N YEARS IN PERU.

POPERY

JUDGED BY ITS FRUITS:

AS BROUGHT TO VIEW IN THE DIARY OF TWO DISTINGUISHED SCHOLARS AND PHILANTHROPISTS,

JOHN AND ANTHONY ULLOA,

DURING A SOJOURN OF SEVERAL YEARS IN THE STATES OF COLOMBIA AND PERU.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH BY A MEMBER OF THE PRINCIPIA CLUB.

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NOTE.

The following explanations may be found useful: —

The Spanish word *curá*, translated *curate*, properly signifies *rector*, or one who is subject only to the bishop of his diocese, or to the provincial of his Order. The curates or rectors receive no fixed salary, but only a contingent revenue, estimated by the number of masses, responses, and fees for baptisms, marriages, and interments.

Meta, or *Mita*, signifies an annual conscription of Indians, who are drawn by lot, to be placed under the absolute control of the proprietor of a mine.

Metayo is the Indian who performs the meta service.

Alcabala is an excise duty on goods despatched into the interior provinces.

The courts, or the tribunals of justice, in Peru, are called "*Audiences;*" and the members of them, or the judges, are called *oydors*.

The term *Provincial* is applied to the superior of a metropolitan convent, who has under his jurisdiction all the minor convents of his order, comprehended within the limits of a particular state or province.

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POPERY IN COLOMBIA AND PERU.

CHAPTER I.

Cruelty of the Magistrates and Clergy to the Indians. — Miserable Condition to which the latter are reduced. — Method used in auditing the Accounts of the Governors and Corregidors

Subjects of speculation become interesting to the mind in proportion as it contemplates them, especially when genius and industry lend their aid to render them more luminous and fascinating; but they appear, and not without reason, to possess peculiar attractions for those who devote themselves to the pursuit of knowledge as a means of rational entertainment. Of the truth of this we can furnish the best evidence, inasmuch as it has been the result of our own experience. After we had collected in one volume the astronomical and physical observations made in the kingdom of Peru, illustrating the figure and magnitude of the earth, and had published in two others historical notices of those countries, it seemed as if all the satisfaction we had experienced in writing those works was exceedingly augmented when we came to draw up this Report; and the mind, absorbed in its speculations, now enters upon the subject, not with fatigue, but rather alacrity, as it reaches this point of its inquiries, enabling us to present a more animated picture of what has been already brought to view in those works: and, if our readers have been inclined to attribute anything to neglect or omission, it should be regarded as the dictate of prudence on our part, that we may now have an opportunity to speak with more freedom, reserving for this place what it would have been inexpedient to introduce in the history of our travels.

Having concluded our remarks relative to the marine, the fortifications, and the commerce of Peru, we shall now proceed to discuss a subject of a more delicate nature, and which relates almost exclusively to the moral and religious condition of the civilized Indians of Peru, and the character and conduct of their rulers, both civil and ecclesiastical. Unbiased by prejudice or by any personal consideration whatever, we have made the most diligent inquiry in respect to everything suggested in the instructions of his Majesty's secretaries, and we now lay before them the result of our observations; and as the details embodied in this part of our Report are communicated for the information of those whose duty it is to know them, and not as pastime for the idle, nor to afford matter of scandal to the mischievous, they are brought to light with entire frankness, in order that they may be duly considered, and the best means of reform devised.

The subject to be discussed in this chapter is of such a nature that we cannot enter upon it without emotions of sorrow; much less can we pause to reflect upon the circumstances of its details, without heartfelt pity for the miseries of a race of men who, for no other crime than their simplicity, and for no other pretext than their natural ignorance, have become the victims of a kind of bondage so oppressive that, in view of the sufferings inflicted upon them, the colonial negro slaves may be regarded as comparatively happy — the state of servitude to which the latter are brought being justly envied by those who are nominally free, and whom our sovereigns have taught us to regard as such; for the condition of the Indian is far more degraded and miserable than that of the African slave.

Our first object will be to describe the kind of tyranny exercised by the corregidors over the Indians; and, although it is difficult to find a beginning, we shall avail ourselves of a division in the departments of Peru which has existed from the time of the conquest. These departments are of two kinds: the first are those in which the distribution system is not established; and

the second, those in which it may lawfully be practised.

The oppression which the Indians suffer arises from the insatiable thirst for wealth, which is characteristic of those who go over to govern them; and, as they have no means of effecting their object except by a system of tyranny, they never fail to practise it in every shape; and, by goading the Indians on every side with the utmost cruelty, they exact more service from them than they would be able to do from the meanest slave. It is true that the distribution system is unknown in Quito; but, although it is the good fortune of the Indians of that province to be exempted from that species of oppression, they are not the less subject to burdens so intolerable as to reduce them to the lowest degree of wretchedness that can be imagined.

A great variety of expedients are adopted by the corregidors to enrich themselves at the expense of the Indians. The first to be mentioned is the mode of collecting the tribute money, — an iniquitous system carried on in contempt of the principles of justice and the dictates of humanity. The fees for collection are enumerated by the corregidors among the perquisites of their office; and, if they were actuated by a sense of justice in the discharge of their duty, they would neither aggrandize themselves, nor wrong the Indian, nor defraud the treasury: but their unprincipled conduct begets all these evils; for they have such an inordinate love of wealth that they spare no pains to accumulate it, and have recourse to the most oppressive measures, in entire confidence that, when their term of office expires, they shall be absolved from every charge, by holding out the offer of a bribe to the judge on whom it devolves to audit their accounts.

With a view to collect this tax, the corregidor makes two annual visits to all the villages and estates comprised within his jurisdiction. St. John's day and Christmas day are appropriated to this object, — a judicious measure, if, in carrying it into effect, the avarice of the collector did not overstep all bounds in oppressing that unfortunate race, whom our sovereign regards with so much

pity that he has issued a decree in order to lighten their burdens as much as possible; enjoining the magistrates not to collect tribute from them until they have completed their eighteenth year, and to exempt them from payment after the age of fifty-five, on the ground that, as their strength fails, they are incapable of sustaining any other exertion than that which is necessary for their own maintenance. The greater part of the tribute money was designed to be expended for their own benefit. Out of it they are required to pay not only the curate's fees, but the charges of the fiscal protector who defends their suits. The chief, by right of the chiefship, as well as the Indian governors, are exempt from every kind of impost; so also are the crippled, the blind, the demented, and the deformed, of which last two there are great numbers among the Indians; neither is the obligation to pay tribute binding upon the eldest sons of the chiefs, nor upon those who hold the office of sextons in the churches, or who belong to the choir of music, nor upon any Indian magistrate who holds an office in the Indian towns and villages. Under such a system, it appears as if the tribute of the Indians cannot be more moderate, unless we exempt them from contributions of every kind. But what matters it that it should appear so, when viewed from a distance, if the best laws are trampled upon in practice, and rendered inoperative by a system of cruelty and injustice? The corregidors not only oblige the young to pay tribute before the time specified, but exact it of those who are exempt by law, having attained the age of fifty-five; and, although they are so far advanced in years as to beg, for want of strength to labor, their names are not erased from the list of the collector; and, as the Indians are remarkable for longevity, they frequently pay tribute till they have passed the age of seventy. The same practice obtains in respect to all, when they are not wholly disabled from work by infirmity; so that none are exempt except such as are incapable of earning a livelihood. If the chiefs, the governors, and sextons escape the contagion of misery, it is because they are beyond the reach of the arbitrary power of the

corregidors; for, in case they were as defenceless as the rest, the same thing would happen to them.

It might appear that the injustice done the Indians by the corregidors, in obliging them to pay when they are exempted by royal favor, is not so great as our last remark would imply, because it falls exclusively on those who are nominally a privileged class, and not upon the whole community of Indians. This conclusion, however, is incorrect, for the injury is felt by all: by some, in being compelled to pay tribute, by the mere caprice of the corregidor, prior to the competent age, as is the case with the greater part of them, who contribute two or three years before they are bound to; and by others, in continuing to pay after having passed the age prescribed by law. It also happens that, the young not having enjoyed a season of repose sufficient to enable them to labor with the requisite assiduity, being made subject to tribute illegally, fathers and elder brothers are bound, if they would not see a son or brother punished with the whip, to unite their efforts to help him earn the tribute money; and, if they fail to do so, daughters and wives must put their hands to the work, in order to make up the deficiency in the amount due: hence it is that the age in which they have a right to enjoy some repose is that in which their burdens are heaviest. The same takes place in respect to idiots, deformed persons, and other unfortunate creatures, who ought to be of the privileged class; but, so far from it, the burden is made to fall upon the rest, who, in addition to the labor necessary to pay their own contribution, have to perform a twofold task to pay the tribute of those who are unable to work. The Indian women, especially, are obliged to task themselves the whole year round, in order to meet, by unremitting toil, the unjust demands of the corregidor.

Nor is the rapacity of the corregidor content with obliging those to pay tribute who are exempted by law; but it is often carried to such an extreme as to enforce the payment of a twofold contribution. This is practised towards the field Indians, which are those who neither perform the meta service nor live in the Indian villages.

These poor laborers pay the tribute to the corregidor or his subalterns, who are numerous, and who give them a receipt for the money; but, as the Indians are an untaught race, and have not sagacity to foresee the consequences of neglect, besides not having in their huts either box or shelf where to place any thing for security, it sometimes happens that the receipt is lost, and payment is demanded a second time; and when another collector, or perhaps the same, comes to enforce the demand, the Indian goes to look for the receipt, and, as he is unable to read, he brings the first paper that comes to hand, or perhaps an old receipt, and presents it without fear of being suspected. The collector is not satisfied with it; and, although the Indian weary himself in convincing him that he has paid his portion of the tribute, he charges him with fraudulent designs, and, after abusing him, carries off whatever he can find in his hut, and, if there is nothing there of any value, he puts him into a factory (which is the usual method), where he is kept at work until the debt is paid. The wretched Indian, finding himself grievously oppressed, and sinking under the weight of want and of a sense of injustice, dies in a short time: unless his wife or daughters have been able to raise the amount required, or unless some individual, more compassionate than the rest, comes forward to advance the money, on condition of recovering it by hiring the Indian out to service. The meta Indians do not pay tribute personally; but the masters whom they serve pay for them, and collect and preserve receipts for all those who are under their charge, and by this means they are shielded from injustice. Those who live in small villages pay the cacique, who delivers the whole amount, when collected, to the corregidor.

Besides the privilege granted to those who are exempted from tribute, another not less reasonable has been conceded in favor of those Indians who have been absent for a certain term, perhaps for one or two years, without having paid tribute in the department to which they belong; which is, that, on their return, they are liable for only one-third of the contribution — a very

merciful provision in behalf of that race, and which has in its support two important arguments — one that, as all the corregidors collect tribute of transient Indians in the same way as they do of those who reside in the villages, it is to be supposed that, although the Indian may not have paid the corregidor of his district, he has paid some other; the second reason is, that, although the Indian should have paid no corregidor in two or three years, and although in the lapse of this period he may have earned a great deal, at the close of it he has no more stock or estate than that which was left him after having made his last payment; so that, being insolvent, he is naturallly discharged from the debt. But this is not the case in practice; for, as soon as the Indian appears, he is made debtor for all the time that has elapsed since the corregidor came into office for which he cannot show receipts. Hence he is treated in the manner above mentioned; if he possess anything of value, it is deducted on account of the debt; but he is not discharged from the factory until the whole amount has been paid.

All these acts of extortion, which are committed under a false pretence of zeal in the service of the king and of the royal exchequer, are in reality nothing but artifices used to augment the revenue of the corregidors themselves; who basely assume this mask to justify their iniquity, which, however it may be disguised under one form of oppression, never fails to come to light by means of another.

The Indians of those countries are in reality slaves, and happy would it be for them had they only one master to whom to contribute the avails of their hard earnings; but these are so numerous, that, in view of the obligations they are under to all of them, they cannot claim as their own the smallest portion of all they have acquired with so much care and industry. But, this chapter having for its subject the extortions of the corregidors, we shall afterwards treat of those which are practised upon them by other classes of magistrates, both civil and ecclesiastical.

The departments of the Province of Quito are of various kinds: some of trade, others of husbandry, and others of manufactures. In them all, a large portion of the revenue reverts to the corregidors. In the trading districts, they absorb the greater part: for they take into their own service the very Indians whom they deprive during the whole year. The only individuals excepted of the benefit of trade; and, by giving them what is barely necessary for their support, they secure to themselves the profits which they have usurped from them; and, by requiring them to labor on alternate days, they keep them always employed in their service. In these districts, where all the Indians included in their precincts are weavers, they compel them to manufacture different articles; and, by giving them the materials only, and very reduced wages, they keep them constantly employed for their benefit, as they would do if they were slaves. Should they, in return for so hard labor, remit to them their tribute money, the burden might be made tolerable; but, far from doing them this kindness (and it would be only an act of justice), they exact it with as much severity as if they had rendered them no service from this service are those who live in districts where there are estates for agriculture or grazing; and if, to their sorrow, the case should occur that the corregidor has an estate of his own, or a hired one, it comes to be the rendezvous of all the Indians who have not paid their tribute promptly; and thus, on every hand, that people have no more freedom than the corregidor pleases to grant them, nor any more fruit of their labor than what is conceded to them as a mere gratuity.

Still greater iniquity is practised in suits at law; for their judges desire nothing so much as some occasion of dispute or difference to complete their ruin: so that, be the motive what it will, it is always sufficient to secure their object; for, what with fines, and what with costs of suit, they lay hold of a mule, cow, or any animal the Indian may possess, and which constitutes the whole estate of the richest among them. These acts of extortion, which have no limit, have reduced them to a condition so deplorable

that the state of the most miserable beings that can be conceived is not to be compared with that of these Indians. Let us now take a view of what obtains in the districts in which the distributions are made; and we shall witness greater enormities, although of a different nature.

It is from the department of Loja that the distribution system (*repartimientos*) commences, — 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. It must be admitted that, if it were properly managed, as it appears to have been intended in its origin, no evil would result; for with a view to the greater convenience of the Indians, and that they might not be destitute of the means of clothing themselves and of carrying on their husbandry or trade, corregidors were allowed to purchase a quantity of such articles as were suited to each department, and to distribute them among the Indians at moderate prices, in order that, having implements for labor, they might shake off the apathy which is innate in their constitution, and use the exertion requisite for paying their tribute and earning a livelihood. Were it continued on this principle, and were the corregidor content with moderate profits, it would be a judicious system; but, as it is now practised, it deserves no other epithet but that of the most dreadful tyranny that could be invented.

The articles of distribution are chiefly mules, foreign and domestic goods, and produce; and, as this system was commenced at an early period, it is already understood what articles are suited to each department. The corregidors who are attached to the viceroyalty of Lima must necessarily go to that city to take out a license, and to receive their despatch from the viceroy, in order to be inducted into office; and, as Lima is the grand depot of the trade of Peru, it is in that city that an assortment of articles for distribution is to be made, and for this purpose they take the goods required from the shop of some merchant or trader on credit, at an exorbitant price; and, as the traders are aware of the enormous profits the cor-

regidors make in the sale, they raise the prices of the goods, in order to have a share in the speculation. The corregidors have no money before they come into office; and, being unable to purchase for a ready sum, they are obliged to submit to any terms which the creditor may prescribe, as they are in duty bound, on account of the money which the merchant is to lend him for the purchase of the mules required for transportation.

As soon as the corregidor comes within his jurisdiction, the first act of his administration is to take a census of the Indians, according to their towns and villages. Proceeding to this duty in person, and taking with him the articles of merchandise to be distributed, he goes on, apportioning the quantity and kind he selects for every Indian, and affixing to each article its price, just as suits his capriee; the poor Indians being wholly ignorant of what is to fall to their lot, or how much it is to cost them. As soon as he has finished distributing in one village, he transfers the whole assortment to the cacique, with an exact inventory of the articles belonging to each individual, from the cacique himself to the most humble of all those who are to pay tribute; and the corregidor proceeds to another village, in order to continue the distribution. It is a time of anguish, both to the cacique and the Indians, when they look at the quantity, quality, and prices of the goods. In vain does the cacique remonstrate, and to no purpose do the Indians raise their clamors. On the one hand, they maintain that their means are not adequate to such a quantity of merchandise as is assigned them, being absolutely unable to pay for it; again, they urge that goods of such a description are utterly useless to them, and that the prices are so exorbitant as to exceed any thing they had ever paid before. The corregidor remains inexorable, and the Indians are obliged to take whatever has been allotted them, however repugnant it may be to their wishes, and however straitened they are for want of means to make the payments; for these payments become due simultaneously with the tribute money, and a failure to meet one or the other with promptness makes them liable to a

penalty equally severe. The whole cost of the first distribution must be paid within two years and a half, to make room for the second, which commences at the close of that period, but which does not contain so great an assortment as the first.

In addition to these supplies, which are usually the most important, whenever the corregidor make a visit to collect debts (and he never does it for any other motive), he takes with him an assortment of goods, to apportion an additional quantity to those who have made their payments most promptly; and, as the Indians have received in the first division those articles which are of least value to them (such as are of absolute necessity being kept back for this occasion), all who are in want are obliged to take them under the denomination of a voluntary sale; and, although they are at liberty on this occasiun to select such articles as they like, they are not so as to the bargain: to set the price is a prerogative reserved to the corregidor; which is so well understood that the poor Indians no longer think it strange that they must submit to it without murmuring.

It is not left to the choice of the Indians to supply themselves elsewhere, even, with the necessary articles furnished by the corregidor: hence they are obliged to purchase them at his hands; for, in the towns that are exclusively Indian, they do not license any shop but their own, and they have one in every village, to which all must of necessity go to purchase. The latter obtains likewise in the departments of the Province of Quito, where goods are also sold at exorbitant prices; but not so much so as in the rest of Peru, where the distribution system prevails. Nor can the Indian decline receiving the goods at the *price* stipulated by the corregidor, even though he pay in ready money, it being left to his choice to pay or buy on credit; and, when he offers the money in advance, no abatement is made, as would be equitable.

Among the tyrannical acts practised by means of the distribution, some of which we shall present to view, that which prevails in apportioning mules ought to have the

first place. Of these animals, the greatest number are introduced into those departments which carry on some other trade than that which is required for the transport of their own produce, being thoroughfares for the commerce of the interior. The corregidors of these districts purchase droves of mules, consisting of five or six hundred each, according to the demand for them, and have them driven from the pastures where they are bred. Each mule placed in his department costs him from fourteen to sixteen dollars, and when they are most in demand they do not exceed eighteen; and to bring this price they must be very scarce, or of a superior quality. The corregidor afterwards distributes them among the Indians; allotting to some four, to others six, and to all more or less, according to the supposed ability of each one to pay for them: and the usual price at which they are charged to them is from forty to forty-four dollars, and even more if they are good, the cost of which must be paid within a prescribed term. The Indians who receive these mules are not permitted to make use of them as they please; for they are strictly prohibited from hiring them out, unless it be with the consent of the corregidor himself, who adopts this course under pretext of avoiding contraband trade, when the only ground of this injustice is that they shall not hire them out without allowing him a portion of the profits, and the privilege of taking the remainder to his own account in payment of the mules.

As soon as travellers reach these departments, the first thing to be done is to apply to the corregidor for mules, and to make known to him the number they require. The latter looks at his list to see which of the Indians is most indebted to him on account of the mules apportioned them, and sends for them to come from their villages to perform the journey. The corregidor himself collects the amount of freight, keeps back one-half on account of the debt, delivers a quarter part to the owner of the mules to pay what may be needed for the purchase of hay to feed the animals on the road, and with the remaining fourth part he pays the peons, whose office is to drive and lade the mules; so that, in consequence of this arbitrary dis-

tribution, the owner is left not only without any profit, but even without the means of paying his expenses on the journey. In this distribution we may notice another circumstance, which shows the care taken by these corregidors not to lose any part of what they extort from the Indians; for, although the wages of the peons are at such a low rate, they deduct one-half for account of what they owe for the supply of the articles of clothing they have received, though the term allowed for payment has not yet expired.

The Indian sets out on his journey with his drove, and, as travelling in those countries is attended with hardship, it frequently happens that the mules tire on the way, and that one or more of them die; but, as the drivers are obliged to prosecute their journey, and have no money to hire another mule, the owner is obliged to sell one at a very low price, in order to hire two others with the proceeds, at a high price, to make up the deficiency of the mule that died, as well as of that which was sold. Hence, when the owner reaches his journey's end, he finds he has two mules less than before, and has received no indemnity for the loss; but is more indebted than ever, and without the means of paying for his own maintenance. A single circumstance might enable him to bear his disappointment, and that is, the finding some return freight in the village to which he is going, — a thing which is very rare; and even in this case he can take only a light load for the mules which he has left, and at a reduced freight, esteeming himself very fortunate if he can make up his loss with the avails of the return freight, although he should have realized no profit after a journey of many months.

Cruel as are the details of wrong exercised in the apportioning of mules by the corregidors of Peru, others still more oppressive are practised towards the Indians. When, by dint of journeyings and hard labor, the purchaser has paid the full amount due for the mules allotted to him, the corregidor never thinks it worth a thought to give him excursions on which he might realize a profit; nor does it avail him to seek for them himself, inasmuch

as he is not at liberty to hire out his mules to any one. The rigor practised in this respect is so extreme that, although the purchaser of mules may be indebted to the corregidor for other articles which he has allotted him, this is not deemed a sufficient reason why he should have an opportunity to work out the debt with his drove of mules; for this debt is to be paid by another species of labor, such as the produce of his garden, the earnings of his wife at the loom, the cattle which he has reared, or something equivalent. At other times, the corregidor assigns a new supply of mules to the Indians who have paid for the first, even when they do not need them, in order to have a pretext for employing them continually in a trade the entire benefit of which remains for his account.

In view of all this, it will not be denied that the Indians are in a more pitiable condition than African slaves; for the most that can be done with the latter is to give them a task in some department of labor, that they may work for the benefit of the master, the latter incurring the risk of loss or gain; but this is not the case with the Indians, for they must bear the loss of the mules that die, from the moment they are delivered to them, while the corregidor claims the earnings of them all: thus leaving the Indians a useless possession after having paid for it three times over; for they are not at liberty to use them, nor can they be of any service to them, except by enabling them to pay for others which the corregidor is to furnish them in the following distribution. A slave is employed in one branch of labor, and, when his task is done, another is given him; each slave has his particular trade or work, and, if necessity should require him to suspend it, it is the master who loses his hire. But it is otherwise with the Indians; for, while they pursue one steady occupation, their wives and children must busy themselves in as many more to fulfil the obligations imposed upon them by the corregidors.

The repartition of mules is attended with so much rigor that it seems as if one must be forsaken of God to be capable of such flagrant injustice; and, to make this still

more evident, we shall cite one of those examples which occur continually, having been ourselves witnesses of it. In the year 1742, while on our way a second time to Lima, at the request of the viceroy, we arrived at a village in which the distribution had been completed the day previous, and of this distribution four mules had been allotted to the owner of the house where we had taken up our quarters. The latter would not receive them, neither by dint of entreaties nor threats made by the corregidor; for he apprehended from their bad condition that they would die without having rendered him any service. He differed with the corregidor, not on account of their high price, although they were charged at forty-four dollars each, but on account of their extreme leanness: begging him to give him good mules, and he would not refuse to take them; but that they were in a dying condition, and that it was only their skin that would be of any value. Having made these complaints, he returned home, confident that he should obtain others in their stead: but he was quite mistaken in this; for that same night they were tied to his gate by a sheriff, who told him from without that he had left the mules there by order of the corregidor. His doors being closed, he did not take the precaution to go and bring them in, and the next morning he found one dead. He was obliged, however, to pay for all four. This occurs frequently, owing to the fact that the animals are taken from the pastures where they are bred while they are young, and, in passing over the distance of a hundred and more leagues, to reach the different departments, they travel through climates to which they are not accustomed, and, in consequence of changing their pastures, many of them become sick and die; and, that the loss may not fall upon the corregidor, he makes the distribution as soon as they arrive in the province, and compels the Indians to receive them in that state. Were this purchase voluntary on the part of the Indians, or even were they content with what is allotted them, there would be no ground of complaint; but that they should be compelled to take what is neither useful nor to their liking, and pay for it so exorbitantly,

appears to be the highest point to which oppression can be carried.

Passing now from the distribution of mules, we shall proceed to that of manufactures and produce, which will occasion no less surprise than the preceding. We have already remarked that articles of manufacture are distributed to the Indians at prices so exorbitant as to exceed any idea that could be formed of it by any other than an eye-witness; and this will be corroborated by an occurrence which took place in a town not far distant from Lima, in the year 1743. The corregidor took home, among other articles, some woollen stuffs, manufactured in Quito, which are sold by retail, in the Lima shops, from twenty-eight to thirty reals, when they are of a very superior quality; but the ordinary woollens, which are purchased for the supply of the interior, seldom bring twenty-four reals, and the usual price by wholesale is from eighteen to twenty. This corregidor had them transported forty leagues or more from Lima; and charged them to the Indians at such enormous prices that, if the fact were not notorious, it would be thought incredible. Although the goods had been purchased at very advanced prices, on a credit of two years and a half, the whole value of the articles distributed amounted to seventy thousand dollars; and, after all the returns had been made by the Indians, the amount which the corregidor had realized from them exceeded three hundred thousand dollars.

The Indians of this department, finding themselves more cruelly oppressed by this corregidor than they had been by his predecessor, entered a complaint before the viceroy; taking to him samples of the distribution, with a list of the prices affixed to each article. We do not relate this as a matter of hearsay, for we happened to be present when the Indians entered their protest. The viceroy listened to them, and directed them to lay the subject before the audience; and the result was, that a writ was executed to have the Indians taken and punished as seditious persons. The fact was, that as soon as the mayor learned that those Indians had disappeared from within his jurisdiction, entertaining no doubt that

they had gone to enter a complaint against him, he indicted them for sedition, and set forth in the indictment that they had absented themselves from fear of punishment. This summary he immediately remitted to the audience, at the same time seeking to interest the friends he had in that city in the business; and through their influence he succeeded in acquitting himself of the charges made against him, becoming in his turn the accuser, in order not only to rob the Indians of their rights, but also to intimidate them, that they might not venture to make a complaint against him in future.

The cruelty of the system of distribution is not confined to the enormous prices at which the Indians are obliged to purchase, but is even much greater in respect to the articles distributed, which usually consist of goods that are of no use to the purchaser. In Spain, we are wont to speak of this as partaking more of fiction than of truth; nor are we accurately informed of what takes place there, as the communications reach us in a diminished shape, and the fear of having them regarded as improbable curtails them, and gives them another coloring, by confining them to generalities; but to make it evident, that what the corregidors do there exceeds what we have any account of here, it will be proper to describe in detail the method used by them to furnish themselves with the goods which they need for distribution. It is well known that a corregidor who goes to the shop of a tradesman, whom he does not know except by having heard his name (while the latter does not know the former, except as corregidor of such a department, who is going to purchase on credit, for want of money), is compelled to receive whatever is given him; which is usually the most unsalable part of his stock, and it is perhaps with a view to rid himself of such trash that he runs the risk of letting him take it on credit: but, although the dealer offer him the goods as he would on condition of payment in ready money, he is still obliged to receive an assortment of all he has in his shop, as it does not stand the dealer in account to have him purchase only the most salable articles, and it has hence be-

come customary, in making large purchases, to take an assortment of the whole stock.

So much being premised, the corregidor receives a part of all which the dealer has for sale, takes it to his department, and distributes it collectively, as it is not to be supposed he would lose those things which are useless to the Indians. Of what possible service can three quarters or a yard of velvet, at forty or fifty dollars, be to one of those serfs, who might be compared to the most clownish and wretched peasants of Spain, and who is employed in digging the ground, or travelling on foot behind his master's mule to earn a day's wages, which scarcely suffice for his bare wants? And of what value to him would be a similar amount of silk or satin? What use could he make of a pair of silk stockings, when he would thank God if he could be allowed woollen ones, even of the coarsest texture? What occasion has an Indian for mirrors, whose hut is the abode of poverty, and in which nothing but smoke is visible? How can he be in want of a padlock, if, even when all his family are absent, by simply turning a door made of reeds or skins, he protects a habitation whose jewels are safe, because they are of no value? But even this could be passed over, in comparison of what is more worthy of notice. The Indians, by their peculiar constitution, are wholly destitute of beard, nor do they ever shave their hair; and yet they are furnished with razors, for which they pay a very handsome price. Surely this looks like making sport of that unfortunate race. And what shall we say of the practice of compelling them to buy pens and blank paper, when the greater part do not understand Spanish, and when their own language has never been reduced to writing? Playing-cards, likewise, are distributed for their use, when they do not even know their figures, nor has that people any inclination for gambling; as also cases for tobacco, when the instance is not known of any one who has ever used them. Not to burden the narrative with details, we shall pass over the combs, rings, buttons, books, plays, lace, ribbon, and such like, as useless for them as the foregoing; and it will suffice to say that the only things

which are of service to them are confined to the cotton cloth, manufactured in Quito, woollen stuffs, or trousers, baize, and hats, all of domestic manufacture. All the rest, whether they be fabrics, hardware, or other commodities of Europe, are utterly valueless to them, although they are made to pay for them at exorbitant prices.

There are some districts where domestic produce is distributed, and this is done in those which afford the greatest facilities for it. The articles furnished them are demijohns of wine, brandy, olives, and oil, most of which the Indians never consume, nor even taste of; hence, when they receive a bottle of brandy, which is charged to them at the rate of seventy or eighty dollars, they go in search of some mestizo or grocer, who will buy it of them, and they think themselves fortunate if they can get ten or twelve dollars for it. They do the same with every other article, when despair and indignation are mitigated by a sense of sorrow, and they are restrained from throwing it down and dashing it to pieces.

This oppressive treatment of the Indians by the corregidors was the occasion of the insurrection of the Chunchos, who renounced their allegiance to the king, and, possessing themselves of the tract of country in the vicinity of Tarma and Jauja, east of the chain of the Andes, have made war upon the Spaniards ever since the year 1742. nor have they been able as yet entirely to quell the insurrection; and these are the tyrannical measures which their leader assured them he would reform, by withdrawing them from under the Spanish yoke. It was this which so much alarmed the viceroy, who was apprehensive lest the whole Province of Tarma should take part with the rebels, to extricate themselves from a state of bondage which was becoming every day more intolerable; and it was fully ascertained that many Indian families deserted their villages, and retired to the grounds occupied by the Chunchos, to follow a party which had made a beginning under such favorable auspices, having become the terror of their oppressors.

Another instance occurred in those provinces very much like the preceding; and, although distinct in its results, it serves to show how little their complaints are regarded, and how much they suffer from tyranny. In one of the provinces, not yet burdened with the distribution system, inasmuch as it had but recently submitted to the Spanish authorities, the inhabitants, acquainted with what was taking place in towns where it was practised, had refused to admit it, although some corregidors had attempted to introduce it. It fell at length into the hands of a more determined and adventurous individual than any of his predecessors had been, owing perhaps to the favor of the principal magistrates in the capital. This man, together with the curate, — whose interest it was to bargain with the corregidor, — determined to introduce the system into his district; and, being aware that the Indians would make resistance, invented a scheme fitted to secure his object. A number of Spaniards used to pass through his district, to whom, for selfish ends, he had made himself very obsequious; and, having detained in his house those whom he needed for the occasion, under pretence of enjoying their society, he summoned the chiefs and magistrates of the villages to meet him on a day appointed, with a view to adopt some more expeditious method of collecting the tribute money of the Indians, intimating that it was his wish to render their burdens as light as possible. The chiefs entertained no suspicion, and met accordingly in the principal village, where the corregidor had the Spaniards, his guests, in readiness; to whom he had made a false accusation concerning these Indians, stating that they were so fierce and incorrigible that, besides having attempted an insurrection on various occasions, they had formed an extensive conspiracy to take away his life, and the lives of all the curates and Spaniards they could meet with. The guests listened to him with credulity, and promised to assist him with their persons and arms.

The hour of summons being come, the corregidor gave notice to the Spaniards to conceal themselves in the most remote corner of the house; apprising them that, at a

preeoneerted signal, they should sally forth and fall upon the Indians, and make them prisoners. The chiefs, alcaldes, and other magistrates of that district presented themselves at the corregidor's with great promptness and obedience ; and, when the latter observed them all assembled, he gave the signal, and instantly the Spaniards, their servants, and some mestizoes of that village, rushed forth and made them all prisoners, without meeting the slightest resistance, as they were confounded by this sudden and unlooked-for occurrence. After they had been properly secured, he entered a suit against them as disturbers of the peace ; and alleged that, being the magistrates of the towns, they had stirred up the Indians to mutiny, by persuading them to revolt and refuse obedience to the king ; and he despatched them very soon after to Lima, loaded with irons. The Audience investigated the case ; and, although it was universally known that every article contained in the indictment was false, the chiefs, and those who had been taken with them, were sentenced to hard labor in the king's quarries, — some on the Island of St. Lawrence, others at Callao, and others in Valdivia. This unjust exile and chastisement of the most respectable individuals of that district filled the remaining Indians with fear and terror ; and the corregidor, able now to effect whatever his caprice suggested, entered upon the distribution, which was at once the object of his desire and the reward of his iniquity.

This circumstance was so well known in Lima that no reasonable man could fail to express his horror of it ; and, although the notoriety of the fact and the opinion of impartial persons were sufficient to warrant its perfect credibility, we should not venture to record it, had it not been communicated to us by an individual personally known to us, and a man of undoubted veracity, and who was present in the house, lending aid to the corregidor, and whose account agrees in every particular with that which we heard from the lips of the unfortunate chiefs, at the time we were superintending the public works of that fortress, where we saw them employed as galley slaves.

The individual who gave us the information, and who was an eye-witness of the occurrence, was a Frenchman, engaged in commerce in that district, and, as he had made many journeys thereabouts, and was well acquainted with the corregidor, he was fully aware that the pretext used for seizing the Indians was false, and that the result was unwarrantable as well as villanous. But, as he has said himself, he had occasion to humor him, lest, by seeking a quarrel against him, he should throw obstacles in his way whenever he had occasion to travel in that direction. This made it necessary for him to unite with the Spaniards who were present on that occasion; although no one was ignorant that the whole process was utterly false, and was contrived by the corregidor for no other purpose than to drive the Indian chiefs from his district, that the rest might not resist the new impost, as the mestizoes themselves and other inhabitants of the town had intimated to him.

No sooner had the corregidor commenced the distributions than he destined a part of the Indians to labor in the gold washings of that province, that they might pay the cost of the articles distributed in that metal. These gold washings had never been thought valuable, from the fact that they were situated in barren heaths, remote from any town or village, and exposed to embarrassments arising from excessive cold and extreme moisture; and, what is more than all, the quantity of gold obtained at the cost of so much labor was very inconsiderable. At the same time, he had others employed in supplying him with large and small cattle for the consumption of a neighboring city, where he had entered into contracts; and, to comply with them, he took the cattle from the Indians at a paltry price; thereby depriving them of an opportunity to sell them on their own account, either in the city or without leaving their houses, to purchasers who might go in search of them, and who would pay the price they had usually demanded: by these means he began to straiten them to such a degree that they were reduced to the most deplorable condition.

This is the kind of government maintained by the

corregidors in those kingdoms; to this end all their efforts are directed; nor has their system of economy any other object than to secure the greatest possible income from their office. Even if these statements were not presented in proof of their avarice, it might be inferred from the consideration, that all of them go from Spain to the Indies so destitute that, instead of carrying anything thither, they are in debt on account of obligations contracted from the time they leave Spain until they reach the district allotted to them; and that, during their brief term of office, which is limited to five years, they make a gain of at least seventy thousand dollars, and sometimes accumulate even more than two hundred thousand. This is to be understood of the net profits, after having paid their previous debts and fees of settlement, and after having spent and squandered beyond all bounds during the whole term of their administration; for the salary and emoluments of their office are so scanty as to be almost inadequate for their current expenses. There are, indeed, corregidors whose salary, including the collection of the tribute, amounts to four or five thousand dollars a year; yet the greater part do not realize more than two thousand: and, although it were based upon an allowance of four thousand dollars annually, this salary would only suffice for a decent maintenance, allowing a surplus of one-half by living with economy. It is true they have occasion to pass from one settlement to another; but this is at the expense of the Indians themselves, who furnish them mules, and pay their travelling expenses during the time they are delayed in each village.

Having closed our observations on the cruel treatment of the Indians by their corregidors, we shall describe incidentally the manner in which the latter render an account of their administration at the expiation of its term; clearly showing that this unfortunate race are left without appeal, and even without a hope that justice should ever enter their doors to plead in their behalf.

The office of corregidor is sometimes in the gift of the Council of the Indies, and sometimes in that of the

viceroys: but it is the exclusive perogative of the viceroys to nominate notaries when the term of administration has expired, and no successor to the office has been elected in Spain; and even in this event the notary named by the council must present his despatches to the viceroy, in order to obtain his passport. As soon as the appointment of a notary comes to the ears of the corregidor, he avails himself of his friends in Lima to pay court to him in his name, and to give him the necessary instructions, that, when he should leave the city, he should come, already gained over, and without any motive for delay. It should be observed that, in addition to the usual pay allowed the notary, at the expense of the corregidor for a term of three months, although only forty days are required to audit the accounts, the amount to be paid is in proportion to the revenue of the district, or more properly to that of the amnesty or bribe which the corregidor gives the notary to acquit him of all charges which may be alleged against him. This is so notorious and so systematized in practice that everybody 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.

As soon as the notary arrives in the principal town of his district, he gives public notice of his business, goes through the usual forms, receiving testimony from the friends and domestics of the corregidor that he has ruled well, that he has injured no man, that he has treated the Indians kindly; and in this way he collects all the evidence which may redound to his interest. But, lest such a degree of rectitude and benevolence might excite surprise, three or four persons are employed to present charges against him of a trivial nature, which are magnified by summoning witnesses to testify to their truth; and the accused, being brought in guilty, is fined in an amount proportioned to the nature of the offence. In the course

of these proceedings, an immense mass of writs and documents is collected: and the time prescribed for auditing the accounts gradually slips away, when they are closed and presented to the Audience for approbation, and the corregidor is as legally innocent of the charges as he was at the time his administration commenced, and the notary who audited the accounts is a gainer to the amount of what the settlement has been worth to him. These bargains are made with such effrontery, and the costs of settlement of accounts are so reduced to system, that, in the jurisdiction of Valdivia, a district remote from all intercourse with those kingdoms, the newly-appointed governors audit the accounts of their predecessors; and, as the gratuity bestowed is transmitted from one to another in succession, the governors had the precaution to reserve and conceal under the bed on which they slept four bags of money, containing each one thousand dollars,— an amount which none of them had occasion to use. The acting governor, on the arrival of a successor, invited him very politely to occupy his own apartment, and, on showing him to his room, he directed his attention to the bags of money; assuring him that no mistake could occur in the amount, as he had not opened the bags: he stated, moreover, that his predecessor had received his discharge for that sum, and that he would transfer it to him on the same terms. This mode was practised until after we had left that kingdom, as was said by the residents there; but we do not know if it still continues. Whether the four bags remain untouched or not, after having changed owners so frequently, is of little importance, provided their nominal value remains unchanged.

If, at the time the judge is investigating the proceedings of the corregidors, any one of the Indians should allege against them acts of tyranny and injustice which they have committed, the judges either repel the charge, by advising them not to involve themselves in lawsuits, which will bring on them disagreeable results, because the corregidor has proved the reverse of all they have alleged; or the corregidor, by giving them a trifling sum

of money, just as we would hush a troublesome child, induces them to withdraw the complaint: but if the Indians refuse to receive money, and insist on demanding justice, the judge reproves them with severity, intimating to them that he has shown them too much lenity in not having inflicted chastisement upon them for the crimes alleged against them by the corregidor; and the judges themselves, assuming the office of mediators, persuade them, after having suffered such complicated abuse, that they are indebted to them for having escaped the punishment they deserve: so that it is the same to the Indians whether the corregidors are required or not to give an account of their administration.

If the charges are adduced by the Spaniards relative to other matters, the judge seeks to act as umpire, and urges them to settle their differences amicably, and forget injuries that are past; but, if this method fails, the suit goes on, and, as the judge is biased in favor of the corregidor, he always labors to acquit him; and, if he cannot do it by himself, he appeals to the Audience; and, as all his investigations are so arranged as to present the best evidence in his favor, a little exertion on his part is quite sufficient to have the corregidor acquitted, and his accounts settled agreeably to his wishes. In proof of this we have only to examine the penalties inflicted for such long-continued excesses, and scarcely one will be found: hence the conclusion is inevitable, that no occasion for imposing them exists, according to the accounts rendered; while there is so much to warrant them in the conduct of those corregidors, as has already been shown and as will further appear in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II.

The same Subject continued.

Without supposing facts not well ascertained, or exaggerating statements which might place our narrative beyond the bounds of truth, we may assert, without fear of contradiction, that all the wealth produced by the Indies, and even their very colonial existence, is due to the sweat and toil of the natives. It is by them the gold and silver mines are wrought, by them the soil is tilled, and by them the cattle are reared and tended; in a word, there is no servile labor in which they are not tasked. And such is the recompense awarded to them by the Spaniards, that, should we investigate the nature of it, it would be found to be nothing more than a protracted and unrelenting punishment, less restrained by pity than that inflicted upon a galley slave. The gold and silver acquired by their hardships and labor never lodges in their hands; rarely does the day come round which allows them to partake of the fruits the earth yields by dint of their efforts, or of the meat of the animals they rear and keep; and never does the occasion offer when they might use the warm clothing or convenient articles of manufacture introduced from Spain; since their whole maintenance consists of maize, and herbs which grow wild, and their whole scanty wardrobe is limited to the coarse fabrics woven by their wives, and which are not superior to such as they wore in their uncivilized condition. Religion itself, as we shall afterwards show, is made a plausible pretext for stripping them of the poor remnant of their fortune, which has escaped the rapaciousness of their masters and magistrates; in return for which they have imparted to them no spiritual benefit, inasmuch as it is not the spirit of religion which is taught

them, nor is anything of *Christian* applicable to them but the empty name. In short, it is evident, wherever we turn, that the whole produce of the Indies is the fruit of their labor, being contributed by them: while it is they who least enjoy it, and who derive the least considerable benefit from their incessant toil.

In order to form a correct judgment both of what we have already stated and of what remains to be said, it is necessary to observe, that the mode of life and the labors of the Indians are adapted to the nature of the districts: for in those where there are mines to be worked, and not plantations, a portion of the Indians perform the meta service; and in those which embrace both plantations and mines, a part of the Indians are reserved alternately for each species of labor. The meta Indians are drawn by lot for both purposes; the one to bring the minerals from the veins, and the other to plough and till the ground. The districts which comprise only plantations and workshops (by which are meant cotton manufactories) are those in which all the meta Indians are employed; and there are some districts where the Indians do not perform the service of the meta, because the plantations are cultivated by negro slaves.

The meta service prescribes that all the villages are to furnish the estates within their precincts a certain number of Indians, to be employed in cultivating them, and that another company be destined for the mines, when their owners find, on examination, that they can be worked more conveniently by adopting the method prescribed by the meta. These Indians were bound to perform this service for one year only; and at the close of it are allowed to return to their villages, where, their places being filled by others, they are to remain at liberty until their turn comes again in course. But this precedent, so wisely established by the laws, has ceased to be observed: on which account it is indifferent to the Indian whether he labor in the meta service, for the benefit of the miner, or as nominally free for that of the corregidor; for in each species of labor the bondage is the same. All the districts of Quito, and those which extend to the other

mountainous provinces of Peru, towards the south, practise the meta: and all those comprehended in the valleys, as far as the jurisdictions of Pisco and Nasca, do not adopt it; because no miners are found there, and all or nearly all the plantations situated in the valleys are cultivated by negro slaves; but those which rise from the valleys are tilled exclusively by Indians subject to the meta. Having premised so much, we will relate what occurs in Quito, from which we may deduce by comparison what takes place in all the others in which the same system obtains; and, to do it more methodically, we shall divide the estates into four different classes: 1. The plantations for growing breadstuffs; 2. The grazing estates; 3. The wool-growing estates; 4. The manufactories.

On the estates of the first class, a meta Indian earns from fourteen to eighteen dollars a year, according to the nature of his employment; and, besides this, the estate allows him a piece of ground from twenty to thirty yards square, to make a garden for himself. On these conditions, the Indian is bound to labor three hundred days in the year, completing his full daily task; and is exempted from labor the remaining sixty-five, on account of Sundays, holidays, illness, or any other casualty which may prevent him from working; the overseers of the plantations taking care to mark, every week, the number of days which each Indian has labored, in order to settle his account at the end of the year.

The tribute of eight dollars, paid by the owner of the estate, is to be deducted from the salary of the Indian; and estimating this at eighteen dollars, which is the maximum, there are ten dollars remaining. From this sum, two dollars and two reals are to be deducted, to buy three yards of baize, at six reals a yard, that he may make a shirt for himself, as decency requires; and he will have remaining seven dollars six reals, to maintain himself and his wife and children, if he have any, besides clothing them, and paying such contributions as the curate may levy upon him. Nor is this all: for the piece of ground allowed him is so confined that it becomes im-

possible for him to raise all the corn required for the scanty support of his family, and he is obliged to receive of the owner of the estate half a bushel of corn monthly, which is charged to him at six reals (which is double the usual price), because the Indian cannot purchase of any one else; thus twelve times six reals make nine dollars, which is one dollar and six reals more than the Indian can earn. So that the wretched serf, after toiling three hundred days in the year, besides cultivating a garden of vegetables in the remaining sixty-five, having received only a coarse baize shirt and six bushels of corn, becomes indebted to his master one dollar and six reals, on account of the labor he has to perform the following year. Were it no more than this, the patient Indian would endure it all; but his sufferings are yet greater. It frequently happens (as we have witnessed) that an animal dies in the paramo, or heath; the master has it brought to the farm, and, in order not to lose its value, has it cut in pieces, and distributes it to the Indians at so much a pound, — a price which, however reasonable, an Indian cannot pay; and hence his debt is augmented by being forced to receive meat which is unfit to be eaten, owing to its bad condition, and which he is consequently obliged to throw to the dogs.

If, as the climax of misfortune, the unfortunate mitayo should lose his wife, or one of his children, his cup of anguish is full, when he reflects how he shall pay the inexorable fee of interment; and he is driven to enter into a new contract with the owner of the estate, to furnish him the money extorted by the church. If he escapes the anguish of losing any of his family, the curate orders him to celebrate a church festival in honor of the Virgin, or one of the saints, and he is obliged on this account to contract a new debt; so that, at the close of the year, his debts exceed his earnings, while he has neither handled money nor got in his possession any articles of value whatever. His master claims the right of his person, obliges him to continue in his service until the debt is paid; and, as payment can never be made by the poor Indian, he becomes a slave for life; and, in defiance of

all natural and national law, children are required to pay, by their personal service, the unavoidable debts of their parents.

There are some Indians who pay a heavier tribute than others; and, in this respect, those who belong to the *encomiendas* are least burdened: but this does in no way redound to the advantage of the Indians, as it should, but to the benefit of their masters; for they pay them less for the meta service, on the ground that they are partially exempted from paying tribute, in direct opposition to the royal grant, in which this privilege is conceded to the patrons, with a view of lightening the burden of the impost levied upon the Indians.

Another species of cruelty is inflicted upon that race, which would be deemed barbarous if practised upon the brute creation. When an unfruitful season occurs, and corn is valued at three or four dollars, all produce rises in the same proportion, but the mitayo is not entitled to higher wages: and, although he subsists exclusively upon maize, the landholders will not furnish it to him at twelve reals, which is the regular price, although it sometimes produces more; and the wages of the Indians not being adequate to pay for it at so high a price, and having no means of purchasing it except such as they derive from their personal labor, they are deprived of sustenance, because their masters sell all the maize in the villages, to convert it into money — a cruel expedient, which leaves the helpless Indian, who labors in their houses and for them, abandoned without mercy to perish with hunger. This occurred in the Province of Quito in the years 1743 and 1744, during our residence there. The scarcity of maize was unprecedented, and such was the unfeeling barbarity of the masters towards the Indians, that they cut off the usual supply of their only sustenance, for the purpose of selling it at exorbitant prices: from hence resulted a fearful mortality of Indians on all the estates, besides that which prevailed in all the villages, many of which were nearly depopulated.

The produce of the vegetable gardens cultivated by the Indians is limited to a little corn and a few potatoes,

and is so inconsiderable that they are consumed during the process of ripening. The only occasion in the year when they are allowed to taste meat is when some animal dies, and is taken up before the condors and vultures have devoured it. We may conjecture what its quality must be; since, besides the circumstance of the animal having died in the field, it has usually so bad an odor as to render it intolerable; and in this case the arbitrary rule of the master is carried to such an extreme as to force it upon the Indian, under the penalty of chastisement if he refuse to receive it.

The Indians who perform the meta service on the grazing estates, which are those of the second class, usually earn somewhat more than the day laborer; but their labor is also greater. On these estates, an Indian has assigned to him a certain number of cows, that he may take care of them and of their milk. He is to make the number of cheeses usually required for each cow; and on the last day of every week they are delivered to the overseer, who receives them by weight, and with such rigid scrupulousness that the least deficiency in the weight required is charged to the account of the Indian, — a manifestly unjust course of proceeding; for, if the failure of milk might occasionally be attributed to the Indian, it proceeds in general from the quantity and quality given by the cows, which is not always uniform, or some neglect might occur, allowing the calves to take more than their usual portion. Exclusive of these causes, which are independent of the will of the Indians, the charges against them augment so rapidly, that, at the close of the year, when they have worked out the term of the meta, and are to be released, they find themselves in greater bondage than before; for, as they have not the means of paying that fictitious debt, they are compelled to bind themselves to protracted service on the estate, which, in these circumstances, is their last resource.

It may be argued that the debts incurred by the Indians, whether in one species of labor or another, are merely imaginary, as the whole race is insolvent, and

that no injury results from them. In solitary instances it might be so; but in general it is otherwise. It is prejudicial to the Indian to be indebted to the estate, because the owner of it deducts, on account of the debt, all that he has been able to earn by dint of care and toil during his hours of repose; and, if payment be made grudgingly, the task is augmented, even when no hope is entertained that the debt will be paid in full. It is true that, in the hopeless condition of the Indian, to be reduced to slavery on the estates where they live is no additional burden; for, in case they should be restored to their villages, they would be no less oppressed by the imposts of the corregidors. Were it otherwise, it would be gross injustice not to alternate their labor annually; for while living in their villages they would enjoy their freedom, and would earn enough to maintain themselves comfortably, whether by working as day laborers, or busying themselves in the same tasks in which they would be employed if they remained in them: and there is no doubt that their gains would be sufficient to bear, without too much hardship, both the impost of the tribute and the meta; but they are deprived of this consolation by the insatiable avariee of those who rule over them.

On the wool-growing estates, which compose those of the third order, every Indian earns eighteen dollars, when he has the care of an entire flock; and if he has two he earns something more, — but not twice the amount, as would seem equitable. Those Indians who are apparently the most fortunate, are not less subject to oppression than others; for they are made responsible for the flock, and are accounted debtors for all the sheep that are missing at the end of the month, unless they deliver them dead. At first sight this condition appears reasonable; but, in reality, local as well as other causes, not depending on the Indian, render it impossible for him to put it in practice. The tracts where the Indians pasture and live with their flocks are situated in the heart of the wilderness, among the ravines formed by the mountains, which are wholly uninhabited, and at a distance of three or four leagues from the principal farm-house. On these estates,

wheat fields are also cultivated, and for this purpose the same Indians are employed who have the care of the sheep; and, being under the necessity of tilling the soil for the benefit of their masters, the sheep are intrusted to the care of a woman, who is sometimes nursing, or to that of children five or six years old; for, as soon as the latter are capable of doing service, they are obliged to labor for the benefit of the master. Hence it sometimes happens that a sheep sickens or goes astray over the wild, uncultivated extent of those paramos; and, should he be so unlucky as not to be able to find it, as soon as it is missing, it is charged to his account at the close of the month, when the flock is counted.

Even if the owner should not require him to intrust the sheep to his wife's keeping, it would be unjust to make the loss fall upon him; for it is only one who tends the sheep; and such is the nature of that broken surface that it would be impossible to trace the sheep by the eye, as they wander over ravines, morasses, and declivities of the mountains, nor is it in the power of the keeper to rescue them from the talons of the condors. What passed under my own observation frequently takes place: for, on one occasion, while descending a precipice, I saw a condor pounce upon a flock, and carry off a lamb in his claws, and, rising to a certain height, let go his hold, as if to kill it by the fall; and, seizing it a second time, he carried off his prey, while neither the cries of the shepherd boy, nor the barking of the dogs, could avail any thing to prevent it.

In order to point out more clearly the injustice practised towards the Indians, we may be permitted to draw a comparison between the Indian and the Spanish shepherd, and the contrast between them will serve to corroborate what we have asserted.

In Spain, a flock of sheep usually contains about five hundred head; and to tend it the owner maintains a shepherd and a swain, who are both males. In Andalusia, the shepherd earns twenty-four dollars a year, and the swain sixteen dollars, amounting in all to forty dollars. Besides their wages, the owner is bound to furnish them

bread, oil, vinegar, and salt, besides what the dogs eat; he is also to furnish them an ass to drive the herd, and, when the number is augmented to three flocks, an overseer is appointed to keep watch over them all, who earns higher wages than the shepherd, and the master provides him with a horse. In Peru, a flock usually consists of eight hundred or a thousand head, and is tended by a single individual, who bears in that country the name of sheep-keeper. This man earns only eighteen dollars a year; from which sum, after deducting the tribute, only ten dollars remain; and with these he is to provide for himself, for his wife and children, and for the dogs which are to aid him in taking care of the flock, because his master allows him nothing more. The low rate of wages should not be attributed to the cheapness of provisions; for, on the contrary, every thing there is incomparably dearer than it is in Spain. The same is true of other branches of industry; and it is difficult to imagine how those people subsist, until we become acquainted with their frugal mode of living. The hut they inhabit has scarcely space sufficient for them to stretch themselves, although it contains not an article of furniture; their bed is a raw sheepskin, one being provided for each member of the family, and they never use a pillow; their food consists of two or three spoonfuls of oatmeal, which they force into their mouths, and, after stirring it with the tongue, they swallow it and instantly drink a large quantity of water or *chicha*, which is a kind of malt liquor, whenever they can get it; occasionally they substitute for oatmeal a handful of maize, boiled in water until the grain swells and bursts. This constitutes the whole of an Indian's sustenance.

It is in the fourth and last department of industry, namely, the "*obrages*," or factories, — that it appears as if all the scourges that afflict humanity were concentrated. – All these sufferings are accumulated upon the head of the wretched Indian; and bitter lamentations are heard on every side under the inflictions of the rod of oppression. Several of his Majesty's ministers have been fully aware of this, and have endeavored to take

very decisive measures in respect to it; but it must be confessed that the regulations of government in regard to the colonies are seldom enforced, as will appear in the sequel.

The workshops are a combination of the other three classes of estates: they are the factories where the cloths, baizes, and woollen stuffs known in Peru by the name of home fabrics, are woven by the hand-loom. In former years, the woollen manufactory was confined to the Province of Quito: but, it has been recently introduced into other districts; although the articles manufactured in the provinces south of Quito are nothing but coarse cloths, of very ordinary texture. In Cajamarca, there are looms for the manufacture of cotton goods.

To form an accurate idea of these factories, they might be compared to a galley, always in motion, being constantly propelled by the oars; while the harbor is so remote that it can never be reached, how hard soever the seaman toil in anticipation of rest. The management of those factories, the labors performed in them by the Indians, to whose unhappy lot this service falls, and the merciless punishment inflicted upon those miserable objects, surpass every thing which it is possible for us to describe.

The labor of the workhouses commences before the day dawns, at which time every Indian takes his place at the piece which is in process of weaving, and the tasks of the day are distributed as may be expedient; and, when this process is concluded, the owner of the house closes the door, and leaves them immured as in a prison. At mid-day the door is opened for the women to go in with their scant allowance of food, which is soon partaken, and they are again locked up. When the darkness of night no longer permits them to labor, the owner goes round to gather up the stints: those who have not been able to finish, in spite of apologies or reasonings, are punished with indescribable cruelty; and those unfeeling men, as if transformed into merciless savages, inflict upon the wretched Indians lashes by hundreds, for they use no other method of counting; and,

to complete the punishment, they remand them again to the workshop; and, although the whole building is a prison-house, a portion of it is reserved for fetters, and instruments of torture, where they are punished with greater indignity than could be practised towards the most delinquent slaves.

During the day, every apartment is visited by the owner, his assistant, and his overseer, and the Indian who is chargeable with any neglect is chastised at the time with the whip; and afterwards goes on with his work, until the time arrives to put away his work, when the punishment is frequently repeated.

This process is carried on every day, in respect to the meta Indians; and the punishment inflicted is so much the more cruel as it does by no means exempt them from the obligation of completing the task; for all their delinquencies are noted in a register, to be charged to their account at the close of the year: and thus the debt incurred is augmenting from year to year, until, finding it impossible to make up their arrears, the master acquires a right, however unfounded, to reduce to slavery not only the meta Indian, but all his sons. The treatment of these Indians will appear to be gentle in comparison with that experienced by those who are sentenced by the corregidors to the same work-houses, for having failed to pay the tribute at the time it was demanded, and frequently (as we have said) when they were not under any obligation to pay it. These Indians earn a real a day: one-half is kept back to pay the corregidor, and the remaining half is applied to their maintenance, which is inadequate for a man who labors incessantly the whole day; and, in proof of it, imagine if any article could be bought, that would suffice for his nourishment, for half a real, when it is not enough to supply him with *chicha*, — a beverage to which the Indians are strongly addicted, and which has become so much a part of their nature that it nourishes and strengthens them as much as what they eat. Besides, as the Indian is unable to escape from that bondage, he is obliged to take what his master will give him for that half real.

The inhuman owner of the factory, in order to lose nothing by waste, turns to account for their use the maize or barley which has been damaged by keeping, or the cattle which die and contaminate the atmosphere, as well as all the worst and most worthless of his produce.

As a result of this course of treatment, these Indians fall sick, after remaining a short time in that condition; and their constitutions being exhausted partly for want of nourishment, partly by repeated punishment, as well as by diseases contracted from the bad quality of their food, they die before they have been able to pay the tribute with the avails of their labor. The Indian loses his life, and the country that one inhabitant, whence proceeds the great diminution which is observed to be taking place in that kingdom. Such is the spectacle exhibited when they are taken out dead that it would excite compassion in the most unfeeling heart. Only a mere skeleton remains of them to publish the cause which doomed them to perish; and the greater part of these die in the very factories, with their tasks in their hands; for although the may be indisposed, as the countenance would indicate, that is no inducement to their cruel taskmaster to exempt them from labor or to seek their remedy. Accustomed to look upon them with utter aversion, they do not imagine a sick Indian to be a worthy inmate of a hospital until his strength is so far exhausted that he dies before reaching the charitable asylum, and those are fortunate who have sufficient power of resistance left to go and die within the hospital. To be condemned to the factories occasions to the Indian greater consternation than all other punishments that malice can invent. The married Indian women and aged mothers begin to bewail the death of their husbands or their children from the moment they are sentenced to this punishment. Children do the same in respect to their parents, nor is there any method the latter will not devise to rescue their children from the labor of the workshop; and their sorrow is extreme when all expedients fail to produce the desired effect. The anguish which, with so much reason, overwhelms them, finds vent, in view of the place of punish-

ment, as they raise to Heaven their cries; since all on earth combine against them, and, restrained by no tribunal of justice, abandon them to such hopeless misery.

Some will maintain that it is necessary to put the Indians into the workshops, if they do not pay the tribute, in order to compensate the loss; hence it is that the governors or other individuals are allowed to do it, in order to collect the debt. But neither the laws of the Indians, nor the express commands of our sovereigns, permit the Indians to be treated with such cruelty as is practised there; but, on the contrary, they inculcate compassion and kindness towards these inoffensive subjects. We may readily suppose that the statements which gained their assent to the low rate of wages given were either false or inaccurate, inasmuch as the king and his council were led to believe that the pay allowed the Indians in the workshop was sufficient for their maintenance, besides leaving a surplus for the payment of the tribute. Under the system now adopted, neither object is obtained.

The expedient of condemning the Indians to these fearful places has become so general as to render them the grave of their freedom for a great variety of delinquencies. A trifling debt, even to a private individual, is sufficient ground for any one invested with authority to inflict this punishment upon them. We frequently meet Indians on the highway, tied by the hair to the tail of a horse, on which a mestizo is mounted, who is conveying them to the workshops, and perhaps for the trivial offence of having evaded the tyranny of the overseer from fear of punishment. Let what will be said of the cruelty practised by the patrons towards the Indians at the commencement of the conquest, we cannot persuade ourselves, after what we have witnessed, that it could ever have been carried to the extent it now is by the Spaniards and mestizoes. And, if at that period they were regarded as slaves, they had but one master in the patron; but now they are subject to the governors, the owners of workshops, the proprietors of estates, the overseers of the cattle, and, what is most scandalous of all, the very

ministers of the altar: all these, including the priesthood, treat the defenceless Indians with more cruelty than they exercise towards African slaves.

Not only the meta Indians are employed in the cultivation of the estates, but also their wives and children, when they are capable of doing any thing, who are treated with as much severity as if they were all subject to the meta service. They keep the women and children employed in planting corn, potatoes, and other seeds, in weeding the beds of vegetables, in gathering the harvest and shelling the corn, and in the various occupations pertaining to the farm; so that it is no small convenience to masters to have, with an Indian so badly paid, so many to labor obsequiously in his service.

It is a prevailing opinion in all those countries, and especially in the mountainous districts, that if the Indians were not subject to the meta, they would become idle, and the plantations would cease to be cultivated; but this is a mistaken notion, as we shall presently show. But what may we suppose will not be urged by those whose interest it is to defend the meta? They say that the Indies could not be held by us without it; that, were it not for this restraint, the Indians would revolt; and that the fact that they have not done so is chiefly owing to the oppressed condition in which they are held by the Spaniards. These and other like calumnies are invented by malice, as an apology for cruelty; and, even admitting what they assert to be true, can there exist any law or reason why they should be deprived of what is necessary for their support, if they are forced to labor with unparalleled rigor? We cannot imagine a system of discipline so barbarous as to authorize such a degree of oppression. The truth being concealed under the disguise of erroneous statements (some of which we have detected), measures are adopted on the supposition that these statements are true, and that they have in view the common welfare and preservation of those kingdoms.

In order to expose more clearly the malignant character of the communications which come to us from thence, exaggerating the indolence and dilatory habits of the Ind-

ians, let us direct our attention to those plantations which do not have the benefit of the meta, or in which the number of meta Indians is comparatively small. Do they on this account fail to be cultivated? By no means; for, at a small additional expense, they have as many Indians as are required, and with no other difference than that of hiring them on wages; and although the rate does not exceed one real a day, — a sum scarcely adequate to their daily wants, — they do not despise it, because they avail themselves of the assistance of their wives; and, when they have no work in hand for their own account and benefit, they are prompt to labor for a real a day. This makes it evident that they would labor even were they not compelled to it by the cruel expedient of the meta. But the fact is that the Indian, being employed on the plantations at a real a day, even at this reduced rate of wages, the three hundred days of the year would require thirty-seven dollars and a half, and with this sum the owner of the plantation would have but one person to work for him; while under the meta system, which allows only one-half this sum, estimating the wages at eighteen dollars a year, they have, besides the reduction of wages, which is so considerable, the advantage of securing the services of a whole family.

What we have just remarked is not at variance with the statement made in the first volume of the history of our tour, respecting the nature, peculiarities, and customs of the Indians; for there can be no doubt that they are phlegmatic, and that it requires exertion to make them labor; but this proceeds in a great measure from the fact that all that tribe are so irritated and aggrieved by the treatment they receive from the Spaniards that it is no wonder if whatever they do should be done reluctantly. Let us suppose a system to be established in Spain, by which the rich should oblige the poor to labor for their benefit without any equivalent, — would they be disposed to do so? Let us reflect, then, how much less inclined to labor those unfortunate Indians would be, who are rendered martyrs by incessant punishment, such as would not be endured by any but a simple race of men,

or by those who wear their chains as a matter of necessity, and as the penalty which their crimes have merited.

It cannot be denied that the Indians of the present day discover very little inclination to labor, for they are naturally sluggish and dilatory; but it is likewise true that, when their own interest is at stake, natural indolence presents no obstacle to exertion. The system of economy and government adopted in those countries is based upon so bad a footing, that, whether the Indian labor or not, the result is the same as regards his own benefit; hence it is not strange that his love of ease should make him lean to the side of indolence, rather than to that of activity. Nor is this a weakness exclusively Indian: it is inherent in all men. Look at the most civilized nations on the globe, and none will be found among them all who are disposed to exert their skill and strength without the incentive of gain, and their activity is in proportion to the benefit which is to result from it. But it is the same to the Indian whether he earn money at the cost of sweat and toil, or not, for the gain is so transient in passing through his hands that he never knows what it is to enjoy it: the more he labors and strives, the more rapidly it passes from his possession to that of the corregidors, curates, and owners of the plantations. In view of this, who will tax the Indian with sloth, and not rather the Spaniard with impiety, avarice, and oppression?

It might seem to be carrying the defence of the Indians too far to exculpate them entirely, and to attribute to the Spaniards the cause of their want of industry; but the examples furnished by antiquity justify such a conclusion, and testimonies of modern date corroborate it with every possible degree of conviction. If we turn our eyes to the period prior to their conversion, we shall be astonished at the grandeur of their public works, which deserve our admiration to such a degree that we are at a loss to comprehend how such wonders could have been accomplished. Let us throw out of the account those which are described in history, lest their very magnificence should lead to a suspicion of falsehood or exaggeration, and take as our model what even now the eye can trace in the ruins of

those works which still remain; and we shall find materials sufficient not only to disprove the injurious opinion in which they are held, but to furnish evidence of extraordinary activity and exertion. Is not this apparent in the patient industry by which they have constructed a multitude of aqueducts? They have brought under cultivation a piece of ground which was useless without the benefit of irrigation: by opening a water-course from a remote source, and continuing it along the declivities of the towering Andes, to escape the fearful ravines which impeded its course in a right line, they caused the water to run a circuit of more than thirty leagues, as the nature of the soil required, until they had attained their original purpose of cultivating that piece of ground and rendering it fruitful. These works, which are truly grand, remained from that period in such perfection as to be serviceable to the Spaniards in a later age; nor can we omit what it shames us to say, that the Spaniards themselves of that country have suffered many of them to go into decay, by their lamentable neglect; and, much as they feel the want of them now, they are unable to repair them, nor is there a single undertaking of the kind which has been attempted since the conquest.

The bridges, the causeways, and the roads of all Peru were constructed by Gentile Indians, with astonishing perseverance; of which, however, the greater part have been ruined by the neglect of the new colonists. Where but in Peru, without excepting even the most celebrated kingdoms, are to be seen roads more than four hundred leagues long, of a solid foundation, of uniform breadth, and their sides protected throughout by walls of sufficient breadth and thickness? Vestiges remain to announce the immensity of this work; and its decay will always bear witness to the neglect of the Spaniards who settled in the empire of the Incas. Are not the Tambos, or spacious inns, which still exist through the whole extent of the Province of Quito, as well as in all the mountainous country, infallible indications that the Indians did not live so abandoned to indolence that they could not

shake it off for the accomplishment of any object which might minister to their convenience? The palaces, the temples, and the other works mentioned in the first part of the history of our travels, do not permit us the injustice of imputing to that people the love of ease, when they all bear evidence to the contrary. Let us now examine their manner of life at the present time, and we shall find that they are not indisposed to labor.

All the free Indians cultivate the lands belonging to them with so much care that they leave no portion of them fallow. It is true that their arable lands are circumscribed; but it is because they are not allowed to possess more, and not for want of care and toil to render them productive. The caciques, who have a larger portion assigned them, lay out extensive planting-grounds, rear cattle according to their means and opportunities, and husband all they can, without being compelled by force, and without using compulsion towards those who labor for them.

When the Indians who are not employed in the workhouses have any leisure time, and have finished the heavy task assigned them by their overseers, they labor at home on their own account. All the Indian women do the same, when opportunity offers. This is not consistent with the charge alleged against them, that they are idle; for any other people whatever would detest labor, could they once know that the avails of it were to be applied, not to their own benefit, but to the benefit of others.

The facts adduced are sufficient to show that the Spaniards of those countries have exaggerated the indolence of the Indians, in order to render the use of the meta indispensable, applying it to their own emolument, — a measure which tends directly to the injury of the Indians, and to the exhaustion of the royal treasury; because a vast number perish under a system beyond measure rigorous, as well as from want of sustenance, and the total neglect of the aged and infirm. In proportion as the number of the Indians decreases, the amount of tribute

falls short, and the towns become depopulated. These results are so palpable that they are felt and acknowledged even by those who are blinded by prejudice.

Notwithstanding what we have said of the punishment inflicted upon the Indians in the workhouses, it is not sufficient to give an exact idea of the system as it is practised in them; and hence we are obliged to present some further particulars.

As there are in the workhouses three taskmasters, who have the constant supervision of the Indian weavers, so there are three employed on the plantations, which are the overseer, his assistant, and second; but, as the latter is always an Indian, he is not accustomed to inflict blows on the rest. He is permitted, however, to carry a whip, like the rest, to make his authority respected. Each one holds his own scourge, without letting it fall from his hand the whole day long. This instrument of torture resembles a rope's end, about a yard long, and a little less than a finger in thickness, and is made of cow's hide twisted like cord. In case the Indian has been guilty of any wrong or neglect, he is required to lie flat on his face, when his thin drawers, which make up his whole dress, are taken off, and he is scourged with the rod; being himself obliged to count the lashes that are inflicted upon him, until the number prescribed in the sentence has been completed. He then gets up, and is required to kneel in presence of the man with the whip, and, kissing his hand, to say to him, "May God bless you!" the trembling lips of the wretched Indian thus giving thanks in the name of God for the stripes inflicted upon him, almost always unjustly. Nor are *men* alone subject to punishment, but their wives and children, and even the caciques, whose rank and dignity entitle them to consideration.

The practice of scourging the Indians so unmercifully is not confined to the workhouses, plantations, and meta Indians; but the priests chastise their parishioners, and exact any service from them whatever by dint of blows. For, if the Indian should not do promptly what is required

of him, it is deemed sufficient motive to make him lie down, and to inflict stripes upon him with a whip, or with the reins of the horse, until his strength is exhausted. This enormity reaches such a pass that even negro slaves and the vilest sort of persons practise it continually on their own responsibility, with no other reason or pretext than their own caprice. Nor is the suffering merely causal, nor confined to this or that individual; but it is the lot of the whole family of Indians, as an evidence of which we shall mention what took place during our residence in some villages, and even in our own house.

In the city of Cuenca, we took a house in company with the French gentlemen associated with us; and some of the servants employed by the latter were Europeans, others mestizoes, and others negro slaves, which the French company had brought with them from St. Domingo. When it became requisite to clean the yard and outhouses,— a service belonging to the mestizoes and negroes,— the latter, to rid themselves of it, passed to the street, and compelled the Indians who were travelling by to enter the houses, and then obliged them to perform all the labor. We reprimanded the former, and ordered the slaves to be punished; but, as they were corrupted by the precedent which had been introduced in other houses, they waited till we had gone out of doors, in order to accomplish their purpose. However, the fear which the servants entertain towards their masters restrained them from treating the Indians with cruelty, and at length they gave them the leavings of the kitchen, which in some degree compensated their labor. But their being whipped by negro slaves, or made to run bound to the tail of a horse, as is practised by mestizoes and Spaniards, is so common an occurrence as scarcely to attract notice.

The punishments already described are those which are usually inflicted upon the Indians; but when the rage of the master or overseer is not appeased, they *scald* them likewise, as is done in the negro colonies, although by a different method. Their mode is to take two pieces of the spunk of maguey, which is the light pith of the stalk

of the agave plant, and, after having been set on fire, they strike them together, that the sparks may fall on the flesh simultaneously with the infliction of the rod.

The patient Indian submits without murmuring to imprisonment, hunger, stripes, and every species of torture; but an affront is to him intolerable. The greatest degree of ignominy is that of having the head shaved by way of chastisement; and, as the disgrace of this punishment is more permanent than that of bodily suffering, the abashed Indian seeks in vain for consolation under this misfortune; notwithstanding, whenever his crime is one of an aggravated nature, and the wrath of the master is implacable, he is shorn of his hair, and left to inconsolable grief and anguish.* 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.

It is a common remark of the most sober and thoughtful men of those countries, that if the Indians suffer for God's sake the hardships through which they pass during their whole lives, they would be worthy, at the moment of their death, to have their names inscribed in the calendar. 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 natives have become so accustomed to chastisement that they not only cease to fear it, but even regard an occasional truce from it with apprehension and alarm. The Indian boys (*cholitos*) who wait upon the curates and other individuals are wont to look sad, and even to flee away, after a long interval of exemption from punishment; and, if questioned as to the cause of their sadness

* This punishment was inflicted upon an Indian man and woman while I was at Chillo, in 1837. The owner of the estate on which the Indians lived gave the order; but his conduct was severely reprobated.— Tr.

or flight, they reply, in their simplicity, that their masters do not appear to love them, because they no longer chastise them. The source of this error is not to be looked for in their simplicity, nor in any partiality the mature Indian may have to chastisement in itself; but, having been accustomed to ill-treatment ever since the conquest, they have conceived the idea that the Spaniards are a class of people whose very caresses and fondnesses are stripes and blows; and this is either no mistake, or, if it be one, it is pardonable in the Indians; for their masters, after having chastised them with merciless cruelty, always say to them that they punish them because they love them, and the simple Indian has learned to give to this barbarous expression its literal import. Parents teach it to their children, and the unsuspecting innocence of the latter is easily made to believe that it is doing them a kindness to make them weep and bathe themselves in tears of anguish. Hence it is that they are accustomed to give thanks to their tormentor, kneeling before him and kissing his hand, although it be that of a negro, with expressions of gratitude for an act of cruelty, as if it had been the dictate of mercy.

Such is the terror occasioned by the very name of Spaniard, or *Viracocha* (a term comprehending all who are not Indian), that when mothers would frighten their little ones, or make them hush when they cry, or hide themselves in the corner of their clay huts, by merely saying to them that the *Viracocha* is going to catch them, they are struck with horror, and run without knowing where to find a place of refuge. We have ourselves experienced this continually; and, although it became necessary on some occasions to speak to them to make inquiries concerning the road, it was impossible to do so, as we could not get them to stop and hear the question put to them. So timid are they, that, when one of them begins to run, all the rest who can see him, however remote they may be, do the same; and, should they be accidentally impeded by any ravine, they prefer

to throw themselves down, at the hazard of their lives, rather than expose themselves to the more imminent danger of the approach of the *Viracocha*. All this has no other source or pretext than the unheard-of cruelty with which all, without exception, are treated. But we have entered into more minute details than we intended, as it is a subject of which no important particular should be left unnoticed.

CHAPTER III.

The same Subject continued.—Sequestration of Lands belonging to the Indians.

So various are the expedients invented by malice to multiply the means used to oppress the Indians, that we find materials on every hand for entering into further details of their extreme sufferings; and, although the particulars brought to view in the preceding chapters might suffice to show the tyranny practised towards that unfortunate people, we cannot omit what we have to relate in this, as the subject is one of great importance. The advantages resulting to all classes, at the expense of the care and personal labor of the Indians, have already been mentioned: we are now to speak of the power which the spirit of avarice exercises in stripping them not only of the means necessary for their own support, but even of acquiring a sufficient sum to pay the tribute money, — the only impost to which they are subject, agreeably to the considerate policy of our sovereigns; and which is so just and reasonable, that, if nothing else were exacted, this burden would not fall heavily upon them. Such is the opinion of the Indians themselves, as we have heard them say on various occasions; and not of their caciques only, but of others who were present with us in the uninhabited deserts where we abode; on which account, in addition to the circumstance of having taken up our quarters sometimes in their very houses or huts, at others on the different plantations, and at other times in their villages, we had sufficient opportunity to become witnesses of their complaints, and to hear them recount the acts of violence and injustice with which they are harassed.

The king's envoys, bearing a commission from him to

those parts, have given these subjects only a superficial examination: some because they wanted opportunity; and others because their attention was directed exclusively to their own interest, as they were intent only on discovering new methods of amassing a fortune. These circumstances did not obtain in us, inasmuch as our ambition did not reach beyond acquiring a treasure of useful information, nor had we any other end in view than to investigate the truth, to render our report as accurate as possible, so that we may say with confidence that we have secured our object to our entire satisfaction. Our small and unimposing suite did not inspire such terror among the Indians that the sight of it should make them shun the familiar intercourse we desired and sought; but the affability of our manner, indicating a disposition to regard them as beings of our own species, set them at liberty, and inspired courage in their timid, pusillanimous hearts to communicate their sentiments to us freely. The kindness with which we treated them (as did also the French gentlemen, our companions) emboldened them to make known to us their complaints. The conscientious strictness with which we paid the hire of those who waited upon us gave them occasion to speak of the different manner in which their services were usually recompensed; in a word, the constant routine of passing from one province to another furnished us occasions more than sufficient to confirm whatever they had disclosed to us, and even to observe many things of which we had been ignorant.

One circumstance which, more than any other, awakens our sympathy for that unfortunate people, is to see them entirely stripped of their lands; for although, at the period of the conquest and of the laying out of townships, certain portions had been reserved for the purpose of being allotted to the caciques and Indians belonging to the township, avarice has gradually curtailed them to such a degree that the tracts which remain to them are circumscribed within narrow limits, and the greater part has been wrested from them altogether. Some Indians have been despoiled of their lands by violence; others,

because the owners of the neighboring estates have compelled them to sell at any price they may choose to give; and others, because they have been induced to surrender them under false pretences.

The first caeique whose acquaintance we made in the Province of Quito was of the town of Mulaló, in the district of La Tacunga. His name was Sanipatin, a very worthy individual, and so much attached to the king that he could not disguise his sentiments of loyalty. On one of the many occasions we had to pass through his village, always taking lodgings at his house, the subject of the "repartimientos," or division of lands, was introduced, and, among other grounds of complaint, he informed us that having two lots of ground which belonged to him, and in which he sowed his wheat fields, a neighboring Spaniard, owner of an estate, wishing to enlarge his own by usurping what belonged to another, entered his name before the Audience of Quito as purchaser of one of those lots; and, although the caeique immediately presented himself in support of his claim, he could not substantiate it, but was afterwards stripped of his plantation, in spite of entreaties, remonstrances, representations, and urgent appeals to his patron to undertake his defence. It is in this way that the lands of the Indians are alienated every day, in case the claim should be persisted in with resolution. The illegality proceeds from the fact that, as the Indians have no other title to them than the right of possession (for, even were documents in existence, they are incapable of pointing out the office or archives where they are deposited), they are claimed as unoccupied lands, and sold as such; injustice sheltering itself under this false pretext. In this way, the greater part of the estates owned by the Spaniards individually, or in a corporate capacity, have been gradually augmenting; while the cultivated grounds which belonged to the Indians have proportionally diminished, and the number of inhabitants has decreased in the same proportion.

On the estate of Guachala, we were eye-witnesses of another of those instances of usurpation to which the

Indians of that country are always exposed. We happened to arrive on the plantation at the time the proprietor was there; and, not long after we came into the house, he sent for an Indian who possessed lands in his vicinity, and, inventing a ridiculous story relative to the motive of our arrival, induced him to abandon his lands in his favor for a very trifling consideration; and as he entered at once into possession, having concluded the bargain with the Indian, he himself gave us an account of the transaction. It appears that the Spaniard had been pressing the Indian for a long time to part with his lands, but he would not consent; and not being in favor with the Audience, so as to get them adjudged to him as unoccupied lands, he was eagerly pursuing other measures to secure his object, when his malicious heart suggested to him that he would intimate to the Indian that we, in company with the French gentlemen, had arrived with orders from the king to reconnoitre all the lands which the Indians had usurped from the Spaniards, to wrest them from their hands, and to restore them to their lawful owners. He then informed him that the lands which he claimed did not belong to him; for there could be no doubt they were usurped, situated as they were in the immediate vicinity of his estate. He advised him to give them up of his own accord, and he would bestow on him some trifling charity in consideration of their value; but if he refused to listen to his advice, as we were there on his estate, and as this was the express object of our tour, he would present a complaint against him, by means of which he would not only be deprived of his lands by a legal process, but would be punished as a usurper of another man's property. The Indian, whose simplicity (which is natural to the whole race) could not penetrate the depraved design of the man who deceived him, supposing that artfully contrived falsehood to be true, did not hesitate to abandon them, and leave them free from encumbrance; and in order to make it impossible that they should revert to him, should he discover the fraud, the Spaniard purchased the seeds which had already been sown.

Others avail themselves of measures still more iniquitous than the preceding: instigating the overseers of their estates to persecute them; stirring them up to anger, in order to find an occasion for oppressing them; and inducing them by these means (driven as they are to desperation by the proximity of the Spaniards) to sell their lands for any thing they are willing to give them, and to retire to some more remote district, where they may enjoy repose.

The owners of estates secure to themselves two important ends in despoiling the Indians of their lands: the first is, that they enlarge thereby their own estates, as we have just seen; and the second, that those Indians who have been thus disabled from working on their own account may be compelled to perform a voluntary meta service. On the other hand, it is scarcely known to the governor and curates that the Indian has received the proceeds of a forced and profitless sale, than they devise means — the former by fomenting quarrels, and the latter by celebrating saints' days — to get that money into their own hands; the poor Indian being stripped of his lands, as well as of the paltry price he had received for them. The persecuted wretch, finding himself destitute of means to support his family and pay the tribute money when it becomes due, to escape famishing in a factory, is compelled to sell himself on an estate, that his master may assume the debt; hence has resulted the unpeopling of the whole country, inasmuch as poverty, anguish, and unremitting toil waste away the health of whole families, until they die worn out with fatigue and hunger.

In the same way as the Indians are stripped of their lands when they are weak and defenceless, they are also deprived of whatever pertains to them in the form of an inheritance; an evidence of which may be found in what is actually taking place in Quito. Among the nunneries erected in that city, there is one of St. Clair, a royal foundation, which was instituted in behalf of the daughters of the caciques, that they might take the veil in it; for, although noble by birth, they were refused admittance

into the other corporations until their complaints came to the knowledge of his Majesty, when he decreed that this should be built for their benefit. Few Indian women were inclined to take the veil; and, to augment the number of the nuns, it was proposed to receive those who belonged to Spanish families; but, as the number of the latter gradually augmented, they took the control of the convent, and refused to receive, in the character of nuns, any more inmates of Indian extraction; and it is only in case of great importunity that they condescend to receive them as laics, that is, as maid-servants, with the privilege of wearing the habit of the order. Several caciques (and among them one who would not consent that his daughter should take the habit of a laic, instead of the black veil, and who met with opposition from the other nuns) presented their complaints to the Audience, entreating the protector to defend their suit; but they failed to obtain redress, not being able to find either in the courts or in the protector the justice and protection they desired. In this way they lost the privilege of having their daughters admitted as nuns in the only convent that had been constructed for their benefit. The result is the same in everything 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.

In proof of our assertion that it is against the Indian that the persecution is directed, and upon him that the weight of injustice falls most heavily, although we regard the statements already made as quite sufficient to convince every one of the facts in question, we think it proper to add what took place in respect to the Indians under our own observation.

In 1741, when Vice-Admiral Anson laid waste Payta, with a view to defend the port of Atacames and to protect the road just opened to Esmeraldas, felons and culprits were released from prison, and sent thither from Quito; and, being divided into several companies, some were destined for Guayaquil, and others for Atacames

and Esmeraldas.* In order to transport these troops and carry the necessary supplies, the mules were seized, with their drivers, for this purpose; and, as the end proposed was the service of the king and the common cause of the country, it was determined that no compensation should be made to the owners. This measure would not have been ill judged, if, as it comprised the Indians, it had been made to extend equally to all the inhabitants of Quito and other wealthy towns, where large droves are pastured on the estates to carry the produce to market: but, although it might have been so intended, it was not executed in that equitable manner; for not only the clergy, but those of the laity who had a greater interest than other classes in the defence and safety of their country and wealth, resisted the order, and excused themselves, — some alleging their immunities as ecclesiastics, and others the dignity of their rank, the whole burden falling ultimately upon the Indian, to aggravate his misery. These poor men, whose whole stock consists of four or six mules distributed to them by the corregidor, and whose service furnishes them a support, as well as the means of paying the tribute, were by these measures deprived of this trifling source of profit. They were compelled to perform the journey; and, owing to the roughnesses of the road, the mules became exhausted and incapable of travelling. To this result the change of

* It is still customary to employ the mules of the Indians at a reduced price in the service of the government. When Mr. Pickett, late commissioner to Quito, arrived at Babahoyo, in 1838, he applied to the governor for pack-mules to facilitate his journey to Quito. The same evening, he observed that the number he had asked for were placed in an enclosure near his lodgings; but, having noticed the muleteers standing at the gate, he went out to ascertain the cause of it. He was told that they had sold their vegetables in the port, and were to take in exchange a quantity of salt, — an article which some in the interior never taste, on account of its scarcity. The commissioner, moved with pity, informed the governor that he should not accept the mules on such conditions, but should restore them to their owners. The result was that they were immediately laid hold of for the benefit of a less scrupulous traveller. Even unsuccessful efforts to do justice are worth recording.—Tr.

climate contributed not a little, for those animals, being accustomed to the cold *paramos*, or heaths, of the Province of Quito, had to undergo the heat and continual moisture of the forests which lay on their route. So great was the destruction of mules on that occasion, that not a twentieth part of those who set out on their journey reached their destination; and those which returned from the coast perished in passing through the forests of Esmeraldas, some before and others after they had reached the *paramo:* so that the loss to the owners was total, and without any indemnity for their hire, or for the expense of the journey. It is easy to imagine in what condition these wretched men were left; for, as they have no other occupation than that of mule-drivers, and possess no other resources than the hire of their mules, they were deprived even of the hope either of recovering their loss, of supporting their families, or of paying their annual contribution.

The existence of these evils being admitted, it remains to be seen whether any remedy can be devised; and, as it is undeniable that they originate in the unfaithfulness of the Indian protectors, we shall consider the two causes from which, in our opinion, this want of fidelity proceeds. The first is, the fixed determination of all who go to America, holding public stations, to amass a fortune, without scruple as to the means used; for the Indian advocates are not in general less eager than others in their desires to accumulate wealth. The second cause is, that these functionaries are not ordinarily acquainted with the language of those tribes in whose behalf they are employed, — an acquisition quite as necessary to them as it is to the parish priests; nor will a superficial knowledge be sufficient, for, as the language of the Indians abounds in figures and allegory, in order to the right understanding of these a thorough knowledge of their idiom is indispensable. Such being the case, only one resource occurs to us, which will excite surprise, merely because it has never been reduced to practice; and this is, that the vacancies of the fiscal advocates, together with the titles, authority, and privileges annexed

to them, should be filled by the eldest sons of the caciques. This idea, which at first view may appear monstrous, as it has never before been suggested, and as it is apparently liable to serious objections, will, when viewed more nearly, be stripped of its imaginary terrors; for, after mature reflection, it will be found to have so much weight as not only to remove every objection, but to recommend itself as the only effectual means of securing the due accomplishment of the laws so wisely enacted by our sovereigns in favor of the Indians. By this means only would they be protected against the unrestrained warfare now carried on against them by their corregidors, as well as from the lawless impositions of the parish priests, and the inhuman outrages committed upon them by landholders, mestizoes, and other petty tyrants. We shall be met at once with the first objection and the most powerful one which the avarice of their oppressors has to advance against so admirable a provision; for, as it in no wise tends to their emolument, they would be eager to assail it with atrocious falsehoods, in order to perpetuate their tyranny.

The first measure employed to displace these protectors would be, to allege that the Indians, availing themselves of the authority and protection conceded to them, would cast off fear, and rise in rebellion, constituting to themselves a king of their own nation. This is the phantom invented to intimidate, in order that no innovations should be made in the government which they have so iniquitously instituted; but these imaginary fears would have no influence in the minds of the secretaries in Spain, if they had an accurate idea of the peculiarities, the nature, and genius of the Indians, who are by no means predisposed to riots or insurrections. Nothing proves this assertion more clearly than a view of the imposts heaped upon them by caprice, to which they submit without having their minds irritated, or affected by any other emotion than that of grief, which is inherent in beings of a mild and childlike disposition. True it is that, when once got into the fray, — as the phrase is there, — they are not intimidated by chastisement or

death; all means of reconciliation are unavailing, until they are exterminated: but this arises from the fact that, when they are driven to these desperate resolutions, they count it a greater happiness to die in the onset than to return again to a state of bondage. Hence it is that those who once rebel, and abandon their villages, cannot be reconquered or held again in subordination; the truth of which we experience in the Araucanian Indians of Chili, the inhabitants of Quixos and Macas, frontiers of the Province of Quito, and, lastly, in the Chunchos, — all of whom have thrown off their allegiance to their sovereign.

In order to ascertain the firm basis on which this opinion is founded, we have only to look back to the last rebellion of the Indians of the modern missions, bordering on the Provinces of Jaŋja and Tarma. Although it had been in contemplation for forty years, it was confined at its commencement to two thousand Indians, and the grand motive which induced them to throw off their allegiance was to rid themselves of the vexations and persecutions of the parish priests; for, not having been as yet subject to tribute, the argument employed by their chief to entice them was, that he wished only to rescue them from the oppression of the Spaniards. Had they been a people inclined to revolt, not an Indian would have remained in all the settlements of Peru; but they would all have gone over to the rebel party, so much have they to undergo, and such is the cruelty and contempt with which they are treated. Should any doubt still remain on this point, let the masses of that nation be compared with those in Europe, where there is scarcely a demagogue who raises a cry in any province but he is instantly joined by a greater part of the population; and we shall see how diverse from this is the spirit of the Indians, in spite of the oppression they are made to suffer. But to form a more accurate idea of what we have just advanced, we shall relate an occurrence which took place during our residence in Quito, and which will be sufficient to confirm the truth of it.

In the jurisdiction of Ibarra, in the town of Mira,

there lived a parish priest, with whom we had some degree of friendly intercourse. He was also one of the many in whom the passion of avarice predominates with unbridled excess; and, although recently presented to the benefice, he sought to oppress the Indians by attempting to strip them of all their lands, and to make them over to himself. His ambition appears to have had no bounds, inasmuch as he obliged the owners of the lands to cultivate them, by converting their personal labor to his own emolument. The Indians became so straitened by these and many other acts of extortion, and the cacique, finding that the tyranny of the priest had driven the people to desperation, went to Quito to present a complaint to the bishop. It appeared to that prelate, who had a sense of justice, that a severe admonition would suffice to put a stop to the encroachments of the priest: but quite the contrary took place; for, being enraged at the rebuke, he hurled his vengeance upon the cacique, and accused him of a project of rebellion, with a view to proceed with other Indians to the mountains, and thus depopulate the village. He sent up this false summary to the Audience; and, hoping to provoke the cacique to some imprudent act which would justify the measure, he laid hold of his eldest son, and made him a servant, sending him out to do the office of stable-boy. The cacique was exceedingly wounded by this insult, but did not vent his anger in the way the curate supposed he would; but, anxious to avenge his honor by a legal process, he proceeded to Quito, presented himself before the Audience, taking with him some Indians as witnesses, and acquitted himself of the charge so maliciously preferred against him by the priest. He complained before the tribunal of the dreadful outrages committed by the priest, not only against *him*, but against all the Indians of his chiefdom, and of that which he had just been guilty of in degrading his eldest son to such a low station. The Audience referred these just complaints to the bishop, that he might enter a suit against the priest. The bishop summoned him to appear, and rebuked him with still greater severity; com-

manding him to give satisfaction to the offended cacique, and to reform his conduct. The revengeful priest promised so to do; and the bishop, believing his feigned show of repentance to be sincere, gave him a license, after some days, to return to his curacy.

The priest set out to go to his village, and had scarcely arrived when he sent for the cacique to execute upon him his premeditated vengeance. The cacique promptly appeared before him; and the priest, bursting with rage, ordered him to lie down on the floor, as he would a slave whom he was going to punish, — insulting, by such vile treatment, the person, the dignity, and the advanced age of the cacique, — telling him afterwards that he did all that to let him know the consequences of having presented complaints against the priesthood. The abashed cacique removed from that town to another of the same department, and despatched several Indians to Quito to lay before the Audience the inefficacy of the measures they had adopted. About this time we arrived at Mira, and the Indians of the town communicated to us all that had taken place: but nothing wounded the cacique more deeply than having had imputed to him, falsely, the charge of rebellion, thereby fastening upon him the infamous blot of treason; and he inquired with great discretion for what cause he was to offend his lord the king by an act of rebellion, when he had received such favors from his royal clemency, and when it was the curate only who did the wrong; or how he could commit a base act to compromise his honor and fidelity, that the curate might triumph at the expense of his reputation and good conduct. This he repeated to us again; and uniformly held the same language to his townsmen, as we have heard them frequently say. In view of the last complaint made by the injured cacique, and of others presented by the Spaniards and mestizoes of the town, the Audience named a judge to make an investigation and substantiate what had there occurred, the bishop having previously named a substitute for that curacy. The attorney came to reside at the farm-house where we had taken up our quarters, and the proceedings were in-

stituted with great formality, inasmuch as the whole vicinity were comprised in the aggressions of the curate; for, had the Indians alone been the sufferers, there is no doubt but injustice would have triumphed. We returned to Quito; and, as we enjoyed the confidence and esteem of the bishop, he begged us, when we visited him, to acquaint us with the truth. We did so, and that prelate was deeply affected with the extreme sufferings of the Indians; assuring us that, while he held the office, that priest should return neither to the curacy of Mira nor to any other, notwithstanding many proofs of consideration which the bishop had shown him previous to that unrighteous act. In fine, the cacique and the Indians owed their acquittal to the accidental visit we made there, having been ourselves eye-witnesses of his bad conduct, — a circumstance without which, notwithstanding the excess to which he carried his tyranny, the priest would have repelled all the charges alleged against him, the Indians would have remained in a worse condition than before, and the cacique under the odious imputation of treasonable designs.

Let us reflect, now, whether the suffering undergone by this cacique and his Indians would not have been sufficient, in any other tribe less unresisting and more warlike and turbulent, to stir them up to insurrection, and to take vengeance on the priest for themselves; and, the more so, when there was no one in that village who could withstand them; and, should not this be the case, would it be possible to impede their penetrating as far as the Andes, had they wished to do so, especially as this chain of mountains is so contiguous to that village, that, within four hours' time, they could have made their escape to a free country, inhabited by Gentile Indians, — a distance which would be to those natives only what it is to us to cross a street? No doubt can remain that their not having done it at that time was the effect of their passiveness and loyalty. Being then no longer able to submit to such injustice and cruelty, they abandoned their villages and wretched huts, and spread themselves over others belonging to the same jurisdiction,

allowing time for the fearful tempest which had been raised against them to subside. In view of this, we cannot entertain the belief that they would be guilty of treason under a less rigorous system of government, when we find they are not so in spite of so many injuries and provocations; for how can we believe that cruelty or severity should inspire them with sentiments of loyalty and love to their king, and that kind treatment should transform them into rebels: above all, when 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.

If, on the other hand, we turn our attention to their loyalty, we shall find no nation in the world who speak of their sovereign with more respect and veneration. They never take his name into their mouths without prefixing the title of Lord, as we have already observed: at the same time uncovering their heads,—a ceremony which neither the parish priests nor the governors have taught them; for these do not put it in practice, nor have they seen the example in any Spaniard, and yet they never fail to be scrupulous in the observance of it. Their usual mode of address is, "the Lord King," and sometimes, agreeably to the subject, "our Lord the King," as if it were irreverent to speak of the sovereign in any other manner. Doubtless this is owing to the fact, that, having heard the titles, Lord Viceroy, Lord President, Lord Bishop (this being an established usage in those countries), they have persuaded themselves, and not without reason, that, if such respect is due to subjects, it

is much more becoming to observe it towards a sovereign. All this manifests the veneration, esteem, and love with which they treat his Majesty; and it is a thing worthy of admiration in a tribe so rude and so destitute of mental culture, and who have come to know only by information from a distant source that they have a king; and hence it is that they become more entitled to have their loyalty and love to their prince rewarded by kind and humane treatment, as well as by marks of esteem, when they have not rendered themselves unworthy of it by any improper behavior.

Should any apprehension of a rebellion exist on the part of any of the inhabitants of the southern countries, it ought to fall on the creoles or mestizoes, who are the chief cause of tumults, addicted as they are to idleness, and wholly abandoned to vice; but, as we are to treat of this subject more in detail, we shall leave it for the chapter to which it corresponds.

CHAPTER IV.

Extortions which the Indians suffer from the Parish Priests. — Corrupt Morals and Scandalous Life of the Clergy, both secular and regular.

In view of all that has been said relative to the rapacity of the corregidors in their unjust *repartimientos*, the barbarity of the meta, the sequestration of landed property, want of protection in the courts of justice, and the rapid diminution of the Indians, occasioned by unremitted toil while they are in health, and in the utter want of resource in time of sickness, it appears as if a greater degree of wretchedness could not fall to the lot of this people, or that the burdens under which they already groan would be sufficient to crush them. But as they are found to have strength to suffer in necessity, and a disposition, owing to the simplicity of their nature, to submit to authority, the resources of avarice are never exhausted, and the desire of domineering is never satisfied; and the result is, that even those from whom they ought to receive consolation, and to whom they are to look for redress, impose upon them still heavier burdens, render their sufferings more acute, and drive them to the very verge of despair.

All these calamities are brought upon the Indians by their parish priests; who, while they should be their spiritual fathers and their protectors against the unrighteous extortions of the corregidors, do themselves go hand in hand with the latter to wrest from the poor Indian the fruit of his incessant toil, even at the cost of the blood and sweat of a tribe whose condition is so deplorable that, while they have abundant means to enrich and aggrandize others, are destitute of a scanty allowance of bread for their own meagre sustenance. In the preceding chapter

we mentioned incidentally the avariee of that unfeeling priest who not only oppressed his parishioners until his tyranny beeame insupportable, obliging them to abandon their wretched hovels as soon as he learned the complaints which the chief had modestly laid before the bishop and Court of Audience, but forged to this prelate, for malicious purposes, a heap of charges, the very idea of which made that noble and respectable Indian shudder. This is the reason why the corregidors accuse the chiefs with impunity, when they endeavor to resist the endless extortions made upon their villages; namely, that the curates cannot confront them at the tribunal, because they are even more guilty than they, by using artifices no less iniquitous, and imposing taxes no less unjust.

The curacies of Peru are of two sorts — some of them being superintended by a bishop, and others by the provincial of one of the religions orders. In the former, appointments are made by wrangling or a public disputation, and the disputants are required to undergo an examination in the language of the Inca, by which is meant the language of all the Indians of Peru. The wrangling for presentation to vacant curacies being concluded, the proceedings of which are h ld in the palace of the bishop, in presence of the dignitaries of the church, who sit as judges, the votes are taken, and the bishop makes a list of those who have most distinguished themselves; of which number he selects three for each curacy, one of whom is afterwards nominated by the viceroy or president, who delivers him the credentials or despatches to which he is entitled.

As soon as the parish priests are promoted to their cures, they usually bend all their efforts to amassing wealth; and for this purpose they have devised various measures, by which they appropriate to themselves the pittance which may have remained to the Indian, and which has escaped the rapacity of the corregidor. One of their devices is that of the *fraternities;* and they have formed such a number of them in every village that every corner of the churches is filled with images, and each of these has its corresponding fraternity; and, in order not

to withdraw the Indians from their tasks, the celebration of those saints' days which occur during week-time is postponed to the following Sunday.

The Sunday at length arrives on which a saint's festival is to be celebrated: and the sum of four dollars and a half is to be collected by the overseers, which is the fee for high mass; and an equal amount for the sermon, which consists in merely repeating four words in praise of the saint, without any other labor or study than enunciating in the Peruvian language the first thing that suggests itself to the mind; and, when this is over, the Indians are required to defray the expense of the procession, the wax, and the incense. All this is to be paid in ready money, as soon as the festival is over (for church fees are always to be paid instantly). To this is to be added the customary offering which the overseers are compelled to make to the curate on every saint's festival; which consists of two or three dozen hens, as many chickens, guinea-pigs, eggs, sheep, and a hog if they happen to have any; so that, when the saint's day arrives, the curate sweeps off all that the Indian has been able to collect in money during the whole year, and also all the fowls and animals which his wife and children have reared in their huts: so that his family are left wholly destitute of food, or have no other aliment than wild roots, or plants which they cultivate in their small gardens. The Indian who has not been able to rear a sufficient number of animals for the customary offering is bound of necessity to purchase them; and should he not have the money, as is usually the case, he is to take it upon a pledge, or hire it for the time required, in order to obtain it and pay it without delay. As soon as the sermon of the day is concluded, the curate reads a paper on which he has inscribed the names of those who are to be masters of ceremonies for the festival of the following year, and, if anyone does not accept it of his free-will, he is forced to give his consent by dint of blows; and, when his day comes, there is no apology that can exonerate him from having the money ready; for, until it is all collected and delivered to the curate, mass is not said, the sermon is not preached, and the

whole service is deferred until three or four in the afternoon, if necessary, to allow time to collect the amount, as we have had occasion to observe repeatedly.

In order to be more thoroughly acquainted with the excess to which this is carried, and the enormous profits made by the curates at these festivals, it seems proper to mention here what a curate of the Province of Quito told us as we were passing through his curacy; which was, that, including the festivals and the commemoration of departed souls, he collected every year more than two hundred sheep, six thousand hens and chickens, four thousand guinea-pigs, and fifty thousand eggs, the record of which is preserved as it was originally written in our manuscript. It should be remarked that this curacy was not one of the most lucrative. Let an estimate, then, be made on these data of the amount of money that might be obtained, and on the supposition that the whole is raised from a nation or tribe who have no other means of gain than their personal labor, or a very reduced salary when they labor for others,—how is it possible that such stipends should be paid to the curates? We are forced to the conclusion, that such contributions could be sustained in no way but by tasking to the utmost not only men and women, but a whole family, in order to exact the payment of the sum total of their earnings during the whole year.*

Besides the feast of the fraternity (for some saint's festival never fails to be celebrated every Sunday and hol-

*The same custom prevails still throughout the Province of Quito. While I was at Otavalo, a gentleman informed me that the parish priest of that town had sold the offerings for the dead (collected in November) for three hundred dollars.

Being on a tour in the country in the year 1835, I observed that the offerings of bread and various articles of food (such as had been most to the taste of the deceased) were deposited near the grave. On further inquiry, I learned that they were afterwards collected and sold by the curate, although the deceased was supposed to have partaken of the substance of them. A gentleman informed me that he had seen a bull tied near the grave of a man who had distinguished himself at bull-fighting, as if such a testimony of remembrance would solace his departed spirit.— Tr.

iday), they have that of All-Souls' month, when it is required of every Indian to carry his offering to the church, which consists of the same articles as those of the ordinary feasts; and, after they are placed on the graves, the curate passes round to say a response over each of them, while his servants collect the offerings. This continues the whole month of November; and, in order to have no day omitted, the curate divides them among the estates and villages annexed to his curacy; the Indians of such estates or villages meet on the day allotted them, and, besides the offerings, they are to pay the alms gift usual at mass. What takes place with regard to the wine deserves more particular mention, wine being one of the customary offerings for the dead; but that climate does not produce it, and it is very difficult to obtain it in those provinces which are so remote from the coast. Ingenuity, however, has devised means of supplying the want of it. For the purpose in question, the curate orders a portion of that which is used at mass to be put in one or two bottles; and it is hired out, at two or three reals (according to the quantity), to the first Indian woman who stands waiting with her offering to have a response said; and, when this is done, the offering is collected in baskets: but the wine (being again hired out) passes to another grave, and so continues to make the whole circuit of the church, earning as many fees as there are graves, this process going on every day during the whole month of November.

On all the Sundays on which the "*doctrine*" is prescribed to be read to the people prior to mass, every Indian woman is to carry an egg to the curate, as the statutes require, or something equivalent: but in addition to this, which is the whole extent of their obligation, the curates compel the Indians to bring to them each a bundle of sticks; while the Indian boys and girls, who come every afternoon to the "*doctrine*," are to bring a truss of hay, according to the measure of their feeble ability, to feed the horses and cattle which belong to the parish priest. By having recourse to such methods, they have no occasion to spend money for anything: and, while

they are maintained by the Indians, they become rich at their expense; for all the offerings they can accumulate are sent to market to the neighboring cities, hamlets, and mining towns, and are converted into money. By these means they augment the revenue of a curacy to such a degree, that, although the customary fees might not exceed seven or eight hundred dollars, it gives them an income of five or six thousand dollars annually; and there are many which greatly exceed that amount. 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. This arises in part from the fact that, as these priests are subject to be removed, they endeavor to raise in the mean time the greatest amount possible, having no other object in view than to retire upon an estate, after their term of office has expired.

As it respects rotation in office, two methods are adopted: one is practised in the province of Quito, which is that of declaring vacancies and filling them up at the meeting of every chapter; the other obtains in all the rest of Peru, where the curates are allowed to hold their office as long as they wish, unless some good reason be assigned which may make it necessary to depose one and substitute another. To supply these vacancies, no examination is requisite, but merely the form of presenting the names of three candidates to the provincial, who makes choice of one, as he does in the case of the secular clergy; but, in what way soever the vacancy be filled, the curate who comes into office, or who continues in office, must always contribute to the provincial of his order the amount stipulated for each curacy; and, should any one come forward and offer more, the resident curate is obliged to make up the amount, or otherwise the vacancy will be filled by his competitor. The sum given for each curacy is so enormous as to exceed all credibility. At present it will suffice to say that this is based upon the revenue that it can be made to yield. This tax falls directly upon the Indians; for, in addition to what the curate

expects to raise for his own benefit, he must likewise raise the amount to be contributed to the provincial; and as this is repeated at the meeting of every chapter, it is impossible to giva an adequate idea of the burdened condition of the Indians; for the monks are more cruel and oppressive than the secular clergy. The measures which they resort to in order to accumulate wealth, and which, however painful the task, we are about to describe, may offend the ear, and exceed the bounds of credibility, so difficult is it to yield our assent to them. We do therefore protest, that, in regard to every statement we have to make, nothing has been added, and nothing has been exaggerated; and we have always scrupulously observed a distinction between what we have ourselves seen and what we have learned by report.

It is natural to suppose, that, after the curates have availed themselves as far as possible of the service of the Indians, they would do the same with the Indian women and children; for which purpose, while the priest on his part keeps the "mill at work" (this is another phrase for tyranny, as used by the curates), he instructs his concubine to do the same on her part. This woman, who is known as such, and without exciting surprise, because it is everywhere so common, takes under her charge all the Indian women and children; and, converting the whole village into a manufactory, she assigns to some tasks in spinning wool or cotton, and to others, pieces for weaving; and to the aged, and to those who are incapable of performing this service, she gives hens, and imposes on them the obligation of delivering to her, within a definite time, ten or twelve chickens for each one; it being their duty to feed them at their own expense, and, if they should die, to replace them with others: and by these means no one is exempted from contributing something to the revenue of the curate.

His own farm is to be cultivated on Sundays and holidays, and for this purpose some one of the Indians must be present with his cattle, and those who have none must appear in person; and they perform the operations of sowing, harrowing, and reaping, at no greater cost than

a mere word of eommand. Thus, on those days whieh God requires to be wholly devoted to his serviee and adoration, that all may rest from the labors of the week, the eurate relaxes the obligation of a solemn preeept for his own emolument, or for the benefit of a coneubine; and, beeause these things are so repugnant to reason as to beeome incredible, we shall cite an example, of whieh one of us was an eye-witness, in order that the statements whieh follow may not be regarded with distrust.*

It is customary, in all the curaeies, to apportion the days of Lent among all the estates in the distriet, in order that they may send their Indians to confession at the time prescribed by the ehureh. In the year 1744, one of our eompany was residing on the estate of Colimbuela, near to a mountain-pass where we had to make observations in the Provinee of Quito, and not far from a euraey, to which its spiritual jurisdiction belonged; and on this aeeount he went to that village to hear mass on a feast day, where he found assembled a number of Indians of the same estate, to make eonfession; but the priest, instead of administering to them this sacrament, kept both the men and women in constant employment, — the latter in the corridors of the yard, where they were weaving the tasks of cotton and wool, whieh had been assigned them by the *lady* of the curate; and the former, in ploughing and sowing the fields, so that they had been at work the whole day, mass having been said at a very early hour, in order to gain time. The overseer of the estate, who happened to be in the village that day, remarked that after they had coneluded their tasks they went home, but that he did not know the manner or time in which the curate confessed them, assuring him that this practice

* In the year 1836, I spent a few days in Cotocollo, a beautiful country town in the vicinity of Quito. On Sunday morning, I observed a number of Indians working silently in the neighborhood of a farm-house. On expressing my surprise that no day of rest should be allowed to the Indians, I was told that the field belonged to the curate, who claimed the right to set aside the divine precept, when any service was to be performed for the good of the church.— Tr.

was generally adopted in respect to the Indians of the other estates; and thus, during the whole period of Lent, and for a month and a half following, the priest enjoyed the same advantage, having at his disposal as many Indians as he required.

What occasioned greater scandal was, that those who made up the choir of the church were busy at weaving; nor did they suspend their work during the time that mass was saying, so that it is easy to imagine what a degree of irreverence was occasioned by the bustle of the hand-looms. After mass had been said, and the people were gone out, the church was closed, and the Indians were shut in, just as they are in the mills; and their occupation could not be disguised, because the noise of the frames or weaving-rods could he distinctly heard from without.

The unfeeling manner in which they are treated after their death corresponds with the conduct observed towards them while they are living; for they would consent to have their carcasses exposed on the highway, to be mangled by dogs and devoured by vultures, rather than give them burial or show any semblance of pity, until the charity of survivors has collected and paid the whole amount of the church fees. Of this there are palpable instances, at almost every step, in journeying from one farm to another: but, if the deceased has left aught behind, the curate becomes universal heir; collecting together utensils and live-stock, and stripping his wife and children of every thing they possessed. The method of doing it, as well as the mode of legalizing the fraud, is very peculiar. It consists in making for the deceased a sumptuous funeral, however repugnant it may be to the views of the interested parties; and this furnishes pretext enough for the curate to engross it all to himself. In vain do the heirs enter a complaint; in vain does the protector demand satisfaction; for the curate presents his account of burial expenses, — the tolling of the bell, the masses and prayers said over the body, — and, as the whole is in conformity with the tariff, he maintains his ground, and is finally acquitted.

The wretched state of the Indian is to be attributed to the vices of the priests, the extortions of the corregidors, and the bad treatment which they generally receive from all Spaniards. Unable to endure their hardships, and longing to escape from bondage, many of them have risen in rebellion, and found their way to unconquered districts, there to continue in the barbarous practices of their idolatrous neighbors; and, in view of the foregoing, what conclusions are they to form from the scandalous lives of their parish priests; especially when we reflect that the Indian is but partially civilized, and taught rather by example than by precept? Religious instruction can make no impression upon them, if they witness just the reverse of what is taught in the conduct of their spiritual guides; for although they are enjoined to love God with all the heart, and their neighbors as themselves, if they find neither the one precept nor the other exhibited in the lives of those who are to point out to them the way, it is not strange that they should slight religion, and treat it with contempt, regarding it as a thing so superficial and external as to make it consist only in words, and not in faith or works.

The village of Pimampiro, attached to the department of the city of Miguel in Ibarra, presents a melancholy example of the evils resulting from the unjust extortions of the parish priests. Agreeably to records which are still existing, that town consisted of more than five thousand souls, all Indians, and it was a flourishing settlement. The behavior of the curate drove them to desperation. Uniting in one body, they rose in rebellion, and proceeded by night to the Cordilleras, where they merged themselves with the Gentile Indians, with whom they have continued until the present time. The site they now occupy is so near to the limits of that department that the smoke of their huts may be seen by merely taking the trouble to ascend the neighboring summits. Some of these Indians have occasionally appeared in the town of Mira, the nearest settlement to their villages, and have disappeared again with the greatest precipitation.

Examples of the same nature may be found in the loss

of the famous city of Logrono and the village of Guariboya, which constituted the chief part of the jurisdiction of Quixos and Macas; whose capital, Seville (Sevilla del Oro), now reduced to ruins, exists only as a sad memorial of the ruin that befell them. This country is so rich in gold that the capital derived its name from the abundance of that metal which it yielded; and its inhabitants still preserve the scales in which the amount of one-fifth was weighed, to be deposited in the king's exchequer; but the corregidors on the one hand, and the curates on the other, reduced the Indians to such straits, by compelling them to labor for their benefit, that they were driven to the necessity of rising in rebellion; and, in imitation of what was executed upon Pedro Valdivia by the natives of Arauco, Tucapel, and others, they melted a great quantity of gold, and poured it into the ears and nostrils of the Spaniards; they put all the men to death, reserving the women, whom they took with them in their retreat to the wilderness of Macas, after having laid waste that city and other neighboring towns. Seville and Zuña were the only settlements that escaped the vengeance of the Indians; but they have become so depopulated by frequent incursions of hostile tribes, that the township is so reduced and impoverished that no money circulates among them. But to show how unfriendly the scandalous conduct of the parish priests is, not only to the preservation of the villages originally conquered, but to the conversion of Gentile tribes, we shall present a case which occurred of late years, and which proves our assertion beyond a doubt.

An Indian, who appeared clandestinely in the town of Riobamba, left the site where once stood the village of Goamboya, and proceeded immediately to the house of a clergyman who resided there, and whose integrity was unquestionable, to whom he observed that he came in behalf of his own tribe and of several others of the same neighborhood, to notify him that they would like to have him for their curate, to baptize them and say mass; and that they would give him his maintenance in return, and, if the terms were agreed to, they would furnish him as

much gold as he required, and as many wives as were to his liking; but that he must go alone, accompanied neither by Spaniards nor mestizoes, nor any other priest whatever; and concluded by saying that the reason why they were so favorably inclined towards him was, the good report they had had of his conduct, having learned that his avarice was not so insatiable as was that of his associates. The clergyman, jealous of the barbarity common to Indians, replied that he could not then answer him, but would do so within a stated time. The Indian showed signs of disappointment; but, having named a day when he should receive the reply, he pointed out a pass among the *paramos*, to which the said clergyman only should repair, and would there be received by him in company with others of his tribe, that they might escort him to their territory, in case he should accept the proposal, but under the indispensable condition that no one should accompany him. The Indian again disappeared, and the ecclesiastic, confounded by the occurrence, proceeded to Quito to communicate it to the bishop of that city, Sr. Paredes, who had been promoted to that office a short time previous to our arrival in the province. This prelate inspired him with Christian boldness to go and undertake the conversion of as many unbelievers as were disposed through his instrumentality to embrace the gospel. The clergyman, being fully resolved to do so, under the first impulse of the fervor inspired by the arguments and persuasions of the bishop, returned to Riobamba; but the pusillanimity of his irresolute mind wrought such an effect upon him, that, becoming wholly disheartened, he had not sufficient resolution to go to the place appointed, when the period agreed upon had arrived. The Indian resorted thither, accompanied by others of his tribe, and lay hid several days; but, finding that the priest did not appear, he returned to Riobamba by night, and visited his favorite curate, who, although he offered to accede to his request, added the condition that he was to go in company with a few Spaniards for security — a thing which was extremely repugnant to the Indians. The messenger, finding that he could not secure his object by dint of en-

treaty, nor by giving him such coarse expressions of confidence as his limited capacity dictated, absented himself the same night from the town, overwhelmed with disappointment. The priest immediately spread the news of the Indian's second visit; and, naming the place where he had told him he would wait for him, with others of his tribe, several persons went to reconnoitre it, and found manifest indications of people having been there; but, although they endeavored to penetrate farther, for the purpose of discovering the paths through which, the Indians had made their retreat, they were unable to do so, every vestige of them having disappeared after they had proceeded a short distance.

This occurrence occasioned great sensation in that province; and, although it might seem strange that they should apply to that priest, and should be acquainted with his character, when they have no intercourse with those Indians, it will not appear so if we reflect, that many Indians of those villages, harassed by their curates, oppressed by the corregidors, and grieved at the cruel treatment they receive on the plantations, disappear, and retire to those unconquered wilds to live with the Gentile Indians, to whom they communicate in detail every thing that occurs in the conquered territory and settlements, making them so disaffected towards the Spaniards that their reduction is rendered more difficult than ever. There is no doubt that the individual who came twice to Riobamba was one of this class; for, besides the circumstance of knowing the priest, and going directly to his house, he spoke with accuracy the language of the Incas, which is not in use among those tribes of Gentile Indians.

We find in this example sufficient evidence, both of the extreme avarice and scandalous lives of the priests, as well as of the opinion the Indians must necessarily entertain of them by what they see in them, and by what they experience from them: which may be clearly inferred from the declaration of the Indian messenger to the priest, that they would have none but himself to instruct and govern them; for they believed that he would not

enslave them, as the rest of the Spaniards do, nor would he consent that others should go with him, lest, the road being discovered, they should enter in great numbers, seize their grounds, and enslave their persons.

The most amusing characteristic of that simple people, and which most contributes to make them known to us, is the offer made to furnish the curate as many wives as he would like: for the Indians, having observed that the priests are accompanied by a female, as the married laity are, and by a family of children in her train, they are persuaded that this horrible sacrilege is a lawful act; while they, as well as everybody else, are eye-witnesses of such licentious practices, that 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 celebrate the holiest sacrifice that the imagination can conceive. Although the subject is one to be deplored in silence, rather than to be inscribed on paper, an earnest desire that such accursed licentiousness may be reformed obliges us not to dissemble or palliate it; and, in further proof of the unrestrained lewdness of those ecclesiastics, we must be permitted to mention an instance very generally reported in the whole Province of Quito, although it took place some time previous to our arrival in that country.

In a village belonging to the jurisdiction of Cuenca, the curacy of which pertains to one of the orders, a friar was serving as curate at a time that the cacique of the town had a young daughter, who, for an Indian girl, possessed no ordinary share of beauty. The curate had used every artifice to accomplish her destruction; but her own firmness, as well as the estimable character of her father, had saved her from falling into the fatal snare. The curate could not tolerate the contempt of the Indian woman, and had the impudence to make known his designs to her father; but the latter prided himself so much on the rank of his family, as well as on the circumstance of his daughter's being the only heiress of the chiefship, that he rejected with scorn the wicked and shameful proposal. The curate, discovering that the

cacique was unfavorable to his designs, invented a falsehood (to set aside the difficulty) as perverse as could be dictated by the infernal spirit himself. He went to the cacique to ask her in marriage; and, with a view to overcome the repugnance which such a novel occurrence might excite, he told him that he would obtain a license from his bishop, in which case he would be allowed to marry. He further attempted to remove all the doubts which might suggest themselves to the mind of the cacique on the subject, by informing him that, although this practice was not a common one, such licenses were generally refused only on the ground that they could not be burdened with the expense of maintaining the widows and children which might become dependent upon them; but that this circumstance did not obtain in him, inasmuch as he possessed an estate adequate to the support of a family, not to mention the terms of intimacy in which he had always lived with the bishop. Finally, he cited to him false precedents and fictitious documents, by which the cacique was convinced of his sincerity, and promised him his daughter in marriage as soon as he should obtain the requisite permission. In order to deceive the cacique, he immediately sent an express, although for a very different purpose, to the provincial of his order in Quito; and, while awaiting his return, he drew up, with the aid of his assistant, a false patent, in which he set forth that that prelate had granted him a license to marry. The messenger returned; and, when the cacique called at the curate's to know the result, he showed him the document, and the cacique, with evident marks of satisfaction, congratulated him on the favorable result. The mock nuptials were celebrated that very night, and the curate's assistant officiated as priest, without the presence of witnesses, or any regard to the usual forms; for the priest maliciously insinuated to him that these were not requisite in cases of that kind. The ceremony was performed, and from that day they continued to lead a married life. The Indians of the village spread the report of the curate's having married the cacique's daughter; but no one could persuade himself to

believe that it could have been so in reality, but supposed he had taken her as a concubine, it being so common to have such. The occurrence did not attract much notice at first; and they continued living together for many years, until, after having had a numerous family, the fraud was discovered, and the priest suspended for a time from the duties of the priestly office. The unfortunate Indian woman was burdened with children; and the cacique, grieved for the reproach he had suffered, died soon after, — the heaviest part of the punishment ultimately falling on those who had been guilty of no other crime than that of having listened with credulity to the protestations of a priest.

The credibility of this circumstance rests on its general notoriety in those countries: elsewhere, it might be regarded in the light of a fable; but, in a country where a licentious life is so common, anything may admit of belief. We cannot assert it as a positive fact; but, from what we have experienced, it is by no means difficult to believe it. During our travels we used to beguile the tediousness of the way by entering into conversation with our Indian guides; and the first information they gave us related to the family of the curate of the village to which we were going, it being quite enough to ask after the health of the *wife* of the curate, that they might acquaint us with the number of those whom he had known in that character, the sons and daughters belonging to each of them, their lineage, and even the most trivial circumstances connected with the ordinary occurrences of the village.

From what we have witnessed in respect to these curacies, we may infer that the whole aim of those monks in soliciting such preferments is to straiten the Indians, in order to enrich themselves at their expense, and to live with entire freedom from restraint. Hence there is not one among them who covets the rural curacies, which consist of the modern missions; for, as those Indians are not subject to church contributions, the curates are not at liberty to impose them, and to enforce the payment of them, as is the case in other districts;

and although the Indians of their own accord cultivate one of their farms for the benefit of the curate, yet, as its produce is merely sufficient to supply their necessities, and not to accumulate, it is not enough to satisfy the cravings of avarice. Hence those who go to them do so as a penance, or from caprice, or to make a merit of it, in order to secure some benefice in an old settlement, rather than from the single desire of employing themselves in the instruction of the Indians; and for this reason the few who accept these curacies spend the greater part or almost the whole year in the villages or cities, which they prefer, and reside on their curacy only during the annual celebration of the church festivals, which are all comprised within the short term of fifteen or twenty days, and they take their departure from them as soon as the ceremony is finished.

The name of rural parishes is given to those which lie on the spurs of the lofty chain of the Andes, through the whole tract of country, which extends easterly on this side, and westerly on that which belongs to the other side. The climate of those latitudes is hot and moist, and on that account not well adapted to those who are accustomed to the hill country. It is this which renders them little to be coveted, and which furnishes a pretext for the curates who accept them not to take up their residence in them. But were they animated with zeal to promote the cause of religion, or stimulated by a desire for the salvation of those souls, they would not stop at difficulties, nor find fault with a change of temperature; but as their zeal is directed only to the increase of their revenue, and not to the propagation of the faith, every thing is difficult and repugnant, except it be to live after the licentious customs which have become inveterate in the older settlements.

Having described the tyrannical policy of the curates towards the Indians, their atrocious conduct, and their dissolute habits, it remains to examine the method adopted for the education of the Indians, and their instruction in the dogmas of religion; on which subject we have already observed that on Sundays the Christian

doctrine is rehearsed a short time previous to saying mass. At this ceremony all the Indians, male and female, great and small, are to present themselves; and, gathering in the cemetery or square, in front of the church, they sit upon the ground, arranged according to age and sex, and the catechizing or doctrine commences in the following manner:—

Each curate employs a blind Indian, whose duty it is to repeat the *doctrine* to the rest. The latter is stationed in the centre of them all; and, with a kind of recitative, which is neither singing nor prayer, he repeats the collects or offices word for word, and the audience responds in the form of dialogue. The doctrine is sometimes rehearsed in the language of the Inca (which is that of the Indians), and sometimes in Spanish, which is not intelligible to any of them. This saying of prayers lasts somewhat more than half an hour, and it comprises all the religious instruction which is given to the Indians,—a method from which they derive so little benefit that old men of seventy know no more than the little Indian boys (*cholitos*) of the age of six, and neither these nor those have any further instruction than parrots would obtain if they were so taught; for they are neither questioned personally, nor are the mysteries of faith explained to them with the needful simplicity, nor are they examined to see if they understand what they say, nor do they endeavor to make it more intelligible to those who are dull of comprehension,—a duty so much the more obligatory in proportion to the degree of their insensibility or lukewarmness in the concerns of religion. As the whole instruction is confined rather to the tone of the recitative than to the sense of the words, it is only by singing that they are able to rehearse detached portions; for, when they are questioned upon any distinct point, they cannot join two words together, and they possess so imperfect an idea of the little they do know, that, when they are asked who the most Holy Trinity is, they sometimes answer, "The priest," and sometimes, "The Virgin Mary;" and when they are urged seriously to listen to the question, they change the answer, being

always inclined to admit whatever may be said to them, even if it were the most ridiculous jargon. The curate has no other object in view than to make every one bring the little presents required; and when he has collected these (which consist of what they may happen to have), and has taken a note of those who have failed to bring any, in order afterwards to call them to account, he thinks he is discharged from any further obligation. This method of teaching the Indians is so common in all the villages, that, even in those whose curates are the most exemplary, no other is practised.

In like manner, there is upon every plantation another blind Indian, who is supported by the charity of the planter for the same object. The Indians are 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 the work they have to perform through the day. They repeat the same prayers, precisely as is observed in the church; but the ceremony is accompanied neither by preaching, nor by any effort whatever to explain the mysteries of the faith.

The eagerness of the curate to celebrate all the church festivals is attended with consequences of a most pernicious character, as we have often had occasion to witness; for, at the close of the church festivity, that of the "masters of ceremonies" comes in course, and, being made to consist of their common orgies, which are to intoxicate themselves with the drink of *chicha*, they not only effect their own ruin, by consuming the scanty allowance of maize on which they depend for their support, but, being deprived of sense and reason, fathers are crowded together with daughters, brothers with sisters, without distinction of sex, and without respect to relationship or regard to age. The curates do not rebuke the disorder, on account of the gain resulting to them from the celebration; and, as it is they who furnish the occasion of scandal, it is necessary for them to tolerate it, or to pretend (as they do) not to be aware of it. In view of their heinous conduct in fomenting and multiplying occasions of offence among the Indians, their

religion does not resemble the Christian any more than it resembles that which they had while they were in a state of paganism; for, if we examine the subject with care, it will be found that, notwithstanding the nominal conversion of these tribes, the progress they have made in knowledge is so inconsiderable that it will be difficult to discover any difference between the condition in which they now live and that in which they were found at the period of the conquest.

CHAPTER V.

Showing that the Unwillingness of the Gentile Indians to receive the Gospel and to submit to the Authority of the Kings of Spain is to be attributed to the Extreme Sufferings of the Civilized Indians, as will appear from the Limited Influence and Partial Success of the Catholic Missions.

By examining attentively all that has been said in the four preceding chapters, we shall see the reason why the unconverted Indians abhor the dominion of the Spaniards, and the motives which incline them to regard with contempt the Catholic faith, in which it is proposed to indoctrine them, inasmuch as they look upon religion, as they are taught it, as the instrument used to bring them under the cruel yoke of despotism. Under this conviction, it is not strange that they should appear so obstinate and unwilling to receive it, when they have before them the melancholy spectacle of what takes place in respect to the converted Indians of their own tribe; nor can we wonder that, in the enjoyment of freedom, they should prefer a wandering, uncertain, and barbarous life to the comforts of a social condition which brings them to the very doors of servitude.

It was one of the principal points contained in our instructions that we should inform ourselves of the places still in possession of savage Indians, their proximity to our settlements, the tribes which compose them, and the difficulties and facilities arising from their genius and habits in effecting their civilization. In the present chapter we shall merely present a history of the missions sustained by the religious orders among the unconverted Indians of the Province of Quito, of which we possess sufficient knowledge to be able to do it with the accuracy which the subject demands, giving an account both of

the places and individuals connected with each of the several stations.

We may safely affirm that, of the whole extent of South America, the only portion peopled by the Spaniards, and in which there are towns that recognize the government of the king, is the tract comprised between the two principal chains of the Andes and that which reaches from the western chain to the coast of the South Sea; and it should be observed, that in these there are immense tracts which are entirely uninhabited, — either because they form spacious pampas, where no facilities exist for colonizing, or because they are occupied by savage hoards, which have never been conquered. This is the case along the coast from Arica to Valparaiso, and from Conception to Valdivia, although not in an unbroken line, but in most of the principal thoroughfares of the interior.

The Spanish settlements of the hill country reach eastwardly as far as the western declivities of the eastern chain of the Andes, as has been already observed in the description of the Province of Quito, in the first volume of our travels; and from the eastern declivities of the same chain (a wooded, moist, and hot country), onward towards the east, the settlements of the savage Indians have their commencement, and they are situated at so short a distance from those of the Spaniards, that, by merely ascending the mountain summits (as deer hunters are wont to do), we may see distinctly the smoke of the Indian huts. From this point their territory extends eastwardly till it meets the coasts of Brazil, over a surface of more than six hundred leagues.

The tribes which inhabit all those tracts, of such immense length and breadth, are very numerous; and every village has a distinct language, unlike that of the neighboring ones; and, although in general there may not be a marked difference in their manners and customs, some diversity may be noticed among them, whether it be in the absurd rites of their idolatrous worship, or in the system of their government, or in their general characteristics.

Very few of these tribes receive missionaries, and the most unyielding are those who are situated nearest to the Spanish settlements. There are none, however, so obstinate in this respect as those who have been guilty of insurrection and murder; for, as they live in apprehension of deserved punishment, there are no means adequate for their complete subjugation. The same takes place with the insurrectionists of the Spanish settlements; and in these an additional circumstance obtains, which is that of escaping from the ill-treatment they have suffered; hence follows the immense mischief they occasion, by making it known to the tribes in whom they are merged, and to those in their neighborhood, that they may learn to abhor even the name of Spaniard, and obstinately resist the introduction of the Catholic faith.

We cannot deny that the Indians, being naturally inclined to indolence, to idolatry, and to every thing which accords with the brutish state in which they live, — for among all the nations of the earth it is natural, as well as a matter of experience, that each one esteems those customs, manners, and religion in which he was born as the best, and any other whatever as foreign to them, — we cannot deny, we say, that they are averse to it, and will not accede to it without repugnance. In this view it not only ceases to be strange that the Indians are made to receive customs so distinct from those to which they are inured, inasmuch as labor stands opposed to indolence, and civilization to the savage state; but it is worthy of admiration that, without encountering great obstacles, some tribes should be found of so docile dispositions as to receive missionaries and adopt the rites and precepts of a religion which obliges them to abandon their false gods, to lay aside their ancient and almost connaturalized habits, and to tear themselves away from the superstition and sorcery with which the infernal spirit has beguiled them, the more effectually to reduce them to hopeless bondage.

Inasmuch as hatred and opposition to any other laws, human or divine, diverse from those established among them, are characteristic of all nations, as is also a fixed

purpose not to abandon their ancient customs, we shall lay it down as granted, that, of the two circumstances which render the reduction of the Indians difficult, this holds the first place, and we are to regard it as natural and general among them, and not as being limited to any one tribe; the second is, the ill-treatment they are exposed to by becoming subject to the Spaniards, after they have been conquered. Even without this circumstance, that of forcing them out of a loitering, idle, and easy life, to inure them to another which is laborious and constrained, would of itself suffice to create repugnance on their part to the exchange, although they should suffer no ill-treatment from the Spaniards. 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 with aversion, it being the first step in the ladder by which they ascend to the theatre of their labors and sufferings.

It is not to be inferred that the reason why all the tribes of Gentile Indians have not had missionaries is, that they have refused to receive them; but it is also because no effort has been made to introduce them. In some portions, the cause may be found in the great distance of those parts from the mountain-chain, which keeps the Spaniards in ignorance of them; in others, it is owing to the fact that the brokenness of the country and unhealthiness of the climate make it undesirable except to those who are brought up from infancy in those latitudes. At the same time, we have no doubt that missions might be undertaken and sustained, should a settlement be once commenced; and that such articles might be raised as are adapted to the climate, as is the case in others which are as warm and moist as those which have continued unknown until the present time. The only districts where missions are found even now are those which are best known on account of their proximity to the mountain-chain, or to the banks of the largest rivers, as we find to be the case on the Marañon; and there are very few even of these that have missionaries, the Indians not being willing to receive them, be-

cause they entertain a strong prejudice against civilization, in consequence of what they have heard of the sufferings of the conquered tribes.

The Gentile tribes bordering on the Province of Quito are so numerous that the missions there established are proportionally few, and the religious orders who consecrate themselves to them with evangelic zeal are still fewer; for, with the exception of the Jesuits' order, who have for many years sustained the mission of Maynas, all the others either have no missions, or keep up a station here and there, which is barely enough to serve as an apology for calling over missionaries, the latter being afterwards employed for the private ends and emolument of the order itself; for it is never known that they go to preach and spread the gospel among the heathen. This is so general, that there is no religious order which does not adopt the same course, for it is also the practice of the Jesuits; so that, of every twenty individuals who go from Spain, there is scarcely one, or at most two, who join the mission, because the order itself does not appropriate a greater number for this service. It is true that the order of Jesuits sustains a greater number of stations among the Gentile Indians than any other order: but the number it retains permanently in the colleges is not less on this account than those retained by the former; but, on the contrary, far exceeds that of the others, — which arises from the fact that they send for missionaries more frequently, and receive a greater number of them by every arrival from Spain.

In Spain, it is generally supposed (and the same opinion obtains in the convents themselves) that the missionaries who go to the Indies are to proceed immediately to the conversion of the natives: and many of them, full of zeal for the propagation of the faith, offer to go and connect themselves with the missions; but, as this does not take place, they are disappointed when they arrive there, finding how different their situation is from what they had anticipated, and that it is impossible ever to get back again. The case with the missionaries who

are sent is, that, immediately on their arrival there, they are distributed, if Jesuits, in the colleges, or, if of other orders, which use rotation, in the convents of all the provinces: and some devoting themselves to professorships, others to the pulpit, others to attorneyships, and others to the management of the farms, precisely as is practised in Spain, they keep them employed in these functions, or exchange them, by transferring them from some to others, but always for the benefit of the convents. Hence it appears that the only proper object of missionaries and missions is that which is least thought of; for, when the limited number of stations which compose the mission is furnished with curates, it is only when one dies, or another wishes to retire, burdened with the weight of years, that a substitute is appointed in his place, and a long period frequently elapses without the occurrence of either event.

Preaching to the heathen not being the object of the appeal made by the orders to send missionaries to the Indies, they must necessarily have some other in view, which will result in some advantage; for, if it were not so, they would not run into the expense incurred on their own account (besides what is contributed from the royal exchequer) if they could avail it, and this is the point which we are going to elucidate.

The orders which practise rotation in all the offices belonging to them must necessarily avail themselves of emigrants from Europe; for otherwise they would be liable to lose their immunities: and, having no other pretext for bringing them over, they lay hold of that of the missions as the most plausible; but as this measure has no reference to creoles, agents are always sent to invite missionaries, when the office devolves in course upon a European; and, as a small number of emigrants suffice for this object the orders limit themselves to these, with the exception of the Jesuits, whose objects are distinct, being entirely confined to their own order. These are to preserve an equilibrium in all the colleges between Europeans and creoles, and to make the good habits and education of the former to predominate over the bad ones acquired from childhood

by the latter, in order that the colleges may not decline from that high standard of discipline which is peculiar to the Jesuits, both in Spain and in all Catholic kingdoms, or wherever their order extends: and that they may employ Europeans to manage the revenue of the colleges with proper diligence, fidelity, and economy, as there are few creoles in whom these circumstances concur; hence they are unfit for offices of trust, neither can they be employed in the missions, their conduct not being of a nature to qualify them for such a charge.

In the year 1744, when we are about taking leave of those countries, one of the Jesuit missions arrived at Quito, having lately come from Spain; and it was composed of a large number of individuals. They were persuaded that, immediately on their arrival, they should be appointed to go among the Gentile Indians, to engage in preaching the gospel; and, finding that no such measures were adopted, they soon began to make known their dissatisfaction, which had reached such a degree, that, if they had had means of returning to Spain, scarcely one would have consented to remain. They said, that in case they were to continue in the colleges, it would be more agreeable and advantageous to them to do so in Spain; so great was their disappointment on discovering how far they were from securing the object proposed to them when they resolved to proceed to the Indies; and the same may be affirmed of all the rest, until, in the lapse of time, they become accustomed to the country, and lose their zeal for the conversion of the Indians.

All the missions scattered over the vast Province of Quito are confined to those of the Jesuits on the river Marañon, and five settlements belonging to the order of St. Francis, about the head-waters of the river Iea in Sucumbios; but neither those of the Jesuits, nor of the Seraphic order, have priests in all the settlements, as they ought to have. But that this statement may be made more circumstantial, we shall avail ourselves of a report drawn up by Dr. James Peralta, curate of the parish of St. Barbara, in the year 1745, which is the

most complete and accurate that has been made since the origin of those missions, and the most instructive, as it makes us acquainted with their present condition.

The Seraphic order have only five towns in the missions of Sucumbios; namely, St. Michael, St. Joseph, St. James of the Palmars, Yaunque, and Nariguera; and these missions belong to the department of Pasto, although dependent on the government of the Audience of Quito.

The missions of the company commence from the city of Archidona, whose curacy belonged to the clergy, and was exchanged by them for one owned by the company in the forests of the Province of Guayaquil.*

* 1. The curacy of Archidona has three others annexed to it, each at the distance of six or seven leagues from that city: and they are Misagualli, inhabited by Spaniards, mestizoes, and negroes; Tena and Napo, both inhabited by Indians.

2. Mission of St. Michael of Siecoyas. The Indians of this town rose upon the father missionary; and, on the 9th of January, 1745, put him to death, and afterwards burned him, with two other youths which he had associated with him. The name of this priest was Francis Real; and he had under his charge, besides the principal village, in which he constantly resided, six other towns, the names of which are, St. Bartholomew, of Moya, St. Peter, St. Estanislaus, St. Luis, St. Croix, and Emmanuel de Aguarico. All these towns take their name from the river Aguarico, on the banks of which they are situated. In these six annexed towns there were only 2,063 persons, of both sexes, and of every age; 1,628 converts and 435 catechumens: and, although they were acquainted with the atrocious crime committed by the inhabitants of the principal village, they would not imitate their bad example; but, on the contrary, waited quietly in their villages until a new missionary should be sent to them, intimating that they regarded with horror the sacrilegious deed of the other Indians. This missionary was one of those who had arrived at Quito with the last mission, which had come from Spain; and being ignorant of the genius, habits, and peculiarities of the Indians, was wanting in that kind of authority which that tribe demands, in order not to exasperate by reproof, nor to be too severe in endeavoring to rescue them from the barbarous customs and vices which have become to them a second nature.

3. Mission of St. Joseph of Guajoya. Its rector, Father Pietragrosa, had under his charge, besides the principal village, named Mary, three others of St. Xavier de Icaluates, St. John the Baptist, and the Queen of the Angels, in which, as the

The result of our inquiries is, that the missions of Maynas and Quixos, which are under the charge of the company, consist of 40 settlements, and employ in them 18 missionaries, 17 priests and 1 assistant; comprising in all 12,853 souls,—9,858 baptized, and 2,939 catechumens. It is certain that many of these towns, which are annexed to one diocese, might need a separate

settlements had been recently formed, a brother of the company resided, whose name was Salvador Sanchez, to teach the Indians to pray, and to instruct them in Christian doctrine.

4. Mission under the charge of Perez — St. Xavier de Urarines, likewise a settlement recently formed. The following are the old stations of Maynas on the River Marañon:—

5. Mission of St. Francis de Borja, capital of the government of Maynas, so depopulated as to consist of only 143 souls, of both sexes, and of every age, and 66 Spaniards besides. It has annexed to it the towns of St. Ignatius, of Maynas, and the upper Andoas. Father Magnori is the curate.

6. Mission of St. Thomas of Andoa, under the charge of Father Fransen, with the towns of Semigaes and St. Joseph, of Pinches.

7. Mission of Concepcion of Cahuapanas, under the care of Father Francis Rem.

8. Mission of the Presentacion of Chayavitas and the Encarnacion de Paranapuas, under the charge of Father Ignatius Falcon.

9. Mission of the Concepcion de Xibaros, under the parochial charge of Father Michael.

10. Mission of St. Jago de Laguna, under the care of Father Scheffen, who had for his associate William Gremez. This town, being the head-quarters of the mission, contains 1,107 souls.

11. Mission of St. Xavier of Chamicuros and St. Anthony Abad de Aguanos, both under the care of Father Bamonte.

12. Mission of our Lady de las Nieves de Jurimagas, St. Anthony de Padua de Nainiches, and St. Francis Rexis del Paradero, under the care of Leonard Denbler.

13. Mission of St. Joaquin de Laqueran Homagua; missionary, Adam Widman.

14. Mission of St. Paul of Napanos; missionary, Father Iriarte.

15. Mission of St. Philip of Amaona; missionary, Father Herraez.

16. Mission of St. Simon of Nahuapo; missionary, Father Aranjo.

17. Mission of St. Ignatius of Pevas and Caumares; missionary, Father Falcombeli.

missionary for their support and greater advancement: but, notwithstanding this want of missionaries, these stations are in a better condition, beyond comparison, than those of St. Francis; for the persons destined for these missions by the company constantly reside in the benefices, and frequently visit those that are annexed; their churches and chapels are in good order, and the decorations, although not of much value, are neat and well-made. There we see displayed Christian zeal and diligence, and great solemnity in the celebration of public worship. It is not so in the mission villages of Sucumbios, belonging to the Seraphic order; for the priests reside there but a short period, the churches are wholly out of repair, and in a dilapidated condition; their priests do not minister to the spiritual wants of the Indians, and, owing to the entire absence of religious fervor, instead of making progress, they are in a retrograde condition.

Having spoken already of the missions of Maynas, it would be unjust to overlook their origin, and the progress the company has made in them, especially as the history of them will confirm what we have said on this subject.

A Portuguese fleet, consisting of forty-seven large guns, commanded by Captain Texeira, having ascended the Marañon, the Audience of Quito determined that, on their return to Para, whence they had proceeded for the purpose of discovering the course of that river, two of the father Jesuits should go down with them, in order to examine those territories more minutely, ascertain by what tribes they are inhabited, and notice other particulars which should contribute to a better knowledge of their condition. The company, whose attention had been for many years directed to the discovery of that vast country, with a view to extend the religion of Jesus Christ among the many barbarous tribes which inhabit it, accepted the charge with great satisfaction, and named Fathers Acuña and Artieda for this object.

It was on the 18th of October, 1637, that the Portuguese fleet left the neighborhood of Para, and it employed eight months in reaching the port of Payamino, which

was their first stopping-place, in the Province of Quixos. Captain Texeira, leaving his crew there, with the greater part of the naval force, proceeded to Quito with some of his officers, and there gave an account of his voyage; and, as soon as the fathers appointed by the company, and approved by the Audience, could get ready, they all left Quito on the 16th of February, 1639, and, taking the road through Archidona, went to join the fleet at the port of Payamino, where it had remained.

Jesuit missionaries had already been stationed on the Marañon, — only, however, in the vicinity of its head-waters; for the Prince of Esquilache being then Viceroy of Peru, the administration of Maynas was given to Don Diego Vaca during his lifetime, and afterwards to his eldest son, Don Pedro Vaca. This gentleman had solicited and effected the conquest of those countries at his own expense; and, after having subdued the tribe of Maynas, and founded the city of St. Francis de Boya, in the year 1634, making it the capital of his domain, he was induced by such an auspicious commencement to implore the company and the Audience of Quito to nominate persons of that order to enter upon the mission; which was granted him with great pleasure, both by the court as well as by the company, and Fathers Cuxia and Cueva were immediately appointed to found a missionary station. The missionaries arrived at Maynas in the year 1637, by the way of Patate; and, as soon as they reached the city of Borja, they took charge of that curacy, and began to exercise their functions by instructing the Indians already reduced, and endeavoring to reduce all the rest of the tribe who were not yet civilized.

After suffering great hardships, Fathers Acuña and Artieda arrived safely at the port where the Portuguese fleet was waiting for them; and reached that city the same year, in December, 1639, after ten months' journey by land and by water. After having rested from the fatigue they had undergone, they set sail for Spain, in order to inform his Majesty of everything that had occurred in the discovery, and of all the observations they had made. In 1640 they reached the court of

Madrid; and, having made a representation of what they had seen, and having waited there more than a year to solicit supplies for that extensive conquest, they could not secure their object, because the state of anarchy in Spain, which had resulted from riots connected with the rebellion of the kingdom of Portugal, naturally occupied the thought and demanded the attention of the monarch and his ministers. The Jesuit fathers, finding how difficult it was to obtain what they wished on an occasion so critical that it allowed no time for anything but to prepare an army to check the encroachments of the rebels, Father Artieda determined to leave the court, and to return to his Province of Quito, there to give impulse to the mission, through the Audience and his college, in whom he confided all his hopes. In the year 1643 he returned to Quito. He gained the attention of the college; and, with a view to inspire greater fervor in the work, he again made a tour to the Marañon, and, passing through the capital of Maynas, took with him Father Cueva, his assistant Borja, and several soldiers, with whom he penetrated among the tribe of Omaguas, and took legal possession of all that province and river in the name of the Catholic king, Philip IV., as is stated in the report of Father Francis Figueroa, a member of the Jesuit order.

Father Acuña thought it proper to continue some time at court, to see if haply the insurrections might be quelled, and his solicitations and appeals might produce a favorable result: but finding that the tumults were augmenting more and more, and the progress of the rebels was giving the court still greater anxiety, he resolved to follow his companion in the galleys which sailed soon after; and, having proceeded from Panama to Lima, to which city he was called by business of a different nature, he died there.

As the first missionaries who penetrated into Maynas, for the purpose of preaching to the Indians, found so much fruit in the conversion of those tribes that their strength was not adequate to such a conquest, the Indians having received the gospel without repugnance, they applied to Quito to have new associates named to

aid them to gather in such a harvest as was likely to result from the docility of those Indians, and the readiness they manifested to become Christians. Their petition was so reasonable that it could not fail to be heard; and, in consequence of it, the College of Quito named Fathers Perez and Figueroa; but this re-enforcement not sufficing for the great harvest produced in those countries from the seed of the gospel, Father Cuxia was compelled to proceed in person to Quito, in the year 1650, to ask for new laborers. The College of Quito granted him three in addition, and he returned with them to his station; where, being in all seven in number, and spreading themselves over those provinces of Gentile Indians, it was admirable to witness the vast number of souls brought to the knowledge of the true God by dint of their labor, and the fatigue and inconveniences of their travels, and the dangers to which they were every moment exposed in attempting to rescue them from such ignorance and blindness.

In the year 1666 they had already formed thirteen large settlements, well peopled with Indians who had been converted; and for this purpose they brought together several of those wandering tribes, on whose account they gave to the settlements the names of the most numerous.*

These thirteen towns, large and populous as they were, had only seven missionaries; and it was natural that each one should have its special missionary, to be constantly resident in it: but, as they were destitute of them, besides being distant from each other six, eight, and even more leagues, we cannot fail to perceive the simplicity and sincerity of those Indians, and the facility with which they are induced to comply with whatever may be required of them, when once we discover the method best adapted to their genius to introduce them to the rites of the Christian religion and the customs of

* The names of the settlements are as follows: Xeveros, Pambadeques, Ataguates, Cutinanas, Guallaga, Loreto de Paranapuras, Ucayale, Barbudos, Aguanos, Roa-Maynas, San Antonio, Zapas, Coronados.

civilized life by channels which are best suited to their ideas. The old Christian settlements require to have each a special parish priest for the spiritual nourishment of those who compose them; and with far more reason is this measure necessary in the new, because these are more exposed to perish in inconstancy and unbelief, their own imagination perhaps bringing to mind the independence of which they had deprived themselves to receive the gospel,—their ancient rites, and the freedom in which they lived, without submitting either to divine or human law; the restraints of civilized life, the precepts of religion, and the observance of laws and customs wholly opposed to those which are natural to them, presenting themselves to the minds of these Indians as uncongenial and burdensome. The want of missionaries in these new conversions of the Marañon should not be attributed to the Jesuits; for all that this order did previously was at its own expense, having no other resources but those of their own revenue to defray the expenses incurred by these missions; and, besides this, there were very few missionaries sent over from Spain until that time, either because this order had no occasion to do it, and because the supply had not been furnished with as much regularity as afterwards,—not that a re-enforcement was not sent at all, but because they arrived after longer intervals, or were composed of a smaller number of individuals,—reasons which did not obtain in subsequent times, nor do they now obtain; for, on account of the early spiritual conquests made by the company, missionaries were sent over more frequently and in greater numbers.

In the year 1681, fifteen years after the census of the first conversions, the settlements had augmented with the addition of eight new towns, but not so the number of missionaries, although in the interval of these fifteen years many missionaries had proceeded from Spain to Quito, and quite enough to have those missions supplied with laborers. By the catalogue which follows we shall come to a knowledge of the settlements formed of con-

verted Indians until this year, and the number of missionaries appointed to take charge of them.*

The result, then, is: that all the missions of Maynas were then composed of twenty-one settlements; and, as Father Rodriguez says in his history of the Marañon and Amazons, there were only four missionaries in them, which are those already named, and all who had been employed from the year 1638, in which they had their first establishment, until the beginning of 1681, in which that station was commenced by missionaries going among those tribes, were twenty-four fathers of the company, and three lay brethren, of whom nearly all died.

The tribe of Omagua Indians, which was one of the most numerous that inhabited the valley of the Marañon, had despatched messengers to the town of the Lagoon, in the year 1681, entreating Father Lucero, at that time superior of those stations, to send them missionaries; because, in consequence of the kind treatment of the other tribes, which had become subject to them, and the advantages they enjoyed after having been brought under a system of government so wise and just, they desired to add their tribe to the number, to enjoy the same benefits, and, with them, the preaching of evangelical doctrine: but the missions were so destitute of laborers that they had not the number sufficient to supply the settlements already formed, and it was impossible at that time to accede to their request. All that the superior could do was to give them reason to hope that, on the arrival of the first supply of missionaries, their wishes should be complied with, some one of them being appointed to take them under their charge, acting their curate; which was not carried into effect until the year

* *First Mission.* — 1. San Luis Gonzaga; 2. San Ignacio; 3. Santa Teresa.

Second Mission. — 1. Roa-Maynas; 2. Los Coronados; 3. Gayes.

Third Mission. — 1. Xeveros; 2. Paranapuras; 3. Chayavitas; 4. Muniches.

Fourth Mission. — 1. Ucayales; 2. Xitipos y Chipeos; 3. Tibilos; 4. Aguanos; 5. Guallaga; 6. Marapinas; 7. Mayurunas; 8. Otanabis.

1686, when a mission, composed of many individuals, having arrived from Spain to Quito, some, although few in number, were appointed to lighten the burdens of those who were already in the work; and one of the individuals so appointed was Father Samuel Fritz, a native of Bohemia, to whose lot it fell to go to the new mission of the Omaguas; for, as soon as these Indians had intelligence that new missionaries had arrived at the Lagoon, and that one of them was disposed to come down to their territory, they went forward to receive him, and ascended with more than thirty canoes as far as the Lagoon, in order to escort him to their country.

Father Viva had succeeded Father Lucero in the office of superior of the stations; and, being a person of extraordinary capacity and endowments, as soon as he saw Father Fritz, he formed so high an estimate of his qualities, that it appeared to him that the choice could not have fallen on any one better qualified for that undertaking, — an opinion the wisdom of which was justified by the wonders he wrought, in a short time, by his preaching and instructions among those tribes, and several others, which he reduced to the bosom of our Catholic faith.

It may be readily inferred that, in a tribe who, of their own accord, applied for missionaries, it would not be necessary to toil so hard in order to draw their attention to what is preached to them, or to make them receive in sincerity the religion of the true God, in which they are instructed, as it is in those other tribes in which, as preparatory to the preaching of the gospel, it was necessary to contract relations of friendship by going to look for them among the mountains, forests, and hidden ravines, where they are scattered like wild beasts. As soon as the Omaguas were in the presence of their father, regarding him as the redeemer of their souls, they returned with him to their territory, full of mirth and joy, as was abundantly evident by the festivities with which they solemnized the occasion, — transferring him, for this purpose, from one canoe to another, as long as the voyage up the river continued. As soon as they reached the

first outposts within their jurisdiction, thinking it unsuitable that he should make his entry on foot, they vied with each other in bearing him on their shoulders, in company with the most distinguished personages of the suite; and in the midst of dances, and the varied music of flutes, pipes, and other instruments, after their style, they took him out of the canoe on their arrival, and conducted him to the quarters which they had in readiness for him near the cabins. After some days of rest at that outpost (for it had not as yet the importance of a settlement), they proceeded to take him to the other islands inhabited by the same tribe of Omagnas, which were more than thirty, that they might all know him, and begin to look upon him as their shepherd. And in this way that great mission had its origin, which became so prosperous, that, in less than three years, almost all the adult Indians were baptized, being already capable of receiving baptism, Father Fritz having administered this sacrament from the beginning to all the children, — the latter not requiring to be instructed in the mysteries of the faith in childhood, as is necessary in the case of adults.

While Father Fritz was employed in the religious instruction of the Omagua Indians, he received intelligence of some neighboring tribes scattered along the banks of the river, as the Yurimagnas, the Ayzuares, the Baromas, and others; and, learning that they would not refuse to embrace the Catholic religion, proceeded to them, and found them so ready to receive it that he began immediately to catechize them, in order to administer to them the rite of baptism. So great was the success that attended these missions, that, in the year 1689, the Omagua stations were thirty-eight in number (the capital of which was San Joaquin); another belonged to the Turimagnas, and two to the Ayznari tribe. All these were under the charge of Father Fritz: so that, as he himself relates, in his private report, he had scarcely time sufficient in the course of a year to make one visit among them all, and was able to sojourn with each tribe only long enough to instruct the adults, and to baptize those who had been

born since his last visit. All the remainder of the year, those Indians were left to live alone, without any other restraints than their own will, which was so well inclined that no occasion of disturbance ever occurred among them, nor did they abandon the religion in which they had been instructed, to return to the false rites of Gentile superstition, which they had been forbidden to practise.

Father Fritz, being exhausted by the fatigue and hardship consequent on a life of continual journeying from one settlement to another, found his health impaired; and his illness increased so rapidly as to make it necessary for him to go down to Para, in the year 1689, to take the advice of the physicians of that city. The Portuguese suspected that his illness was only a pretext for making a survey of all the remaining valley of the Marañon, from the mouth of Black River (the boundary of his mission) as far as Para; and consequently detained him there, after he had recovered, at the same time communicating the intelligence to the court of Portugal. The result (which was as favorable to Father Fritz as could be desired) did not reach Para until the middle of the year 1691, when he was restored to the mission. The Portuguese government appointed an officer and seven soldiers to accompany him, under pretence of showing him respect; and, as soon as they entered the tribe of the Azuaris, Father Fritz wished to dismiss them, because those Indians had discovered a friendly disposition towards him during his passage down the river, by going up to meet him. The soldiers did not yield to his earnest request, having in view other objects distinct from those they had intimated to the father, as was afterwards admitted by the Portuguese officer, when they reached the town of Mayavara, the last of the Yarimaguas. Father Fritz again importuned the Portuguese to return, as he was already within the limits of his mission: to which the officer said, in reply, that his not having done so already was, that he had orders from his governor to take possession of that territory, as far as that of the Omaguas inclusive, in the name of the king of Portugal,

as being comprised within his jurisdiction; and that he would notify him at once to withdraw from it and leave it unoccupied. Father Fritz wondered at this determination, and the more as it was opposed to the decision given by the court of Lisbon, in consequence of representations made by the father himself from Para; and, having confronted in this manner the Portuguese officer, he prevailed upon him to let him return without urging his suit any further for that time; and, having descended one day's navigation, they landed at Guapatate, opposite a town of the same name, cleared a plot of ground, and left for a boundary a large tree, known by the name of Samona, indicating that the territory as far as that point belonged to them, and leaving word with some Indians that they should soon return to make a settlement on that spot.

Father Fritz, foreseeing the evil consequences that would result to the missions by the excessive insolence of the Portuguese, unless measures were taken in time to check them, and having communicated the matter to the superior of the missions and the governor of Maynas, it was determined, agreeably to the opinion of both, that Father Fritz should proceed personally to Lima to inform the viceroy of the prosperous state of the missions, and the danger which threatened them, that he might devise measures to thwart the designs of the Portuguese. The Viceroy of Lima, Count of Monclova, and after him the whole city, were astonished at the success which had attended the preaching of the gospel by Father Fritz, and the account filled them all with admiration; but when they came to the principal point, which was to prevent any further encroachments, on the part of the Portuguese, upon the Spanish domain, as well as upon that mission which extended from the mouth of the river Napo to that of Black River, he discovered in the viceroy little disposition to undertake the defence of that territory. This was afterwards confirmed by the reply given by the count to the memorial of Father Fritz, as appears from the manuscript narrative of this missionary, which was in substance as follows: "That, inasmuch as the

Portuguese were Catholic Christians as well as the Spaniards, and a warlike nation, he had no means at his command adequate to induce them to confine themselves to their own territory, without coming to a rupture, which was unadvisable in the present case, those uncultivated forests yielding no revenue to the king of Spain, unlike many other provinces which ought with more reason to be protected against hostile invasion; that in the vast extent of the Indies there were lands sufficient for both crowns. At the same time, he would lay the petition before his Majesty as soon as possible." Certain it is, that if these reasons had not been recorded by a person of such virtue, and who possesses such claims as that missionary, we should refuse to give him credence; for they seem more becoming a man who had thrown off his allegiance to princes lawfully invested with the territory, than of a minister and governor-general of Spain in those very Indies whose defence against usurpation Father Fritz was soliciting.

The stations which this eminent father had founded were composed of forty-one villages, and so remote from each other that, between the first, on the upper waters of the river, and the last, on the lowest, there intervened a distance of more than one hundred leagues. All these missions are made up of the union of vagrant tribes, who have always inhabited the banks of that great river, and who are obliged by forming settlements to live together in a rational and social state, the missionary himself being their priest and magistrate, who instructs them in the arts of civilized life, as well as in the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion. Most of these towns consist of Indians who have been converted long since, and brought to a state of civilization; to these are occasionally added other Gentile Indians, who, finding themselves worsted in the continual wars which they carry on with the neighboring tribes, and flying from the cruelties with which they are threatened, come to seek shelter under the covert of the missionary fathers, a respect for whom keeps their enemies in check. In these cases, they improve the opportunity to preach to them,

and to teach them, preparing their minds to receive baptism: but they are usually so fickle, that, although they hear the gospel with sufficient attention, manifesting a desire to receive it, they soon throw off that fervent zeal which was awakened by the fear which induced them to leave their lands, or by a sense of obligation imposed upon them by the memory of gifts bestowed; and, when they come to believe that the anger of the tribes with whom they were at war is pacified, they return to their brutal customs. At other times, the curates despatch messengers to the neighboring tribes, when they know they will receive the benefit to be bestowed upon them: or the missionaries go to look for them in their cabins, to attract them by a present of some gewgaws: by which means they succeed in making them teachable, and inclined to have a fixed place of residence, by forming a settlement, not far from which the missionary has his place of rendezvous, in order to go and visit them frequently, and to instruct them in the precepts of religion, that they may become proper subjects of baptism.

When these new towns are in a condition to support special missionaries or parish priests, and there is any security of their stability, they are then sent to them; but these conversions make such slow progress that many years elapse without the addition of one new station to the old; but, notwithstanding this interval, some fruit never fails to be secured, in recompense of such incessant labor. This advantage results exclusively from the missions which the company have under their charge; because they pursue it with zeal, and persevere with unabated fervor in such undertakings, not being deterred from them by the fickleness of the Indians, nor disheartened by the fatigue and suffering they must necessarily undergo in countries and climates to which they have not been accustomed.

Conducted on these principles, it is evident that if there were zeal in the religious Orders to convert the Indians, missions would be sustained in all the possessions of Spain in that country, each one endeavoring to gain the

good-will of the Indians by gentleness and civility,* as is the case in Maynas, a Jesuit mission; and, if such be not the general practice, it is because the whole aim of those individuals is to obtain curacies, from which they can derive an income without labor or encumbrance; and this not being possible in the missions, because in them they must divest themselves of regard to interest, and shun covetousness altogether, there is no individual who desires the work, and no zeal in the Orders to carry it forward. It is one of the great calamities we have to bewail in those countries, that, while the convents are so numerous and all so wealthy, the Indians should not have the benefit of the most insignificant portion, either of the superfluous riches of their inmates, or of the enormous revenue accruing from their estates, to be employed in securing their salvation by means of preaching and teaching the Word of God, which ought to be the grand and

* The Incas, although governed only by a simple natural law, have left us the admirable system of their policy in the maxims they observed to conciliate the Indians, and reduce them to obedience, so as to be beloved by them to the degree they were, and that their laws might be observed with scrupulous exactness, which, while they were mild and just, did not fail to be severe whenever it was necessary that rigor should predominate over clemency. They conquered the provinces (when it could not be done by mild measures) by force of arms; and, even when these means were resorted to, their subjects lived without aversion to the authority which held them in subjection, as it could not be otherwise under a mild and beneficent policy. The same methods ought to be adopted now towards those tribes, that they may not obstinately refuse to come under the Spanish rule; for if the Indians should discover that the king's vassals live comfortably, that they are treated with consideration, and that only their own welfare is consulted, they would no longer entertain the idea they now have of the Spaniards, as fearful tyrants, and their conversion would become practicable. The laws enacted for their benefit are admirable: a failure to comply with them is the source whence all their sufferings originate; but should these abuses be reformed, and should the Indians be treated as men have a right to be treated, it might be hoped that the missions would have a favorable result, and those great objects accomplished in a short period, which have not been effected in the long period which has elapsed from the time of the conquest until now.

only object and employment of them all. But in the concluding chapter, in which we are to speak more in detail of the monasteries, it will be made to appear how diverse are the pursuits and conduct of those ecclesiastics from what belong to the character of missionaries.

CHAPTER VI.

Prevalence of Party-Spirit between Europeans and Creoles.—Its chief Source, and the Evils resulting from it in the Cities and large Towns.

It can never fail to be unseemly, numerous as the examples may be of this nature, that, among a people of the same country, of the same religion, and even of the same blood, such enmity, rancor, and hatred should exist, as are found to prevail in Peru, where the cities and large towns have become a theatre of discord and perpetual wrangling between Europeans and creoles. This enmity is the source of the repeated tumults which happen there; for the hatred engendered between the two opposing interests becomes more and more virulent, and the exasperated parties never lose an opportunity to breathe out vengeance, and give loose rein to the passions and jealousies which are so deep-rooted in their hearts.

To be a European, or "Chapeton," as one is called in Peru, 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. To such a height is this mutual ill-will carried, that in some respects it exceeds the unbridled frenzy with which nations in open war vilify and outrage each other; for if, in these, we may hope it will gradually subside, it is not so with the Spanish colonies in Peru: and, instead of being weakened by more frequent intercourse, by the influence of family ties, or by other motives which are adapted to promote harmony and friendship, quite the reverse takes place; for the closer their contact, the higher do the flames of discord rise, and, their somewhat smothered rancor being kindled again by renewed discussion, the

fire gains strength, and the conflagration becomes inextinguishable.

Throughout Peru, the spirit of party is a malady which prevails in all the cities and large towns, notwithstanding the slight differences which may be occasionally observed, in the greater or less degree of scandal which attends it. The disease is so general, that none are exempt from it—neither the first magistrates of the city, nor the highest dignitaries in the church and in the religious orders; for it attacks even those who have a reputation for wisdom and sanctity. The towns are made 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 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.

It is in the cities of the mountainous districts that party-spirit rises to the greatest height; which proceeds, no doubt, from their isolated position: but in the towns on the coast, where intercourse with strangers is more frequent, although their inhabitants do not fail to cherish a spirit of mutual animosity, the scandal is not so public as in the former, where the attention cannot be diverted from party questions by subjects of a different nature.

These dissensions, which are there so common and so violent, that, from the time one arrives in those parts, he is made acquainted with them, and very soon becomes implicated in them, must have had their origin in some powerful cause; and, while this is not removed, the former must continue. Our object in the present chapter will be to investigate it; for, if it is not discovered, it will be impossible to form an adequate idea of it, or to apply the remedy which the evil demands.

Although the party feeling which exists between Europeans and creoles may have originated from various sources, there are two which appear to have more influence than all the rest—the excessive vanity and overbearing manners of the creoles, and the forlorn and penniless condition of the Europeans who emigrate to that country. The latter accumulate a fortune with the aid of relatives and friends, as well as by dint of labor and industry; so that within a few years they are enabled to form an alliance with ladies of distinction: but the low condition in which the creoles first knew them is not wholly effaced from remembrance; and, on the first occasion of misunderstanding between the European and his relatives, the latter expose, without the least reflection, the mean origin and profession of the former, and kindle the flames of discord in all hearts. The Europeans espouse the cause of their injured countrymen, and the creoles that of the native women; and thus the seeds of dissension spring up, which had been sown in the mind from the remote period of the conquest.

It may be readily supposed that the vanity of the creoles, and their lofty pretensions to a noble ancestry, rise to such a height that they are perpetually discussing the order and line of their descent; so that it would appear, as it respects nobility and antiquity, they have nothing to envy in the most illustrious families in Spain; and, treating the subject with the ardor of enthusiasm, they make it the first topic of conversation with the newly-arrived Europeans, in order to acquaint them with their noble origin: but, when this is investigated impartially, we are met, at the first step we take, with so many difficulties that a family can rarely be found that has no mixed blood, not to mention objections of minor importance. 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 may not be confounded with others of the same city, he brings to light all their defec-

tive titles, and the foul blots which stain the purity of his neighbor's. The same is repeated by these last in regard to the former, until every circumstance respecting their families is brought to light, and their true origin exposed. Europeans themselves, who marry ladies of rank, and who are not ignorant of *their* defective titles, become resentful when they are taunted with their former poverty and low condition, and upbraid them with the flaws of their boasted nobility; and this always furnishes materials enough for both to keep alive a sensitiveness to the insults and injuries heaped upon them by the opposite party.

This very vanity of the creoles, which is more observable in the mountainous districts, owing to the want of intercourse with foreigners, except such as settle in the different towns, keeps them aloof from labor, and from engaging in trade (the only occupation in the Indies which can enable them to preserve unimpaired their inheritance), and allures them to the practice of vices which are inherent in a life of inaction. Hence it is they soon see the end of all which their parents have left them, by wasting their money, and neglecting the cultivation of their estates; and the Europeans, availing themselves of the advantages which the neglect of the creoles affords them, turn them to account, and amass an estate; for by engaging in trade they soon succeed in getting upon a good footing, enjoy credit, accumulate money, and are solicited for marriage by the noble families; for the creole women themselves, aware of the wasteful and indolent habits of their countrymen, hold Europeans in high esteem, and prefer to be allied with them.

The preference which the creole women give to Europeans, for the reason just mentioned, the fact that they are the owners of the richest estates, acquired and preserved by their industry and economy, and that they have in their favor the confidence of magistrates and ministers, because their behavior entitles them to it, are no small motives to stir up the envy of the creoles; hence they complain that the Europeans arrive barefoot in their country, and soon acquire a greater estate than

their fathers and country have given them, they being in reality lords of the soil. This is literally true, for as soon as they are married they are made regidors, and immediately obtain the place of ordinary alcalde, so that in the space of ten or twelve years they are found at the head of one of the chief cities, and have become objects of general esteem and applause. 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 themselves, for if they would enter into an extensive trade, while they have means for it, they would not waste a fortune in the little time that a 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.

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 themselves; for when their minds are imbued with injurious impressions of their parents, which they imbibe from their relatives, and which are taught them by the abominable example of those who ought to give them a right education, they cherish a spirit of enmity towards those who begat them; and, as their hatred to Europeans becomes more inveterate, they need no other motive than this to declare themselves in after life their avowed enemies, which they do from the first opportunity they have to exhibit it,

even without fear or scruple, and perhaps in the very presence of their parents. It is a common thing to hear them remark 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 absurd, and more than absurd supposition, for, were it possible to drain them of their Spanish blood, no other would flow in their veins but that of negroes or Indians.

The Europeans or Chapetons who arrive in those countries are generally men of low origin in Spain, or of a pedigree very little known, besides having neither education nor any good quality to recommend them; but the creoles, disregarding distinctions of this nature, treat them all with equal friendship and courtesy; it is enough that they have come from Europe, to be honored as persons of distinction, and to become entitled to every mark of esteem; and their courtesy is carried so far that even families of the highest rank give a place at their table to the very meanest who emigrate from Spain, even if they should go in the character of servants. Hence they make no distinction between them and their masters, when they meet at one of the creoles', a seat being given them at their side, although their masters may be present; and it is owing to this obsequious courtesy that many Europeans, who, on account of their inferior birth and education, would never dare to rise above their low condition, being flattered, after they arrive in the Indies, with such tokens of regard, raise their thoughts above what is meet, until they reach the highest post to which ambition can aspire. In pursuing such a course the creoles have no better ground to rest upon than merely to say that they are white, and this sole prerogative entitles them to some distinction; nor do they stay to inquire what their profession is, nor to infer, by what it really is, what rank they hold in society. 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 emigrants.

In regard to those who in Spain enjoyed no advantages of birth, the facility afforded them of seeking promotion and forming an alliance with those who constitute the nobility, is in proportion to the attentions which are bestowed, in some cities more than in others, upon all Europeans indiscriminately, without regard to the rank or office of each individual; for, apart from the consideration that the possession of an estate may serve as an offset to the lack of nobility, the emolument of having been born in Europe, as well as that of being a white man, are sufficient to warrant the expectation of connecting themselves with some of the most distinguished families of that country.

The creoles pass from this extreme to another, no less pernicious, when they are provoked by a real or supposed injury to give vent to a spirit of revenge in the use of insulting and opprobrious language; they then denounce and vilify 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. The creoles, in order to vilify the Europeans, fasten upon them the circumstance of their forlorn condition at the time they arrived in the country, as well as what they slanderously report of each other in regard to the meanness of their origin, so that all become exasperated by the exposure

of their mutual defects, and live in continual disquiet and turmoil.

This is the grand source of that disunion, which is wont to create such tumults in the settlements of Peru, and even in those cities where nothing is wanting to the liberty or comfort of their citizens, and where they might pass the most agreeable and tranquil life that could be desired. A spirit of opposition keeps them in continual warfare, being full of acrimony and evil surmisings, and plunged in a sea of dissensions and animosities, the fruit of their own uncontrolled passions, and of the eagerness with which each individual strives to defend the interests of his own party.

As we have already remarked, it is owing to the ill-advised courtesy with which the creoles treat the Spaniards, when they view them with a friendly eye, and especially on their first arrival, as they are pledged to no party, that the latter carry their ambitious views far beyond what their profession and antecedents would justify; hence it is that those who have learned a trade in Europe refuse to follow it as soon as they arrive in the Indies, and this is the reason why the mechanical arts never reach any greater degree of perfection than they had at the time of the conquest, the Indians and the mestizoes being the only classes who are employed in them. Thus, while Spain is depopulated by the vast numbers who emigrate to the Indies, those countries gain no benefit, each individual being bent upon his own interest, without contributing in any degree to the general prosperity of the nation.

There is also another circumstance which contributes to the want of order in the social condition of that country, which is, the custom introduced at an early period, and perhaps from the time of the conquest, of granting the *fueros*, or patents of nobility, to all Spaniards who would go and take up their residence there. Its introduction, which might have been justified at that time, both in recompense of military service, and to promote the more rapid settlement of the country, is, under the present circumstances, prejudicial to Spain as

well as to the Indies; to Spain, on account of the great number who emigrate from it to acquire in the Indies the two possessions which are most esteemed among men, and which all do not here enjoy; namely, wealth, or the goods of fortune, and nobility; the privilege of the latter being freely bestowed upon all who go there, enabling them to hold offices and perform acts which are reserved for the nobles, the bare name of Spaniard being the best patent there can be in those parts. It is also pernicious to the Indies, for, besides the tumults it occasions, the reproach it brings upon the order of nobility, and the idleness and vices that are consequent upon it, the mechanical arts, as well as all the arts of industry, which are essential to a well-ordered republic, are completely abandoned, being held in contempt in that country by those who have no occasion to neglect or despise them in this. . . . .

The inhabitants of the Indies, both creoles and Europeans, and especially those of Peru, of whom we are now speaking, should they continue to be the loyal subjects of the king, and remain steadfast in their fidelity, can have no motive to covet another kind of government, which shall be more advantageous to them, or a more perfect degree of freedom than that which they now have, or greater security for their property. They all live there after their own caprice, without the burden of any other impost than that of the excise of the *Alcabala*, which is paid very irregularly; 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 a sovereign in his own esteem; and they are such absolute proprietors of the country, and of their possessions, that they are utter strangers to the fear of losing any portion of them, in the event of prolonged wars in Europe, which exhaust the revenue of princes, and to carry on which the latter are obliged to lay new taxes upon their subjects. A man who owns an estate there disposes of it, as well as of its produce, just as he wishes; the trader has an undisputed right to his

goods and merchandise; the capitalist entertains no apprehension lest his estate should be impaired by a forced loan, or that he should be compelled to incur exorbitant expenses; the poor man does not absent himself from his family, and become a fugitive, for fear of being pressed into service against his will; and so far is the government from imposing fines upon the whites or mestizoes, that, if these could appreciate the advantages they enjoy, they would be envied by all nations, both for the degree of liberty to which they have attained, as well as for the excellence of the system of government under which they live.

Every proprietor becomes so arrogant, on account of what he possesses, that he is regarded as a petty sovereign in his own dominions, being the absolute disposer of them, and subject to no other law than that of his own caprice. In the cities, villages, and hamlets, where the landholders reside, they are the oracles of the people; and all the authority which the corregidors possess is only what is conceded to them by the good pleasure of the most distinguished citizens, who are imitated, in this respect, by those of inferior rank. If the corregidor keeps in favor with them, he occupies the position of an honest citizen, like any one else; but, if he comes into collision with them before the tribunals, or attempts to make any display of authority, he is resisted by force of arms, and, as there are none left to render obedience, his post is virtually vacant; and, should he proceed to execute his designs, it would be enough to effect his ruin.

There are towns in which contempt of authority has reached such a point that threats are often carried into execution; and, if the conduct of the magistrate is not the most prudent and wary, he will have little security of life. It is true this is a case which rarely or never happens, because the corregidors 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; but, as cases occur in which no dissimulation can be used, it is in these that the caprice of those

people shows itself without disguise; and, in order to make it better understood, we shall quote one of the numerous instances which occurred in those provinces while we were residing there.

In a town in the interior, which held, in point of population, about a middling rank, an altercation took place between a creole gentleman and a European, which resulted in a mutual challenge; and the parties went into the field, accompanied by their seconds. One of them was so much injured, that, without bringing the quarrel to a close, he turned his back upon his opponent, and made his escape (after being wounded), in order not to lay down his arms. This circumstance became so generally known, that the individual who was worsted in the affray, and who determined to seek revenge, not having courage to make a second attempt, had recourse to the base artifice of furnishing himself with weapons, and seeking his antagonists when they were off their guard. The parties had gathered strength, and the Europeans, or Chapetons, having raised their flag on one side, and the creoles on the other, the scandal became excessive, and the mutual recrimination insupportable. The result of the matter was, that they patrolled the streets for several nights in search of each other, and at an hour when daylight had scarcely disappeared. Although the corregidor was there, he did not attempt to use any measures to keep them in check, for, his friendly intervention having failed of success, he thought he had not a force sufficient to justify any decisive measure. The rumor of this tumult having reached the capital city of the province, orders were sent to have the guilty seized and punished. As soon as the latter had received intelligence of the order, they put themselves in an attitude to resist it, should the Audience attempt to put it in execution, augmenting their force with that of the mestizoes, servants, and others dependent upon them, and seizing fire-arms wherever they could find them. The corregidor, urged on the one hand by the order of the tribunal, and fearful, on the other, of resistance on the part of the delinquents, availed himself of an artifice, suggested

by prudence, to conciliate all parties, without hazard to himself, and that was, to send them a polite message, requesting permission to visit their houses, under a pledge that he would not approach the apartment to which they should retreat. The latter, aware that they should incur no risk by so doing, and that the result to them would be favorable, consented to let him in, and they withdrew to a room which, on being closed, served for a place of defence. The corregidor arrived with his secretary, high sheriff, and several inferior officers, signifying by that formidable array that the prisoners were to be apprehended, and commenced searching the house, without venturing near the apartment where the culprits lay hid (which was as well known to the secretary and his suite as it was to the corregidor); and not having found them in any of those rooms which had been examined, the process was concluded, and satisfaction given to the Audience by the testimony of competent witnesses. As soon as the corregidor had withdrawn, the others emerged from their retirement, and began to appear in public, as if no attempt had ever been made to seize them. The Audience knew all that had occurred, but winked at it, on the ground that it was not possible for the corregidor to adopt more efficient measures. We arrived in that town about six months after this took place, and having received attentions from both parties, we succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between them, and thereby preventing any further evil results from that scandalous division.

The domineering spirit, both of the laity and clergy, who introduce these dissensions, prevails in both in an equal degree; yet it exists to such an excess in the latter as to awaken new zeal and give greater impulse to the former, who confidently rely on their assistance whenever occasion should require. 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 dependents,

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. Perhaps in no other country in the world do we see priests, with arms in their hands, boldly defying a corregidor, even in his own house, and exposing him to the scorn of the populace. There, too, may be seen bands of monks, of twenty or more, in masks, rushing through the streets, and provoking tumults, such as would be looked for only from the lowest and most reckless mob. It is there they have the audacity to enter the prison, armed, and, without fear of resistance, to set at liberty culprits under the just sentence of the law, — an occurrence which took place in Cuenca, only a few days before our arrival in that city in 1740. It is there that the high sheriff has not courage to violate the sanctuary of the private dwellings of the priests, to arrest criminals that have taken refuge in them, as we ourselves witnessed in the town of Lambayeque in the year 1741. As we passed through that town, on our way to Lima, it happened that a common priest had the insolence to attempt to beat the corregidor, because he went to his house to seize a culprit, who had just stabbed a townsman, and had fled thither for refuge. In a word, it is there where justice has no power to enforce her demands.

It is by such examples as these that the laity are emboldened by the clergy to treat their judges with contempt, and to practise their detestable vices without restraint.

It will not be thought strange that ecclesiastics should show such contempt for justice, when they exhibit the same temper towards their prelates; this being another reason why it is impossible to lay hold of them, and to chastise their insolence, as much so as it is to attempt to reform the complicated machinery of abuses introduced

into that country, and which have become inveterate from the days of the first colonists that emigrated thither. These disorderly proceedings, the sources of which are such and so various, are incorrigible: their causes cannot be removed, and, should any attempt be made to reform them in part, it would be impossible to stay their future progress. The wise choice of rulers and magistrates, who are disinterested, impartial, of sound morals, condescending to all, and severe only towards those whose unrighteous conduct renders them deserving of punishment,—this is the only method of reform which can be introduced: and if this fails to impose the necessary restraints, and to bring those people back to their reason, we know of no other which is adequate to the object proposed; 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.

NOTE.—The authors of the "Secret Expedition" have expressed their opinion that some of the creoles are qualified to hold offices under Government; but they have merely alluded to the unwise policy of the mother country in the selection of public functionaries who became a reproach to the nation.

The church livings in America were numerous, and richly endowed; but almost all vacancies were filled by ecclesiastics from Spain. It was a common thing to see the whole staff of a cathedral, from the bishop to the lowest officer, made up of Europeans. A successor was nominated to a see long before the post became vacant, and the candidate only awaited the news of the death of a dignitary in order to get his credentials sealed, and to go and take possession of his incumbency. The creoles were still more rigorously excluded from the judiciary. The regents, oydors, and fiscals of the Audience, as well as the governors and their assistants, the secretaries and assessors, all went from Spain. It was the same in the branch of the exchequer. The collectors, comptrollers, and even appraisers of the custom-house; the intendants, treasurers, officers, and other functionaries of the royal exchequer,—were exclusively Europeans. As to promotions in the army, there was scarcely an officer in the regular troops: the military honors to which a native of the country could aspire, however rich or distinguished he might be, were confined to the rank of colonel of a regiment of a militia that had never passed muster. Even the monks maintained a kind of warfare in the convents to prevent any creole colleague from being chosen provincial or prior in the capitulary elections.

But the chief source of irritation and discontent was the character of the individuals promoted to office. The domestic of a secretary of state was confident of having his obsequiousness rewarded by an appointment in America; the brother of a courtesan lady, who enjoyed the protection of some one of the grandees, was named intendant of a province; the intriguing jurist, who had served as the instrument of defending the suit of some favorite at court, was appointed regent or oydor of an Audience; the hairdresser of some royal personage confidently expected to see his son promoted to the office of collector of customs. If an officer in the family of one of the grandees had dishonored his station by cowardice or vile conduct, he was sent to the Indies, with the rank of general, inspector, or commander of a fortress; or, if an ignorant chaplain were found there, he was promoted either to a bishopric or to the deanery of a cathedral; or if a son were thought to be incorrigible, and had become the reproach of his family, he was sent to America, bearing some important commission. Several creoles, it is true, have been appointed bishops in America, and generals in Spain, but these were either sons of those European functionaries, who were promoted by their parents, through the influence of their relatives and friends in the peninsula, or those who had been sent to Spain in boyhood, and who had continued to reside there permanently, and who are not to be ranked with the natives of the Indies. At the same time, the king's ministers alleged instances like these, however rare, to prove that the posts of honor and emolument were equally accessible to Europeans and creoles. It is not, therefore, strange that quarrels should have ensued; it is rather to be wondered at that the creoles have borne the yoke so long and so patiently. Having none to listen to their complaints, their only alleviation was the wretched resource of vilifying and hating the usurpers of their rights. This motive alone would have been sufficient to justify the emancipation of those countries.

CHAPTER VII.

Gross Licentiousness of the Clergy in general, and particularly of the Monks.—Tumults attending the Capitulary Elections.—Their Principal Cause.

We enter upon this chapter of our report with some diffidence, both on account of the subject in general, as well as of the peculiar nature of its details, which must be communicated with due regard to the elevated station of the individuals of whom we are to speak; while, on the other hand, we should make ourselves liable to the imputation of partiality or injustice, were we to pass over in silence the dissolute practices which are observable in them. The offence is of a public nature, and hence no artifice can be used to screen it from the observation of the secretaries; and, if this were practicable, it would preclude the possibility of devising suitable measures of reform. The ministers are the safest channel through which our sovereigns can come to the knowledge of the state of government in their dominions, the conduct of their envoys and judges, and, finally, of the system of jurisdiction under which the colonists live. To attempt to conceal this information would be to wish that it might never reach the ears of the prince, and, consequently, to discountenance the reform of immoral practices, which would be the same as to connive at their existence. Even if we were entitled to no other consideration than that which belongs to any of his Majesty's subjects, it would suffice to warrant the discussion not only of this topic, but of every other comprehended within the sphere of our inquiries; but when we add the powerful one of having had assigned us, among other offices of trust, that of examining the government and condition of those kingdoms, it would be culpable in us, after having dis-

charged this duty, to withhold the result of our investigations; for, although the sacred character of the persons interested might entitle them to some consideration, that very character, as it renders their crimes more aggravated, furnishes an occasion of severe rebuke, inasmuch as religion itself is implicated, which tolerates no form of connivance or excuse.

In Peru, the body of ecclesiastics is made up of two orders — the secular and regular clergy; the former comprising the parish priests, and the latter the monks. The individuals who compose 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 to go before all others in the career of vice; for while they are under the most sacred obligations not only to practise virtue, but to correct the errors incident to frail nature, it is they who, by their pernicious example, sanction the practice of iniquity, and in a measure divest it of its heinous nature.

The parish priests are extremely vicious in their habits; but, whether it happen that an error or crime in them attracts less notice, or whether they are more careful to conceal it, or for both reasons, which is the most probable, disgraceful as the consequences are known to be, they never reach such a degree of scandal as do those of the monks; for the latter, 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.

Concubinage, as being the most general and scandalous, holds the first place among the vices of Peru. All are implicated in it, — Europeans, creoles, the single as well as the married, and the priests, both secular and regular. A remark so comprehensive in its nature might be deemed hyperbolical; but, in order to substantiate the truth of it, we shall give some examples which we have had occasion to observe, and we shall cite them in the order which the subject seems to demand.

Concubinage is so general in those countries that the practice of it is esteemed a point of honor, particularly in the small towns; and when a stranger arrives, and continues his residence there for some time without having adopted the customs of the country, his continence is attributed not to a principle of virtue, but to the passion of avarice, as it is generally supposed that he lives so in order to save money. Soon after our arrival in the Province of Quito, we proceeded, jointly with the French company, to a plain a little more than four leagues distant from that city, where we were to make our first measurement, as a basis of subsequent observations; and, in order to be in the vicinity of our encampment, we took lodgings on one of the numerous plantations in that valley, and on Sundays and holidays we were accustomed to go to the neighboring villages to hear mass. After we had been there some days, the people of the village asked after our concubines, directing their inquiries to those who lived on the plantations; and, on being told that we lived without women, they could not refrain from expressing their astonishment that such a thing could take place, notwithstanding that it is so common everywhere except in that country.

This vice having become so prevalent, it will not be thought strange that those who are bound by their profession to avoid it, should participate in it; for a practice which is so general, easily insinuates itself among those who strive to keep themselves from the contagion of it; and, as a love of reputation fails to oppose any obstacle, the inveterate habit gains strength, until it triumphs over all sense of shame, and all the salutary restraints of fear.

Want of discipline in the convents opens the door to licentious practices. In large cities the greater part of the monks live in private houses, for the convents furnish an asylum to those only who cannot keep house, or the choristers, novitiates, or such like, who live there from choice. The same is true of the small cities, villages, and hamlets. The doors of the monasteries are kept open, and the monks live in their cells, accompanied

by their women, and lead in every respect the life of married persons.

In order to live without the walls of the convent, a monk of any of the orders (exeept that of the Jesuits) must have one of the following reasons to allege, — either that he has an incumbency, or that he has bought an estate with his own property, or that he has taken a lease of some one of the many which are owned by the convents, and which are abandoned for want of cultivation. Any one of these circumstances furnishes him a sufficient excuse for keeping a house in the city, and for making it his home, whenever he has occasion to go there, rather than to live in the convent. Those, likewise, who hold masterships, and who have been promoted to the highest honors in the gift of their order, although usually residing in the convent, by virtue of their institute, are allowed to keep their private houses in the city, where their women and children usually live, and where they pass the most of their time. They do this with so much freedom and sense of security that the moment they are threatened with serious illness they take up their abode there, as they would in an infirmary, abandoning the convent altogether; and, even when they have no such pretext, they usually absent themselves, and visit the monastery merely to say mass, and to pass their time there when it suits their caprice or convenience.

In addition to the above-mentioned facts, these individuals use so little care to disguise their conduct, that they appear to make incontinence a matter of boasting; they would imply as much as this, when they go on a journey, by taking with them their concubines, children, and servants, as if to publish to the world their abandoned mode of living. We have met them very frequently on the highway in this style, but have noticed them more particularly on the assembling of the chapters; for all who are present on these occasions enter the city publicly, with their whole family, having either a vote to cast, or a living to solicit; and when the election is over they go out in the same manner, some to take a higher rank in other convents, and others to be installed

over a vacant curacy. We happened to be residing in Quito when the time arrived for assembling the chapters in the order of St. Francis, and having taken lodgings in that neighborhood, we had an opportunity of seeing distinctly all that was taking place. For the space of fifteen days prior to the meeting of the chapters, it was a source of amusement to idle persons to look at the monks as they entered the city with their concubines; and, for more than a month after the chapters were closed, it was equally amusing to see those who were on their return to their new destination. It happened at this time that, while a monk was living with all his family opposite to the house where we were residing, one of his sons suddenly fell ill and died. The same day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the whole body of friars went to sing a response over him, and, at the close of it, each individual came forward to express his sympathy for the mourner. This could be seen distinctly by us, the balconies of one house being opposite to those of the other, exposing the whole to view, although the ceremonies were performed without any design of concealment.

Strange as this may seem, it is nothing in comparison with what sometimes occurs. It is naturally to be supposed that there is scarcely one who escapes the contagion of vice, whether he reside in the city, on an estate, or in his own curacy; for, whether it be in one place or another, they all live in the same loose and profligate manner. But the most notorious circumstance of all is, that these convents have been converted into public brothels, particularly in the smaller settlements; and, that, in the large towns, they have become the scene of such unheard-of abominations and execrable vices, that the mind wavers in uncertainty as to what opinion the inmates have formed of religion, or whether they live in the knowledge and fear of the Catholic.

In the smaller towns, under the pretext that the monks are few in number, the doors of the monasteries are kept open, and women go in and out at all times for the purpose of cooking, washing, and waiting on the friars, and

performing all the services which usually devolve upon the lay brothers. Likewise the concubines have free access, at all hours, not only without impediment, but without so much as attracting notice,* of which we shall give two examples, which will place the truth of it beyond a doubt.

It was on the eve of our departure from Quito, on our tour to Cuenca, that we visited one of the convents to take leave of some of the inmates, whose acquaintance we had made during our stay in that city. We entered one of the cells, or apartments, in which we found a monk, accompanied by three females of respectable appearance, who were seated by the bedside of the friar, to whom our visit was made, but who was so ill that he did not recognize us. The females were busy in applying remedies suited to effect his recovery. On inquiring of the first monk the occasion of his sudden illness, he told us, in a few words, that the young woman who seemed most officious in her attentions, and betrayed evident indications of deep sympathy, was his concubine, with whom he had had a quarrel the day previous, and, exasperated as he still was with her, she very imprudently seated herself at the door of a church, attached to a nunnery, where he happened to be preaching at that hour. Her presence threw him at once into a transport of rage, and the attack which occasioned his illness seized him so unexpectedly that he could neither proceed with his discourse nor recover the use of his reason. The said monk took occasion, from this circumstance, to speak at large of the miseries of this life, and, when he had concluded, he informed us that, of the other two young women, one belonged to him and the other to the superior of the convent.

On another occasion, a French gentleman, who was associated with us in our expedition, being present at one of the numerous fandangoes, or balls, which are so common there, entered into conversation with a lady who

* The women of the monks no longer live in the monasteries, but in the streets in the vicinity.—Tr.

had been invited, and, as midnight was then approaching, she expressed a desire to return home. The gentleman offered to accompany her. She accepted the offer; and, without making any apology, proceeded directly to one of the convents of friars, ascended the steps, and knocked. The French gentleman knew not what to think of it, but waited, somewhat confused, to see where it would end, which he soon discovered, to his astonishment; for, when the porter opened the door, the lady bade him good-night, and, thanking him for his politeness, went in. We may imagine the surprise of this gentleman, who, until then, had not been accustomed to such open profligacy of manners; but, as such occurrences were frequently repeated afterwards, under our own eye, neither he nor ourselves regarded them any longer with surprise.

Were we to enumerate all the similar occurrences which took place during our stay in those countries, they would fill a large volume; but we have said enough to explain what that is of which we speak, without trespassing too far in recording facts of such a revolting nature. But, at the same time, we shall not neglect the opportunity of communicating whatever the subject before us seems to demand.

The greater part or all of the enormities committed in those wanton fandangoes, which are so common in those countries, appear to be inventions suggested by the infernal spirit himself, to keep those people in greater bondage; but it is exceedingly strange, and even incredible, that the choice of instruments to begin and carry on such dissolute practices should be such as it is, and so fitted to excite horror and aversion. These fandangoes, or balls, are usually devised by the members of the religious orders, or more properly by those who call themselves religious, although, in fact, they are far from being so; for it is they who pay the expense, who attend, in company with their concubines, and who get up the fray in their own houses. Simultaneously with the dance, the immoderate use of ardent spirits begins, and the entertainment is gradually converted into acts of im-

propriety, 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 peculiar position of those who take the lead in those scenes of riot excites surprise, not merely that the members of a religious order should inconsiderately abet the scandals of the laity, but that they should, in this manner, originate them, and serve as pioneers to those who are entering upon the paths of vice. We have nothing to corroborate the truth of this, but experience itself, together with actual occurrences and the publicy of facts, which are of such a nature that children inherit the titles of rank held by their parents; and we see, not without surprise, in a city like Quito, scores of lady provincials, prioresses, lady guardians, lady readers, &c., as well as of every titled office in the order; so that children are known in public by no other name than that of the title of the post of honor to which their fathers had been elevated. So far are they from accounting such titles as derogatory, that they are esteemed as a badge of honor, and the more so as the rank of the individual is greater. In the same way as the rank of an individual is designated by his title, the merit of the children is graduated by that of their parents; and the former, regardless of illegitimacy or sacrilege, esteem themselves happy in making a boast of their elevated station in society, nor does it occasion them any sense of shame to be known by the honorary titles which had been conferred on their parents in the monastery.

The preceding gives proof enough of entire disregard to appearances in the monks; for, if we except the baptismal records, we have no means of distinguishing their offspring from those of the laity. They lead a married life with the woman they take, and no one dares to cen-

sure them; and having become lost to all sense of decency, they trample on the sanctity of the prohibition. It appears as if this insensibility wrought in them more powerfully than in others; for they live without the least restraint, and go far beyond the most infamous of the laity in the practice of licentiousness. Under pretext of celebrating these orgies in the house of one of the monks, it is reason enough why no justice of the peace should violate the sanctity of their domicile; and however disguised the managers of the ball may be, by assuming the dress of the laity, common report is enough to identify them with certainty.

It may be thought strange that the superiors of the orders should use concealment, and not apply a remedy in this matter; for, if they were actuated by no other motive than the reputation of the Order, they would do it for this sole object; but the reply to this is by no means difficult. They do, indeed, assign several reasons which they suppose to be weighty, such as, that the custom has become inveterate, and that it has ceased to give offence, because it is so generally admitted in all those countries. But the truth is, they want authority to restrain these excesses, because they are as much implicated in them as are the inferior clergy; and, as the fatal example originates with them, there is no room, under such circumstances, for salutary admonition, nor is it possible for the guilty person to be brought to the knowledge of his error, and to be made to reform his life. Of the truth of this, the following anecdote will furnish sufficient evidence. In one of the towns situated within the Province of Quito, the living was held by a monk who had at a former period been elected provincial of his Order; but he was so loose in his morals, and so perverse in his whole conduct, that he kept the village in a state of turmoil by his unbridled licentiousness, until at length the complaints of the inhabitants came to the ears of the president and bishop of Quito. The latter, no longer able to disregard such repeated solicitations, earnestly entreated the acting provincial to restrain the excesses of the monk, who was accordingly summoned to answer to

the charges alleged against him. At first, however, the provincial gave him a friendly admonition, and counselled him not to be unmindful of his advanced age, and of the elevated station which he had once held in the convent. He then urged upon his attention every motive that could possibly influence him to abandon his reckless life, and thereby cut off any further occasion of complaint from the president and bishop. The monk received the admonition with great calmness, and as soon as the provincial had concluded, he commenced speaking, and, availing himself of the freedom of mutual friendship and confidence, not to mention other circumstances, which set aside even the forms of respect and subordination, he said to him, with an air of indifference, that if he needed the living for any thing, it was only to maintain his concubines, and to carry on his amours; for, as it respected himself, so long as he had a frock and hood, and his daily allowance of bread, it was quite sufficient for his maintenance; that if he (the provincial) intended to infringe his liberty in any respect, he might take the living for himself, for he had no need of it whatever. The result was, that the monk returned to the village, and continued to live, as before, in the same vicious practices.

But what admonition shall a superior give to an inferior concerning a crime in which both are equally implicated, and who, when occasion offers, go in company to the dwellings of their concubines without the least reserve? for they meet in the house of the provincial, just as they do in that of a private monk, to celebrate their nightly orgies. Hence it is that such a mode of life as the priesthood lead does not strike the laity with surprise; but what does give occasion for reproach is the wrangling that takes place between them and their concubines, between the children belonging to one and those which belong to another, and among the women themselves, who lead this abandoned life, especially when it happens that a priest is dissatisfied with one, and gives occasion of jealousy to another. On this account, there exist unceasing brawls and

riots, which are more violent in small towns, especially if the inhabitants come to take part in them. They are also wont to spring from the supremacy which the concubines and children of priests wish to maintain over those of the laity, trampling upon them and degrading them to servile occupations, as if they were fit only for menial offices. Here, then, we have the real occasion of offence, which is not in the fact that a priest is burdened with a numerous offspring, nor that he lives openly with a woman in a state of matrimony, but in the incessant quarrels and tumults which have their origin in a course of conduct in every view unseemly and reproachful.

It is a circumstance very worthy of remark in the fandangoes to which we have before alluded, that it is by such deeds of revelry that the assuming of monastic vows is commemorated; it is in such orgies, in which there is no abominable crime which is not committed, and no indecency which is not practised, 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.

Although this licentious life comprises both priests and friars, the former are more continent and less scandalous before the public, and in both orders there are wont to be individuals who live in a more exemplary manner. But we find, on further inquiry, that these are aged priests, who have been induced by advancing years to change their habits, and to lead a more virtuous life; and it usually happens in regard to both, that, if any one retires from the world to live virtuously, it is not until he is burdened with children and old age, and is naturally on the borders of the grave.

All the seclusion of these priests, who are accounted models of virtue, as well as all their penances of mortification and fasting, consist in leading a life of continence, by withdrawing from the society of their concubines. This might appear at first view an inconsiderable triumph;

but it comes to be very important when we reflect that there are many individuals in whom these eireumstanees concur, and who eontinue to live in a state of eoneubinage until the very moment of their death. Numerous examples of this kind might be quoted; but we shall confine ourselves to one only, which will be suffieient to eorroborate what we have stated.

On the *pampa* where our first observations were taken relative to the measurement of the earth, there were various plantations belonging to friars, and one of them was superintended by a monk of such distinguished talents that he had been repeatedly promoted to the dignity of provincial. This estate was so near to that on which we were residing, that we frequently preferred going there to hear mass on Sundays and holidays. By this facility of eommunieation, we had sufficient opportunity of knowing what was oeeurring on that estate, as well as on the neighboring ones; but even without this eireumstance we eould not be ignorant of it; for the oeeurrenees were so public, that, at the very time the tenants made known to us the names and divisions of the estate, they made us aequainted with every thing relative to the owner of it, without omitting the eireumstanees of his profession and mode of life. This monk was already more than eighty years old, but was still living, as a married person, with a young and good-looking eoneubine, who was frequently mistaken for some one of the daughters of his own family, for this was the fourth woman with whom he had eontracted allianee; and as children had deseended of all these, there was literally a swarm of them, between great and small. This whole family kneeled together in the chapel to hear mass, the concubine herself presiding, and oeeupying for this purpose a conspieuous plaee. The father said mass, and one of his sons did the offiee of assistant. But the most remarkable circumstanee was, that, although this priest had reeeived the extreme unetion three times, being at death's door, he eould not be persuaded to make this young woman withdraw from his bedside; and at length, after having had the rite administered for the fourth time,

he died, as the phrase is, in her arms. It will not, therefore, be thought strange, if attention has been given to what we remarked above, that those who become ill in the convents should retire to a private house, and continue there, attended by their concubines, until they recover or die.

The regular clergy, as well as all those who are forbidden by their vows to marry, not only live in the married state, but secure to themselves advantages over those who are lawfully married; for they are at liberty to change their women, either when they cease to be congenial to them, or when age has rendered them less attractive; and it is their practice so to do whenever it suits their caprice, or whenever they have an opportunity to mend their fortune. To those whom they abandon, a weekly allowance is granted for their support, and this is continued for life, if the individual concerned is one who possesses property, or holds a high rank in the church or in the Order to which he belongs. From examples like these, some conclusion may be formed of the state of religion in that country—the sacrilege committed in the face of day, the irreverence attending the celebration of religious rites, and the want of security for the propagation, or even the existence, of the true faith. Let this question be left to the judgment of each individual, as it would be inexpedient to make it a subject of discussion, and augment the sense of grief and disappointment which naturally originates from it.

So far, however, is this mode of life from being disreputable, or prejudicial to the good name and decorum either of man or woman, that the promotion of a *married* priest is an occasion of mirth and festivity to the woman with whom he has contracted alliance; so that when a monk has been promoted to an honorable station in his Order, his concubine receives the customary congratulations, as one who shares in the honor of the new appointment. What takes place in regard to one is applicable also to the other, for by it they secure a greater revenue, which is the object desired.

The monks possess advantages over all others in re-

gard to the rank of the women who belong to them, which arises from the fact that, while they are in a situation more favorable to the acquisition of wealth, they have less to spend for their personal maintenance; hence it is all applied to the benefit of their women, which is not the case either with the laity or with other ecclesiastics; for, although both the former and the latter maintain them, they do not lavish upon them their whole estate, as is the case with the monks; for these, as they say themselves, carry their whole wardrobe on their backs, and their only pecuniary obligations are such as they impose upon themselves; so that whatever they earn, either within or without the convent, reverts to these women, and is applied to the maintenance of their families.

Hence it is that the men, not having scruples of conscience, inclining them to forsake such a course, nor the women sufficient modesty or love of virtue to do the same, it will not seem repugnant to reason that the practice should have become so general as to comprehend all classes, without exception; yet we shall not venture to affirm so much as this, lest we should brand with such a foul reproach those who may never have incurred it; but we must declare, that, in regard to several individuals, whom we knew and esteemed as possessing moral worth, and who, to appearance, had always lived circumspectly, time disclosed to us quite the contrary, and under circumstances that give us occasion to doubt even of those who had exhibited externally satisfactory evidence of virtuous conduct.

This licentiousness, both of the laity and priesthood, is universal in Peru, so that what is said of Quito and Lima may be affirmed of all other cities and towns. The root of the evil is, that, those countries having been conquered and settled by persons of a low rank in society, the abuses which they introduced at the commencement continued to prevail and multiply, until they had become universal.*

* There are not wanting in Quito bright examples of virtue among the laity, which shine with more lustre in contrast with the surrounding darkness of infidelity and superstition. An aged friend of mine in that city once informed me that, having

We shall conclude this chapter by alluding again to the tumults occasioned by the capitulary elections, in order to show how little the monasteries contribute to the object for which they were established.

The revenue attached to preferments in the religious Orders is the source of all the unreasonable and extravagant behavior of the members: hence it is that they pay little or no attention to the continuance and increase of the missions, and neglect their appropriate duty of preaching for the conversion of infidels. They appear in public to promote the interests of their own party, and to kindle more and more the flames of discord among individuals, when duty calls them to interpose their friendly offices to allay the spirit of party; hence the perverse, disorderly, and scandalous life which they all lead, from first to last, making it evident that those who constitute the religious Orders have no claim to the character of religious persons.

The chapters assemble at certain intervals, to make choice of a provincial, or superior of a convent, who has under his control all the minor convents of his Order which are comprised within the limits of a province. This dignitary fills up all vacancies that occur in office, or for once grants this prerogative to his predecessor, in case the latter has espoused his cause; so that the individual chosen makes this concession to the one who chooses him, and either one or the other nominates priors or guardians for all the convents of the province, remodels all the benefices, promotes the curates, or nominates others in their place — all which yields him an immense revenue; for what has been said of the system of bribery practised in the election of a corregidor applies to all the honors and prerogatives conferred by the provincial, the amount which each individual has to contribute being regulated by a fixed tariff or scale of prices; whether it be under the denomination of a pension, or almsgiving,

applied to a canon of the church for counsel in regard to the way to be saved, that dignitary labored to quiet his apprehensions by assuring him that we had not evidence enough of a future state to give ourselves any concern about it. — Tr.

or benevolence, or any other term that may be applied to it; for, whatever be the pretext, it is well known that the vacancy is not filled unless the stipulated sum should be paid previously, or an obligation given to pay it in full as soon as the office begins to yield an income. Although the new provincial should cede to his predecessor the prerogative of filling up these vacancies, the vacancies thus filled do not fail to yield him an immense revenue; for, besides what the interested parties give to him who directly bestows the emolument, they also remunerate the provincial who concedes the right to bestow it, which leaves them both with an enormous income; but even this is not to be named in comparison with what they afterwards collect, during their parochial visits, and in the interim of the meeting of the chapters, which is the source whence they derive their chief emolument. . . . .

The only recompense bestowed by the provincials on those who have espoused their party consists in promoting them to office, on payment of the stipulated alms, which does not diminish aught from the merit of the living conferred, for it always enables an individual to get a clear income of twelve thousand dollars or more, during his term of office, even if he have advanced a gratuity of three or four thousand dollars, or have discharged his debt to the provincial from the very proceeds of the benefice bestowed.

But what in this respect forces itself upon the attention is, that a religious Order, like that of St. Francis, should handle money-bags of a thousand dollars each as they were maravedies or beads of the rosary; that it should set up and manage its fair of guardianships and livings, as other convents do; that the provincials in a three years' term, should accumulate a greater sum than is accumulated by any one presiding over other orders, the number of livings in their gift exceeding that of the rest; that, in the same proportion, guardians and curates increase in riches, purchase estates, and keep up private establishments; and, in a word, that there should be provincials, and even friars, of elevated rank, rich and ostentatious, and the fame of whose pomp and

pride echoes through the towns and cities where they reside.

In addition to the wealth accumulated by the provincials during their term of office, as soon as this term expires they are entitled to one of the best (that is, of the richest) livings or guardianships in the gift of the Order, and they are at liberty to select for their own use the most valuable estate within the province, and, by paying the rent prescribed by ancient usage, to hold it as their own during their lifetime. To these emoluments others are added, which yield such a revenue as to provide them with everything that could be desired.

As it is undeniable that all the orders in the Indies possess immense wealth, and that they have no occasion to employ it to advantage, it is evident that they make an improper use of it, by rendering it subservient to their corrupt propensities. Hence it is that the members of the religious orders take the lead of every other class of men in the practice of vice; for, if reference be had to concubinage, none are guilty of it to such a degree as they are, for there are none who maintain a greater number of women; if to the use of obscene language, 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. Besides this, they play at games of hazard more than any class of persons; they drink to greater excess than the laity, and there is no vice with which they have not made themselves familiar; all which has its source in superfluous wealth; for, having no objects on which to lavish it, and no occupation to fill up their intervals of leisure, they make them both subservient to their detestable vices, and continue to live in them even to their last hour.

It being so manifest that the profligacy of the monks in Peru is owing to the riches they hoard up, and that these are derived from the livings, the evil might be remedied by nominating the secular clergy to the benefices; for the priests, cruel as they are to the Indians, are not so tyrannical as the monks: the reason is, that

the former reeeive their appointments for life, and are not compelled, like the latter, to contribute the eustomary fee or bribe at the meeting of every ehapter, nor have they the same oecasion to straiten to the utmost their parishioners, in order to render the curaey as lucrative as possible.

On the other hand, if sueh a measure were adopted, and friars should be excluded from the benefices, the scandal of profligacy would not be avoided; for the secular and regular clergy are equally depraved in their morals. But, externally, the difference is in favor of the priests, for these are more wary, as we have already observed, and endeavor to hide their weaknesses; there is more of decorum in their manners; their language is not so revolting, nor their lives so scandalous; so that if we would deseribe the differenee between the profligaey of the monks and the frailty of the priests, we should say that the latter are not more abandoned and loose than are the laity in general; and if there is any differenee between the two elasses, a greater regard to appearances may be predieated of the priests; but the monks, under all eircumstanees, are more profligate than the laity. Thus, although the reform of sueh misehievous abuses eould not be wholly effeeted, it might be seeured in part, and the hope entertained that through the influenee of worthy ecclesiastics, who should be sent from Spain, the vices whieh now prevail might be rooted out, or held in some degree of restraint, and a new order of administration be set on foot. Although this object should not be seeured, neither as a whole nor in part, other advantages would result from it, which would be of great importance to the king and his subjects, and whieh are so indispensable at the present moment, that, otherwise, we eannot rely on the permanent possession of those kingdoms; at least, no reasonable hope ean be entertained that the settlements will ever be extended over that vast territory, whieh hitherto has recognized no sovereign but the barbarous Indian, and no proprietor but the beast of the forests.