paris, Berlin, and Petersburg." He claims that the equestrian statue of king Charles IV by M. Tolsa, professor of sculpture at Mexico surpassed every thing of its kind in Europe except Marcus Aurelius at Rome.

(31)

- 25. Depons III, 88.
- 26. Stevenson I, 299.
- 27. Stevenson II, 296-7.
- 28. Betagh, 5.
- 29. Humboldt II, 222.
- 30. Humboldt I, 214.
- 31. Ibid., 213-4.

The Academy of Fine Arts had a collection of ancient casts which was one of then ten principal points of interest in Mexico City. (32) Its influences were seen in the symmetry of buildings, perfection of hewn stone, ornaments of capitals, and stucco relievos. (33)

The theatre, as shown, in a previous chapter, could not be considered an art in Spanish America, but was rather a crude form of amusement. The opera, on the other hand, Menonville found at Havana to be superior to any had ever seen before. (34)

The Sciences

Science, in general, had made slow progress, which Humboldt excuses, saying that it was because the cultivation and price of colonial produce engrossed the whole attention. The study of mathematics, chemistry, mineralogy, and botany was more general at Mexico, Santa Fe, and Lima. There was a wonderful intellectual activity in seizing the principles, especially in Quito and Lima. Although not so imaginative, Mexico and Santa Fe were more persevering. Mexico, he says, had the greatest and most solid scientific establishments in the continent in its School of Mines, Botanic Garden, and Academy of painting which would bear a comparison to those of Europe. The School of Mines had a chemical laboratory, geological collection, and physical cabinet. Chemistry was more diffused than in Spain. Mexico published the first Spanish translation of Lavater's Elements of chemistry. The best work in the Spanish language on mineralogy, the Manual of Oryctognosy, by M. Del Rio, was printed at Mexico. The School of Mines also gave courses in integral and differential calculi. (35) Don Joaquin Velasquez Cardinas y Leon is mentioned as one of the great geometricians. He says there were also astronomers of merit in Mexico. (36)

32. Humboldt II, 39.

33. Humboldt I, 213.

34. Menonville, 760.

35. Humboldt I, 184, 211-18.

36. Ibid., 218-9.

Spain sent out botany expeditions which were unexcelled by any other country. They developed a knowledge and taste for natural history. The viceroy's palace in Mexico had a small but rare botanical garden where annual courses were well attended. (37)

Medicine evidently received but desultory attention by the people as well by the travelers. Juan and Ulloa found the chair of medicine in St. Ferdinand at Quito long vacant for want of a professor in 1735, (38) and Stevenson found a professorship but no professor in the university of Santo Tomas de Aquino in the same city in the nineteenth century. (39) The College of San Fernando, medical and surgical, in Lima, was more active. It adjoined the hospital of San Andres where the students practiced. It also had a drug department. A college of physicians examined druggists, physicians, surgeons, and even barbers, before permitting them to practice. (40)

Lima had, in all, nine hospitals for Spaniards and maniacs, Indians, negroes and African castes, poor ecclesiastics, seamen, females, foundlings, and lepers. The hospital of San Andres was appropriated to white people. It had several large neat wards, containing about six hundred beds, which number could be doubted, and was ventilated through the roof. It had a botanical garden and dissecting room. Colored people went to the hospital of San Bartolome where free persons were received gratis, and owners paid a half dollar a day for slaves. Stevenson says the hospitals of Lima were particular about the administration of medicine, surgery, diet, cleanliness, health, and comfort. Convalescencies under friars of both orders gave particular care to the sick for a half dollar a day. (40a) Catamarca has a hospital for men and one for women, the surgeon being paid by Indian tribute. (41)

37. Humboldt I, 215; Humboldt II, 39.

38. Juan and Ulloa, 443.

39. Stevenson II, 291.

40. Stevenson II, 254.

40a. Stevenson I, 219, 253-6, 277.

41. Stevenson II, 131.

Mexico City had 12 hospitals and 3 charitable institutions. The hospitals had, in 1804, 17 secular and 8 regular chaplains, 613 male and 303 female patients, 109 male and 53 female ~~marriage~~ maniacs, and 24 physicians. (42) The largest hospital was really two united hospitals maintaining 600 and 800 children and old people. It was kept orderly and clean. This hospital was endowed by a rich merchant. (43) The charitable institutions housed 4 chaplains, 8 overseers, 31 domestics, 231 male and 151 female foundlings, 312 males and 433 females, a total of 1170. (44) There were 204 doctors and 51 physicians in the city. (45) Vera Cruz hospitals were maintained by the Consulado. (46)

Juan and Ulloa relate the origin of the hospitals of Our Lady Bethlehem. They began in Guatemala under the name of a congregation, and were approved by a bull of Clement X in 1672. Innocent XI erected it into a community of regulars in 1687. It passed to Mexico and Lima in 1671 where the fathers had care of the hospitals del Carmen. They took possession of the hospitals St. Miguel de Puirra, 1678; and St. Ann and St. Sebastian in Trujillo in 1680. Then probity and diligence in discharging these trusts induced other places to select them as directors of their hospitals, among them Quito, where they have repaired all former abuses and put the hospital on a better footing than it has ever known before. They wear a dark brown habit, go barefooted, and wear beards. (47)

Havana had a unique hospital, or "leper-hospital," with 150 lepers and persons with venereal diseases. These people were permitted to traverse the whole city. (48)

With the hospitals in the cities, medical attention by experts seems

42. Humboldt IV, 295.

43. Humboldt II, 38.

44. Humboldt IV, 295.

45. Ibid., 297.

46. Ibid., 53.

47. Juan and Ulloa, 444.

48. Menonville, 766.

to have ceased. Humboldt says in Mexico City, "The conflux of patients to the city is considerable, not only of the most indigent class of the people who seek assistance in the hospitals, of which the number of beds amounts to 1100, but also of persons in easy circumstances, who are brought to Mexico because neither advice nor remedies can be procured in the country." (49)

Health, Mortality, and Diseases

Nevertheless, Humboldt says that "with the exception of a few sea-ports and deep vallies, where the natives suffer from intermittent fevers, New Spain ought to be considered as a country remarkably salubrious." (50) The chief mortality was among children and young people, especially in warm, humid climates. The proportion of births to deaths ranged from 273: 100 to 132: 100, of births to population 1: 17, and of deaths to population 1: 30. Caracas made no sensible progress in population because of the tertian fevers which scourged the country, the victims being abandoned by the Indians. (51)

Famine was an important cause of disease and death. The Indians increased in number without proportional increase in means of subsistence. The increased luxury of the mixed castes; the working of new seams, taking men, horses, and mules; the number of hands employed in manufactures and in transportation of the produce of mines made the condition still more serious. Humboldt believes that famine was the most cruel object to the progress of population. (52) Other obstacles in New Spain were small pox, matlazahuatl, and vomits prieto, or yellow fever. Small pox ravages occurred every seventeen or eighteen years. The ravage of 1779 carried off 9000 in Mexico City alone.

Tumbrils gathered up the corpses every evening. In 1797 inoculation saved

49. Humboldt II, 65.

50. Humboldt I, 78.

51. Ibid., 102-6.

52. Ibid., 118-21.

all but two and a half per cent. In 1804 vaccine was introduced from North America. It had been introduced in Lima in 1802 by a merchant vessel going from Spain to Manila. Vaccination was long known in the Peruvian Andes where eruptions caused from tubercles sometimes found on the udders of cows gave Indians immunity from small pox. (53)

Matlazahuatl appeared but once a century, and was peculiar to the Indian race over the whole country. It was analogous to yellow fever or black vomiting. (54)

The vomito prieto was confined to the coast where two to three thousand died annually. Vera Cruz was the principal seat. It's season was summer, the worst in September and October. This plague at Vera Cruz was an obstacle to commerce and communication with the interior. Thousands of Europeans landing there in the summer fell victims. It had been known for a long time there. The disease originated in Brazil, and appeared at Guayaquil in 1740. The causes in Vera Cruz were the muddy and stagnant water which were sources of infection, the congested population, and the high wall preventing circulation. The dirtiness of this city was exaggerated, and not a cause of yellow fever. The disease was peculiar in several ways: it was not contagious; the natives were immune; those born and brought up in Vera Cruz or Havana were immune, but migration from one to the other make a person subject to the disease; the second attack was rare; and it was more common to men than to women. The mortality was greatest among muleteers, because of their exposure to excessive fatigue, and to recruits at the garrison at Vera Cruz. It lasted six or seven days generally. The mean mortality was sixteen per cent. It was greatest when the merchant and war ships were in the harbor. Various treatments were employed: minoratives, baths, ice water, sherbets, and other debilitating remedies were preferred to bleeding. Fictions of oil of olives was a favorite. Relays of men on muls brought ice from the mountains for use in combating

53. *ibid.*, 111-6.

54. *Ibid.*, 117.

the deadly disease. Humboldt believed that much of it could have been prevented if the marshes had been drained, good water furnished, hospitals and church yards isolated, fumigation practiced, and the walls thrown down. (55)

In the yellow fever year of 1806 the mortality of the Vera Cruz hospitals was in the San Carlos, $1 \frac{1}{3}$ %; San Sebastian, $11 \frac{49}{100}$ %; Loreto (for women), $17 \frac{44}{100}$ %. In Mexico in 1805 it was $9 \frac{6}{10}$ %; and In Puebla, $15 \frac{7}{10}$ %. (56)

When yellow fever was absent Humboldt declares that health was good in Vera Cruz as in any other maritime town in the torrid zone. (57) Menonville mentions a permanent spasm in Vera Cruz occasioned and maintained by the practice of smoking tobacco, and the brandy and rum which they took without moderation. (58)

Porto Cavello was another danger spot of the Indies. Due to the lack of drainage, ill health was prevalent. It was most fatal to Europeans, whole crews of them dying on the shore. Depons believed that \$20,000 spent in removing the pools of stagnant water there would have made Porto Cavello as healthy as any other city in Terra Firma. (59)

Certainly no more healthful were Acapulco and Porto Bello where bilious fevers and cholera morbus were very frequent. The victims were the Mexicans who descended the table lands to purchase goods on the arrival of the galleon. The cause in Acapulco was a sudden suppression of transpiration by the extraordinary coolness prevailing several hours before sunrise. In Porto Bello Humboldt believed it was due to putrid emanations springing from the strength of the vegetation. (60) Juan and Ulloa attributed the unhealthfulness of the place to the excessive perspiration in unloading ships, which caused recourse to brandy, which combined with the climate to produce deleterious, and often

55. Humboldt I, 128; IV, 132-201.

56. Ibid., 373.

57. Ibid., 374.

58. Menonville, 775.

59. Depons III, 113-5.

60. Humboldt IV, 145-54.

mortal, diseases. (61)

Cartagena was affected most by the yellow fever and the itch and herpes among foreigners. The itch and herpes were treated with earth. Bites of serpents and vipers were treated by eating a bean of Cartagena, which stopped all poisonous effects. The natives suffered with leprosy. Here, however, they were forced to stay in a hospital similar to a small town, with a wall and guarded gate. They also suffered from convulsions. (62)

Guayaquil had not been visited by the yellow fever since 1740. Summer there was the healthy season, and winter brought intermittent tertian fevers, which were painful and dangerous; dysenteries; and cataracts and diseases of the eyes, which were very common, often causing total blindness in the natives, and often fatal. Poisonous insects also annoyed. (63)

Quito was beset with malignant spotted fevers and pleurisies; gangrene of the rectum; catarrhs; and venereal disease, from which few were free. Its effects were violent in some, and it was the same in children as when contracted by debauchery. Its commonness effaced its disgrace, and its prevalence was due to negligence in cure. (64)

Juan and Ulloa found fevers, malignant, intermittent, and catarrhus; pleurisies; and constipations raging continuously in Lima. Small pox was common and often fatal. They were treated by keeping the bed and chamber close and warm, injecting laxatives, and external applications to softer parts. Cancer in the matrix was a common disease with women. It was extremely painful, very contagious, and often incurable. They believed the causes to be excessive use of perfumes, and riding in calashes. (65) Stevenson attributed disease in Lima to the heat and humidity and to the weakness of the digestive

61. Juan and Ulloa, 365.

62. Ibid., 339-43.

63. Ibid., 397; Stevenson II, 215-8.

64. Juan and Ulloa, 455-6.

65. Ibid., 595-7.

organs. He divides the diseases seasonally, those coming in January, small pox, hemorrhages, and diarrhoeas; in February, eruptive fevers, catarrhs, coughs, and asthma; in March and April, intermittent fevers; May and June, dry and violent coughs; July, quinsy, cutaneous eruptions, intestinal inflammations, and dysentery; August and September, pulmonic inflammations and pleurisies; October, inflammations of the lungs and bilious diarrhoea; and November, dysentery and cutaneous eruptions. (66)

Mortality in Lima was rather high, 317 out of 4229 patients in the San Andres hospital having died. Syphilis was not virulent in Lima and on the coasts of Peru, but was more prevalent and severe in the interior. Warts, which covered the body and cause a bloody discharge, sometimes resulted in death. A new disease appearing in 1803, confined to Indian and Negroes, had a high mortality. It showed itself in blisters and spongy flesh, and was cured only by extraction of the diseased part. Uta, an incurable sore from an insect bite, brought death ultimately. (67)

All Peru suffered from pulmonic inflammations, inflammatory fevers, and pleurisy, cured by bathing in oil and taking expectorants. Bicho, an ulcer in the colon was common. Pasma, which was tetanous followed by general nervous convulsions, had no remedy. No antidote was known for goiter. Syphilis, which was virulent in the cold interior, was treated with sarsaparilla, guaiacum, sassafras, and very seldom, mercury, the natives fearing its administration. Patients in Piura drank sassafras water or buried themselves in sand, profuse perspiration supposedly facilitating a cure. Dog madness, originating in 1803, was treated with caustic, suppuration and mercurial unctions until copious salivations resulted. (68)

Terra Firma was greatly inconvenienced by venereal complaints at St.

66. Stevenson I, 344-6.

67. Ibid., 346-8.

68. Stevenson II, 101-5, 195-6.

Philip, and by pestilential miasma, at New Barcelona. (69)

In spite of the numerous ravaging diseases longevity was common in Lima, according to Stevenson, (70) and Juan and Ulloa say eighty years was common among all classes in Cartagena. (71)

Conclusions

So it is seen that in culture and scientific advancement Spanish America was little behind the mother country, and where she lagged, it was not the fault of inherent inferiority, but of lack of opportunity to develop. She was bound by the decree of Spain, and adjusted herself accordingly. Her progress after independence should be interesting to follow.

69. Depons III, 150, 169.

70. Stevenson I, 345.

71. Juan and Ulloa, 339.

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